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THE MODERN REVIEW

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THE MODERN REVIEW.

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THROUGH THE PROPHETS TO THE LAW.

THE Hebrew prophets, as has been already shown in the last number of this Review,* stood before their people as the interpreters of Yahveh's demands for national righteousness. They expounded the destinies of Israel as the chosen people, the depository of the only saving truths of religion: they confronted the realities of its misconduct with the requirements of its ideal function: they unfolded the secret of its sufferings; they promised its final triumph when purified by pain. They were the critics of the present; they were the heralds of the future: had they no word to say about the past?

It is with a true instinct that the Hebrew canon of the Old Testament reckons among "the prophets" the historical books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. These books tell the story of Israel's life in Canaan. The conquest, the settlement, the slow evolution of a new social order, the rise of the monarchy, the birth of prophetism, the glories of David and Solomon, the disruption, the fortunes of the two kingdoms till both were overthrown, —these are their themes. The materials are drawn from various sources; but (with the exception of certain sections

* *Modern Review*, October, 1883. "The Prophets of the Old Testament," by J. Frederick Smith.

in Joshua which relate the conquest from the Levitical point of view) they are all fused together in the light of great prophetic ideas. Time after time the writers show us that they are not only narrating events, but also weaving them into a chain of cause and effect. The principles of judgment which they adopt for this purpose, are those of the higher Yahvism revealed to us at the close of the monarchy in the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The standard thus attained is carried back through the earlier periods of the history, and the result is a frequent distortion of their true meaning. The lofty monotheism of the prophets is attributed to Joshua, and for a brief season the people are faithful to their divine Lord. Then follow seasons of apostasy with occasional paroxysms of repentance. The reign of David had stamped itself too strongly in the popular heart not to be regarded as a time of national piety; the erection of the temple was a pledge of the devout intentions of the youthful Solomon; and here and there along the line of kings gleamed out some flash of loyalty under a Hezekiah or a Josiah. But on the whole the historians adopt that view of their nation's past which is indicated, for example, in the following words of Jeremiah:—

> I spake not to your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people, and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you that it may be well unto you. But they hearkened not, nor inclined their ear, but walked in the counsels and the stubbornness of their evil heart, and went backward and not forward. Since the day that your fathers came forth out of the land of Egypt, I have even sent unto you all my servants the prophets, daily rising up early and sending them, yet they hearkened not unto me, nor inclined their ear, but hardened their neck, they did worse than their fathers (*Jer.* vii., 22—26; cp. *Ezek.* xxiii.).

The prophetic books of the history, therefore, contain one long indictment: their story is a story of religious decline which the noblest of national leaders were unable to arrest: they offer, in their record of the popular unfaithfulness, the vindication of Yahveh's awful righteous-

ness in the ruin of his people. But they never forget that they are dealing with a nation. Nationality and religion are blended, but the idea of nationality is never lost. The monarchy is divided, but the national name Israel belongs to the Northern state: Israel has its prophets, its religious revolutions, as well as Judah: it is, indeed, loaded at the outset with the fatal burden of the "sin of Jeroboam who made Israel to sin," but it is not out of the pale of Yahvism: the same opportunities are open to the one kingdom as to the other: the same doom alights on both, for the same crimes have been committed by both.

There is, however, another version of the history of the monarchy, which presents it under a quite different aspect. The books of Chronicles are not reckoned among the prophetical books: they are placed in the third division of the Hebrew canon, entitled the "Writings," and they are well known to be of much later origin than the books of Kings. A glance at these books reveals at once a very different order of conceptions. The same method of interpreting history is indeed pursued. A religious test is adopted, and every calamity is the direct consequence of guilt. But what is the test? It is one that is nowhere applied throughout the earlier narratives. They were founded on the prophetic monotheism. The standard of the Chronicles, on the other hand, is the Levitical Law. Their representation of the history is not national, it is ecclesiastical. The true Israel is a Church, and not a State. Hence, the historical Israel, the northern kingdom, is founded in schism; its origin lies not so much in political rebellion as in religious apostasy; and it must, consequently, be thrust out of view. For already under David the splendours of the Levitical organisation shone forth in full glory, and with the erection of the Temple under Solomon, its institutions were permanently established. But of all this the books of Kings say nothing.* The elaborate arrangements

* The analysis of 1 *Kings* viii. 1—4, and comparison with the Septuagint, reveal how the text has been manipulated under later Levitical influences: cp. Bleek—Wellhausen, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. § 122.

of David are passed over in absolute silence. How is it that the Chronicler only is acquainted with them, and why does he alone elevate them into the high rank of principles of divine government? The answer is ready: The Chronicler saw in his own day the fully developed system of Levitical worship. It was founded on the book of the Law of Moses, and as such it could not be imagined that the piety of antiquity had failed to carry it out. But the existing records of the past omitted all reference to it. This deficiency, therefore, must be supplied: and starting from the supposed Mosaic origin and the perpetual validity of the law, the Chronicler proceeded to correct the older tradition, and, as he no doubt imagined, to interpret it more faithfully, by carrying back to the first days of Jerusalem under David and Solomon the full Levitical ritual in the forms elaborated by the time of Alexander the Great. The religious organisation of the kingdom of Judah, depicted in the Chronicles, is simply the Jewish community of the Perso-Greek age, transported into the past. The Chronicler supposes that he is writing history, and so he is: but it is the history of the temple-service of his own age as it had grown out of the ordinances of the completed Torah.

If the prophetic presentation of the history contains nothing about the Levitical institutions, it is not surprising that the prophetic presentation of the Law should be equally silent. The oldest legislation, in the First Code,* is almost wholly civil. It makes no provision for a priesthood: it lays down only the outlines of a cultus, and it is throughout engaged with the human relations of the people to each other, rather than with their divine obligations as the chosen of Yahveh. The Deuteronomic code marks a considerable advance: the conception of Israel and of its special election by Yahveh has assumed a clearer form: but its legislation is concerned, as Spinoza remarked two centuries since, with a civil polity. At the head of the nation stands the king: over each district, guiding the affairs of town and village, are the presiding elders. It is

* *Modern Review*, April, 1883, "The Book of Deuteronomy," p. 258 sqq.

true that the great aim of the book is a religious aim, and that for this purpose it must effect a reform of the popular worship. Its main object is to secure the complete devotion of the nation to Yahveh. But it does not contemplate the nation solely as a community for worship. Israel is a state, surrounded by other states; it is settled in a beautiful and fertile country; it is composed of families knit together by tender ties, of parents and children, rich and poor, righteous and unjust together; it is nourished by agriculture, it must prepare for war; it has a social life, independent of the sanctuary; and though it is not without ritual and sacred officers, it does not exist for the sake of the ritual. It is, in short, a State and not a Church.

But in the Priestly Codex the view suddenly changes. The king has disappeared, and from the sanctuary issues the high priest, already raised to such a representative eminence that his death makes an era, from which the years begin anew. The elders have vanished, and though certain shadowy forms known as the "princes" loom through the haze, these have no clear place in the organisation of the people. The nation is transformed into the "congregation": the civil order seems absorbed in the ecclesiastical. The "dwelling-place" planted in the midst of the camp, with the Priests and Levites encircling it, and the rest of the tribes disposed in order on its four sides, is but the symbol of the new idea by which the whole of existence is to be subject to divine control. The entire ancient polity is enmeshed in an intricate net-work of ceremonial observances. And these are all instituted by direct revelation. The festival calendar, once the natural expression of the gladness of the seasons, is promulgated now from the Holy of Holies, at the supreme will of the Most High. The sacrifices are regulated by decrees from heaven, and the minutest details are not thought unworthy of dictation by the Creator of the world. For each event of life from birth to death the appropriate observance is provided: and so the whole being of the nation becomes a vast perpetual service, the emblems of which are seen in

daily offerings, and the ever-burning fire, and the supremacy of the consecrated caste. It is plain, then, that this scheme everywhere assumes the prior existence of a civil administration. It is inconceivable that it could have been the creation of the desert. Its complicated system of priestly revenues is alone enough to show that an established social order lies beneath it. The ecclesiastical institutions of the Levitical Legislation, it has been well said, as inevitably presuppose the traditions and methods of a State, as the Roman Church presupposes the organisation of the Roman Empire.*

The latest criticism of the Pentateuch does not hesitate, on purely critical grounds, to declare this the last and final application of positive enactment to religion. But the critical results must have an inner meaning: they must be capable of explanation by the course of events and the changing forms of thought produced out of the play of faith upon the facts of life. If there is this contrast between the prophetic and the priestly views of Israel's history, between the prophetic and the priestly codes of Israel's legislation, can we trace the influences which evolved the later out of the earlier, can we follow the steps between what we may broadly call the Prophets and the Law, and find their true relation to each other?

I.

Every religion has its own idiom. It creates a sacred dialect in which it expresses its ideas concerning the relations of man and God. It takes hold of words and groups of words, secludes them perhaps from their common use, and infuses into them a meaning of its own. Each term or set of terms, thus represents some thought or feeling, and the language so consecrated tends to pass through various

* Cp. Smend's essay, "Ueber die Genesis des Judenthums," *Zeitschrift für altestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1882, p. 101 sq.; I am indebted for many thoughts to this interesting, though it must be added prolix, article.

modifications of meaning as it is applied to successive modifications of the conceptions for which it is employed.

Such a set of terms is found in the group of words belonging to Hebrew, Canaanite, Phenician, and Assyrian religion, whose essential idea we indicate by the word "holy." This is, in particular, a keyword to Israel's thought: it belongs to Prophets and to Law alike.* The range of objects to which it may be applied extends from the humblest consecrated gift to the throne of heaven, nay, to its great occupant, Yahveh himself. The primitive notion attached to its root is believed to be that of cutting off, parting, dividing, separating. But this notion has been limited to the sphere of religion: a piece of furniture, a robe, a plot of ground, a given day, are only holy in so far as they are withdrawn from common use, and dedicated to Yahveh. Thus holiness is not an intrinsic quality; it does not attach to things inherently; nothing possesses holiness in and for itself; it is something conferred upon it by the religious relation in which it is placed. Even when it is applied to Yahveh, it does not seem to have had originally any specific significance or particular moral contents such as we now associate with it. Yahveh is holy in virtue of that quality or series of qualities in the divine nature which mark him off from all other beings. The only beings who could in any way be brought into contrast or competition with him were the inhabitants of the earth, and the false gods which they worship. Thus Hosea declares of Yahveh, xi. 9:—

> I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger, I will not again destroy Ephraim, for I am God, and not man, the Holy One in the midst of thee.

Here the holiness of Yahveh is equivalent to his deity; it is the supreme expression of all that lifts him above his mortal creatures. As he is thus marked off from man,

* See the exhaustive essay of Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religions-Geschichte*, Heft ii., Leipzig, 1878.

so he is also distinguished from every other god, and Ezekiel accordingly affirms in his name, xxxix. 7,—

So will I make my holy name known in the midst of my people Israel, and I will not let them pollute my holy name any more and the heathen shall know that I am Yahveh, the Holy One of Israel!

So through the word holy there is discerned now the shining radiance of the divine glory, now the majestic splendour of his universal might, now the solemnity of his inviolable sanctity. The divine transcendence manifests itself especially in its elevation above all defilement, pollution, sin: and hence the holiness of Yahveh is especially apparent in the awful purity of his eternal righteousness.

Intermediate, however, between the holy things and the holy God—between the land and its temple-mountain, its feasts and sacrifices, vestments and offerings, on the one hand, and the court of heaven with its dread tribunal and its sublime judge, on the other,—stands the nation whom Yahveh has chosen and seeks to mould to his will. In what sense is Israel holy, and by what means is that holiness to be realised? The answers to this question along the line of Israel's religious history will perhaps give us the clue which we seek to the true relation of the Prophets and the Law.

II.

We shall not be wrong in looking for our first reply to the oldest elements of the Pentateuch, to the earliest form of its tradition, and the ordinances of the First Code. Here we find at once the two notes of Prophecy and Law. The people have passed the Red Sea, they are encamped before the mount, and Moses ascends to receive the divine commands.

And Yahveh called to him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob and tell the children of Israel, ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure to me above all peoples: for all the earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation (*Ex.* xix. 3—6).

It is to be observed here that Israel's holiness is represented not as a present condition, but as a future promise. It is not its actual state, it is its future destiny. But what is its significance? It is simply a declaration that Israel shall be Yahveh's property. Out of the whole earth he will choose this one people, and by that act he will withdraw it from all other nations and set it apart as his own. That state of detachment, that appropriation to him alone, will be holiness. Yahveh and Israel will stand to each other in a relation to which no one else will be admitted. It is a relation which shall hereafter be constituted, and it can rest on one foundation only, Israel's obedience, its adherence to the terms of the covenant by which Yahveh would keep them separate from the nations of the world.

This covenant of course implied that worship should be paid to Yahveh alone; and inasmuch as the only known form of worship was ritual, the arrangements for worship in the First Code assume this form. The worship of other gods is strictly prohibited; idolatry likewise is forbidden; but the believer's approach to Yahveh by the usual methods of sacrifice is not limited to one place; the choice is free, the altar may be reared on any spot without restriction; the gift may be given anywhere, and the divine blessing will follow. This was the custom of primitive Yahvism, and the history of Israel shows us the whole land covered with local sanctuaries, by means of which constant expression was given to the relation between the people and its God. That relation of holiness, which the prophetic narrator, standing in imagination at its cradle among the peaks of Sinai, describes as something yet to grow and be, the legislator can only conceive as already established. The very act by which Yahveh lays his commands on Israel and on none other, implies that they are already his: they are the chosen objects of his favour: and with the privilege comes also the responsibility. Already adopted as Yahveh's property, they must behave as becomes this lofty ownership: and accordingly the legislative code demands of Israel the conduct conformable to holiness. But what is that

conduct? The only requirement which the code formulates is this:

> **Ye shall be holy men unto me, and flesh in the field that is torn of beasts ye shall not eat: ye shall cast it unto the dogs (*Ex.* xxii. 31).**

Such carcases were regarded as defiled: among the "men of holiness," the men who belonged to Yahveh, nothing polluting must enter: even their very food must be clean. Here is the first faint note of what is afterwards to become the full chorus of Levitical demands. The arrangements of the First Code represent an early stage of popular Yahvism, under the influence of ideas which by way of contrast we call Prophetic. Monotheism is not defined, but it is trembling into full consciousness; monolatry is enjoined, and idol-worship repudiated. The First Code thus endeavours to give practical shape to the higher teaching spreading among the prophets—Elijah and Elisha led the contest for Yahveh against the Baal, but they directed no polemic against the calves of Yahveh or the high-places—and may be taken to represent the general aim of religion at the beginning of the eighth century B.C. Under what influences was the next step in advance to be taken?

III.

A glance at the history of Yahvism under the monarchy reveals to us at once a most important fact. It was the national religion of both kingdoms, of the north as well as the south. Its vigour in Ephraim cannot be disputed. It produced an order of prophets whose leaders took the destinies of the nation into their hands, and threw down and set up kings. It gave expression to the national view of its history in collections of the traditions of the past from the patriarchal period onwards; it uttered the national aspirations in poems such as the Blessing of Moses, where the high-place assigned to the tribe of Levi shows already the growth of the sacred order and its importance in the life of the people. It had plenty of sanctuaries, it had powerful

priesthoods. Through the mouth of Hosea it proclaimed the first anticipations of the Gospel in the delineation of the love of Yahveh for his erring child. But it was doomed to disappear. It fell with the fall of Samaria, and was extinguished by the Assyrian invasion. The deported captives struggled for a time to maintain it in their foreign homes. But it had no vitality to maintain its life. It lost its independence, it languished and died, so that among the multitude of religions of the great Mesopotamian empire no trace of it remained, while the feeble effort made to revive it on its native soil had no permanent success.

By-and-by it was the turn of Jerusalem. The Chaldeans grasped the power which Assyria could no longer hold. Once more must Judah suffer as the collision between the mighty forces of the Euphrates and the Nile approached. The same doom fell upon the city of David which had overtaken its younger rival. The same fate threatened the religion of the southern as of the northern state. But instead of succumbing to decay and dissolution it arose with a new might: that which seemed to threaten it with complete destruction proved instead the necessary condition of its purification. Had Jerusalem fallen a hundred and twenty years before under Sennacherib, who can tell what might have been the result? The Yahvism of Isaiah might then have shared the fate of the sister faith of Hosea. Can we in any way account for the different spiritual issues of similar outward events; and can we trace their bearings on the problem we have in hand?

IV.

The survival of Yahvism after the fall of Judah must have been due to the superior moral and religious forces which played through it upon the national life. The first and most obvious of these is the development of prophetism. The prophecy of the eighth century, as the organ of the higher Yahvism, necessarily threw itself into the conflict

with the popular heathenism which surrounded it on every hand. It protested against every intrusion of impure Canaanite cultus into the true worship, and while feeling its way towards articulate expression of those truths of the sole deity and absolute dominion of Yahveh which it had already implicitly grasped, it denounced every species of idolatry whether practised in his rival's name or in his own. It called for reform, but it expected that reform to be divinely wrought. That Israel must realise its destiny, and rise to the height of its calling as Yahveh's holy people, it was confident. But the actual Israel could not do this, and the prophetic delineations of its state show us why not. Prophetism, therefore, applying the fundamental principles of Yahveh's righteousness to the condition of the nation which claimed to be his, could see only one way of lifting Israel to the ideal elevation on which it ought to stand. Chastisement first, then purification, was the invariable order of its thought. In Isaiah's day, when the Assyrian power loomed larger and larger, as one after another of the Syrian kingdoms fell into its hands, it was to this that the prophet's eyes turned with a strange mingling of stern warning and triumphant hope. From the outset of his ministry this seemed to have been the message committed to him: invasion must sweep through the land; captivity and suffering must do their cleansing work upon the people; but though the tree should be cut down to its very roots, there was yet within it a promise of renewed life. How did this harmonise with the idea of the holy people? It was the first step to its true embodiment in a living community which had hitherto failed to give it actual being.

When Yahveh shall have removed men afar off, and the deserted space shall be large in the midst of the land, should there yet be a tenth, this again shall be exterminated, as the terebinth and the oak, of which, after felling, a stock remaineth, a holy seed is the stock thereof (*Is.* vi. 13).

What is this "holy seed"? The passage does not clearly determine for us. It may mean nothing more than a seed dedicated to Yahveh, and so inviolable and secure; but else-

where the high significance of the promise appears much more plain.

> **It shall come to pass, he who is left in Zion and remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, every one who is written down for life in Jerusalem, when Yahveh shall have washed off the filth of the daughters of Zion, and cleansed the blood of Jerusalem in her midst, by a blast of judgment, and a blast of extermination (*Is.* iv. 3, 4).**

Here it is plain that holiness implies something much more than a mere relation of property between Yahveh as owner, and Israel as owned. It is the condition of those who have been purified by a "blast of judgment," which would exterminate all guilty idolatries and every species of falsehood and oppression, and fit the survivors to enter the higher life of the redeemed people. We know what glowing pictures Isaiah drew of the future for his nation, thus initiated by the Assyrian invasions; how near it seemed to him; what marvellous harmony should pervade all nature; what gracious justice should adorn the throne; what peace should spread among the nations; what majestic supremacy should belong to Israel. The Assyrians did indeed come, and though Samaria fell, Jerusalem was saved. But the reign of righteousness did not set in. The monarchy was established with greater solidity than ever. The dynasty of David received a new lease of power, but not the sevenfold spirit (*Is.* xi. 2); the people were not purified by danger and loss; and the issue of the conflict, though it may have strengthened the hands of the reforming party for a little while, was soon lost. The great prophetic ideal of a regenerated people made holy to Yahveh was cut off from the fulfilment that had seemed so near, and must wait for some fresh crisis in the nation's destinies.

V.

Hezekiah passed away, and Manasseh proved in every way the exact opposite to the prince whose advent Isaiah had celebrated in such lofty strains. The very existence of Yahvism was in danger. Foreign usages of every description were poured into the country, became fashionable at

Jerusalem, and invaded even the very temple itself. Remonstrance and resistance were met by the simple plea of force. Those who sought to vindicate the purity of the national religion paid for their boldness by their lives. For a whole generation idolatrous licence ran riot, and the struggle of the faithful was at the cost of blood and death. It was the first of that long series of martyr ages through which Israel's religion was to be tested and welded into an iron strength. Under such circumstances prophetism could not remain abstract and ideal. In the preceding century it had looked to Yahveh to work upon the people the necessary change; it had proposed no definite scheme of reform; it had relied on the operation of the divine powers by which it felt itself supported. But now that the reign of Manasseh had proved that their interference was postponed, or perhaps withheld altogether, it remained to be seen what other means could be found for bringing the real Israel, as the people of Yahveh, into nearer conformity with its ideal calling. Prophetism in short was compelled to address itself to certain concrete objects, as the methods of compassing its ultimate ends. The first of these objects was the separation of the religion of Yahveh from every element—foreign or native—impairing its purity. And inasmuch as all the functions of religion then were ritual, this aim necessarily took the shape of a reform of the cultus. It was one of the conditions inherent in the development of Israel's religion that it could not yet be dissociated from the public offices of sacrifice and festival. These had belonged to it from its first days. As long as religion was the bond of nationality, it inevitably expressed itself by this agency, and the task which prophetism saw immediately before it was to secure right worship as the necessary condition of true religion, the natural and inseparable sign of the right relation to Yahveh. Cast out every Canaanite abomination, destroy every idol, throw down every altar, abolish every sanctuary where the proper rites cannot be guaranteed against corruption, and let the whole nation pay its devotions in the one place which Yahveh himself has chosen :—this was the programme of the Deuteronomic code.

That code was as much the product of the prophetic spirit as the most high-wrought of Isaiah's pictures of the future. But it was the practical instead of the poetic side of prophecy. It was prophetism compelled by stress of events to make itself felt as a reforming energy: it was prophetism applied to the actual circumstances and existing requirements of religion. So it happened that prophetism entered the field of law, and clothed itself with prescriptions and ordinances designed to embody the principles of Israel's relation to Yahveh. That relation, as we have seen, was technically designated holiness. In the hands of a prophet like Isaiah, attention was fixed on its future aspects, and hence on the moral conditions under which it could be realised. But when it was approached from the side of tradition, it could not be regarded as something to be thereafter constituted. The choice of Israel by Yahveh had taken place long ago. That act of divine love which had fixed so strangely on a people superior neither in numbers nor in righteousness to other nations, was no new thing. Since his childhood in Egypt, Israel had been elect; ever since the covenant in Sinai it had been the peculiar depository of the knowledge and grace of Yahveh. Hence the prophetic legislators cannot treat holiness as a condition to be subsequently attained under the divine reconstruction of society; it is a relation already established, resulting from a resolve of heaven never since rescinded, and endowed with permanent force by the settlement of the chosen people in Yahveh's own land. On this ground it is that Yahveh has a right to impose on them his law, and regulate the worship by which he is to be approached. This is throughout the principle of the Deuteronomic reformers. When they call out for the destruction of all the local sanctuaries, when they cry, "Break the maççêbhas, burn the Ashêras," what is the thought behind it?

Thou art a holy people to Yahveh thy God; Yahveh thy God hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth (*Deut.* vii. 6).

Here, as in the First Code, the condition implied by holiness is a present fact; it is not a state to be manifested in the future, it exists already. Out of it flow of necessity certain requirements of conduct. No member of Yahveh's Israel may practise any rite impairing that relation. In other words, not only abstinence from idolatry, but positive hostility towards it, is Israel's first duty. The injunctions for the overthrow of the local sanctuaries are thus the direct translation of the ideal demands of prophecy into the circumstances of village life. So, too, is the following passage, in which the common Canaanite usages of mourning for the dead are forbidden:—

> Ye are sons to Yahveh your God; ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead, for thou art an holy people to Yahveh thy God, and Yahveh hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people to himself, out of all the nations that are upon the earth (*Deut.* xiv. 1, 2).

Does this seem a trifling result of a relation so august? Nothing could be of small account in the great issue between true God and false, nothing too minute to be included in the protection designed for Israel's religion, and so for Israel's highest welfare, by the new code. But this was not all; for Yahveh claimed nothing less than the whole moral and spiritual energies of his people:—

> And now, Israel, what doth Yahveh require of thee but to fear Yahveh thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve Yahveh thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, to keep the commandments of Yahveh and his statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good? (*Deut.* x. 12, 13).

Holiness, the condition of belonging to Yahveh, cannot be maintained without righteousness; not even the true worship can express it wholly; it is further realised through the mind of faithfulness and the heart of love; and so the ritual prescriptions glow with a passionate loyalty, which proves how powerful might be the infusion of the prophetic spirit into the forms of law.

VI.

Thus, then, the Law, as soon as it could acquire any creative force apart from the tradition on which it had hitherto depended, endeavoured to give actual shape to the prophetic ideal. In doing so it imparted to the conception of Israel's holiness a two-fold character, on the one side touching the cultus, on the other, conduct. Yet both sprang from the same root, the notion of separation from the rest of the world, and of choice by Yahveh as his special property. How far did these two tendencies compete with each other, and which ultimately triumphed?

In laying down the connection of Yahveh and Israel as one of mutual love, the Deuteronomic writers were in reality preparing the way for the ultimate severance of religion from the national cultus. But this goal could not be immediately perceived, and a sudden and unexpected blow seemed for the time to arrest all hope. The triumph of the Deuteronomic code was but brief, for a great disaster appeared to cut across all the Israelite notions of Providence. The early death of Josiah on the battle-field of Megiddo gave a terrible shock to the anticipations of the party of reform. "Obey my commandments," they had cried in the name of Yahveh, "and your days shall be long in the land;" prosperity should follow piety, and the faithful should live secure. Josiah had merited a happy life, and an honoured age: but in the prime of his manhood he sank into a premature grave of calamity and defeat. The subsequent writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel show how soon the work which he had promoted was undone. Idolatry reappeared with amazing swiftness; the Baal and Ashêra cultus was everywhere revived; the sanctuary at Jerusalem, which had been so laboriously cleansed, was again polluted. The reform had failed: the task of weaning Judah from the worship of other gods had all to be accomplished over again.

The relapse proved only too clearly how powerless the nation was to realise the conception developed by the

prophets of the higher Yahvism. It forced on Jeremiah the dreadful conviction that the real spiritualisation of religion could only come about in one way. On its own soil it could not be liberated from the heathen elements which clung to it. Then, it must be uprooted from the soil. Jerusalem must fall; and the nation must learn in exile the awful sternness of the divine judgment upon its sin. For more than twenty years he proclaimed this message to an indifferent or hostile people. Of the inward anguish which it cost him, his writings bear ample trace. As the Chaldean power drew nearer and nearer, he pointed to it in the plainest language as the instrument of Yahveh's avenging doom. So high is his sense of Yahveh's universal might, so clear his vision of the necessity of Yahveh's chastisement, that he does not hesitate to describe him as employing the King of Babylon as the "servant" who executes his designs. When the popular party cried aloud that the city was safe, for it held Yahveh's house, inviolable upon its sacred mount, Jeremiah replied that Yahveh needed no house, and asked why he should not do at Jerusalem what he had done at Shiloh? In the tradition of the wanderings the older imagination represented Yahveh as restrained from punishing his people as they deserved by the thought of the evil things which would be said about him by the Egyptians; the destruction of the people in the wilderness would be regarded as failure in his self-imposed task of guiding them to the promised land. No such thoughts now rise in the prophet's mind. He is indifferent to Yahveh's reputation: he cares not how the nations around may interpret the fall of the sanctuary. He is dominated by one word only, righteousness. The people that has resisted repeated warnings, and rebelled against the discipline of all its years, must perish. Yet at the same time he soars to the boldest hopes. As the Deuteronomists had represented the essence of the relation of Israel and Yahveh as mutual love, and as love with all the joyous obedience that sprang from it could live in no national heart, but only in each individual breast, the first steps had been taken towards the detachment of religion

from outward observance, and its transference to the conscience and the affections. That change was further aided by the deepening sense of sin, which thrills through the pages of Jeremiah, not only as national guilt, but as personal. From these two elements rose a new view of religion, which placed it in the fellowship of the inner mind with its divine Lord, and formulated itself in the prediction of a new covenant, where all should know Yahveh from the greatest to the least (*Jer.* xxxi. 31—34). This was in the future, the prophetic ideal. But the people could not reach it then and there. Long and weary must be the stages of their education; and the significant stress which Jeremiah lays upon the sabbath (xvii. 19—27), and the high promises which he links to its observance, show how he, too, perceived that practical reform, obedience to the organisation of Yahvism, must precede the highest spiritual attainments; the prophetic impulse must pass into daily life and animate the accepted institutions of religious order.

VII.

Jerusalem fell, but it did not fall without warning. The overthrow of the nation seemed at first as the stroke of death; the dispersal of the people like the scattering of its bones upon the desert plain. But the dissolution of the polity of Judah set free some seed of life, and the exile carried within it the promise of a higher future. Many elements prepared the way for this. The Deuteronomic code had striven to effect the absolute separation of Yahveh's people from everything idolatrous. That had, for a time at least, possessed the force of sacred law. Events had now confirmed its principles with awful distinctness. Disloyalty to that principle, the attempt to combine the worship of other gods with that of Yahveh, the attempt to combine within the worship of Yahveh the lower forms of idolatry with the higher and the only true, had brought about the predicted result. The Deuteronomic code, therefore, acquired, partly by its solemn adoption under Josiah, and

partly by subsequent occurrences, the character of a scripture, embodying a rule of right conduct, a declaration of the way of salvation. Moreover, the political fate of Judah had a peculiar meaning to the true believers. The success of Nebuchadnezzar might be viewed, and indeed was viewed by some, as a demonstration of the impotence of Yahveh, so that many went over to heathenism, and abandoned his service altogether. But there were others who saw in it that which Jeremiah had prepared them to see—the manifestation of his avenging might. The fall of Jerusalem was the triumph of Jeremiah. This personal vindication he could well have foregone : but the vindication of his preaching could not but be profoundly impressive to all who came within its influence. Those among the exiles, therefore, who retained their religion at all, held to it under a deep sense of inward guilt. The careless apathy or the unconcealed opposition of many might call forth Ezekiel's denunciations, but there was a small kernel who learned from the prophetic leaders how to interpret the significance of the catastrophe, and what direction effort must take for the future. As before, conversion could only mean one thing in Babylonia, as it had meant but one thing in Judah, the abandonment of idolatry and the return to Yahveh.

But this simple statement of the aim of all prophetic endeavour by no means implied the surrender of the cultus. On the contrary, it really involved its purification. It was true that off the sacred soil the practices of worship were necessarily suspended. It had been one of the trials which Hosea had predicted that the children of Israel must abide many days without sacrifice and rite, nay, that their very food in a foreign land would be unclean (*Hos.* iii. 4, ix. 3). The same idea lies in Ezekiel's mind when he represents the food that will be eaten in captivity as mingled with human dung and so defiled (*Ez.* iv. 13). When, therefore, some of the exiles attempted to establish the worship of Yahveh at the high places of Babylonia, the attempt ran counter to the fixed system of Israelite tradition, and could not be tolerated in the face of the Deuteronomic law. Nevertheless, there

can be no doubt that the enforced abolition of the cultus was a terrible trial to those who had regarded it as the necessary expression of their religion, and especially to those who had themselves taken part in it as priests. Even Jeremiah, with his doctrine of the new covenant, cannot look forward to the restored Jerusalem without the revival of the old order; temple and priest and sacrifice shall all be there.

Hear Yahveh's word, O ye heathen, and declare it in distant coasts, and say, "He that scattered Israel will gather him and keep him as a shepherd his flock." For Yahveh redeemeth Jacob, and ransometh him from the hand of the stronger one, and they come and rejoice upon Zion's height, and flow to Yahveh's good things, to the corn and the sweet wine and the oil, and to the young of the flock and of the herd, so that their soul shall become as a watered garden, and they shall no more languish again. Then will the maiden rejoice in the dance, and youths and old men together, and I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from their sorrow. And I will satiate the priests' desire with fatness, and my people shall be satisfied with my good things, saith Yahveh (*Jer.* xxxi. 10—14; cp. xxxiii. 17—22, if the passage may be accepted as genuine).

The revived worship was to realise the utmost longings of the priests; and it followed, therefore, not unnaturally, that the members of the sacred tribe of Levi, especially, should occupy themselves with the hope of its renewal. This had, indeed, engaged the thought of the first deportation even before the final fall of the city. For ten years the nobles and priests who had been carried off with Jehoiachin, held fast to the hope of the maintenance of the capital and their speedy return. They refused to listen to the melancholy burden which Ezekiel had caught up from Jeremiah; and the little circle of priests of which he is to us the central figure concerned itself largely with the prospect of restoration. It is plain from Ezekiel's writings how prominent a place this occupied in his own hopes. Yahvism would revive with the revival of the national life. Yahvism had never existed without cultus; no religion that antiquity had seen had attained any other form of expression. If, then, Yahvism was to be reconstituted without idolatry, the cultus must be strictly laid down; its elements must be carefully prescribed, its principles distinctly formulated, its

very methods elaborated, so as to protect them from any perversion in the future by guilty hands. So long as the temple-priests survived in their captivity, with any likelihood of their own return, it might suffice for them to cherish the memory of their former service. But as one by one passed away, and the expected deliverance did not come, it became necessary to put on record in some more definite terms the ritual usage of the true religion. Ritual there must be: and if the Deuteronomists had not succeeded in pledging the nation to fulfil the demands of holiness, there was no other way open than that which they had trod, but it must be pursued with greater firmness into minuter detail. Hitherto Prophecy and Law had both looked to the same end, but neither had attained it. Now Yahveh had himself taken the discipline of his people into his own hands: he was purifying them by suffering, and would restore them to their own land to renew their service. There they must be protected against every temptation: and Ezekiel accordingly proceeded to show how this might be done. Fence round the cultus with every possible precaution; allow it only on one spot, the holy mountain; place it in the charge of a special order, the Zadokite priests of the old Jerusalem guild; withdraw the ancient rights of the laity, and entrust the guardianship of the sacred house to the Levitical body; close up the sacred precincts; determine the privileges of the lay ruler, taking care to exclude him wholly from the temple, that he may have no chance of treating it after the manner of the elder sovereigns as his private chapel, into which he may introduce what worship he pleases; draw up a calendar of the feasts, specify the necessary offerings; and then the guarantees of holiness will be more secure, and out of the renewal of the right relation between God and man the noblest fruits of life may yet be won.

This is the meaning of the remarkable sketch of the polity of the future, with which the book of Ezekiel closes (xl.—xlviii.) Its dominant purpose is to give practical effect to the idea of Israel's holiness as the peculiar people of

Yahveh, to secure the establishment of the true religion, and its preservation uncorrupt. In the high prophetic sense Jeremiah had already promised this of the dear fatherland, and of the capital hallowed by Yahveh's presence :—

> Thus saith Yahveh of hosts, Israel's God, Again shall they use this speech in the land of Judah and in the cities thereof when I shall bring again their captivity, "Yahveh bless thee, thou habitation of righteousness, thou holy mountain" (*Jer.* xxxi. 23).

The hope of Jeremiah was the hope of Ezekiel too. The dead Israel would be quickened; the defiled Israel should be cleansed; the scattered Israel should be gathered; the nation should once more be one body, with a new heart, a new spirit. This would be the divine work. What would be Israel's response? The same self-will, the same stubbornness, the same idolatry as of old? It was not without peril. Even the regeneration might fail, as Isaiah and the Deuteronomic reforms had failed, unless the worship of Yahveh alone were made absolutely sure. So Ezekiel draws the picture of the ancient land divided anew; the holy mount surrounded by the holy territory of the priests; the holy house upon the holy mount; the holy men to serve the holy house. His delineation of the future has no resemblance to the glowing visions of ideal prophecy; the national element has disappeared; we hear no more of universal sovereignty, the splendour of the throne, the prosperity of the people. It is a legislative code for the maintenance of religion. Prophecy has again found it necessary to take the form of Law.

VIII.

The legislation of Ezekiel was, of course, largely founded upon the order of the old temple, though it introduced important modifications. It was not, however, by any means complete. Hence it was open to others to follow up the way which he had begun. Similar labours would seem to have been gradually undertaken by others of the sacred caste, until a considerable mass of legislative material was accumulated, in which the cultus of antiquity was

enriched, expanded, and transformed. It was inevitable that a system thus evolved should lose that national character which breathes through the earlier codes. Its first idea was the separation of Israel from all pollution of foreign elements and heathen rites. It was intended for the nucleus of the faithful who could write themselves down of pure descent, and of unmixed blood. It did not smell of the soil. It did not breathe the air of cornfield and vineyard, giving natural expression to the cycles of the year. The householder, the village Levite, the local community with its elders—all these disappear. The new system does not seem to have its roots in Israel's history; it does not grow irregularly out of the past, it comes down straight from Heaven with a divine completeness. Each fresh detail is imposed by Yahveh's express command. That which in the old days had been the upreaching of man to God, is now presented in a different form. It is the demand of God from man: and thus accepted and fulfilled, it becomes the utterance of devoted trust, it is the symbol of Israel's lowly submission to Yahveh's will.

So, while the spirit of Prophecy, following out the thoughts of Jeremiah, attained its loftiest height in the oracles of the Babylonian Isaiahs, the successors of Ezekiel adopt the path of positive Law, realising the necessary practical consequences of their situation. Once more, with which of the two does the future lie? Read the magnificent strains in which the rebuilding of Jerusalem is celebrated (*Is.* lx.), and contrast it with the depressing incidents of the restoration. Cyrus, indeed, came, Israel was released, the new Jerusalem was founded; but it was no city whose walls were salvation, and its gates praise. That spontaneous recognition of Yahveh's might, which the return of his chosen servant was to excite among all peoples —where was it? The nations around took no notice, except to harass and worry the little band of the faithful. Enthusiasm declined, dejection crept over the energies that had been vigorous and active. The work languished through opposition without and half-heartedness within.

The Deuteronomic code had been accepted as the basis of the new order; but the stringency of adherence to the separatist principle had been relaxed; the relation of the Jews to their neighbours became complicated by mixed marriages impairing the religious purity of the community; the whole work was in danger of being undone; the entire gains of the past were imperilled; the terrible lessons of the Captivity were fading out of remembrance; the prospect that Israel would fulfil the demands of its ideal holiness seemed once more hopelessly remote.

IX.

It was at this juncture that Ezra arrived. How much communication there had been between the Jews in the mother city, and their brethren in Babylonia, we cannot conjecture; but there seems no reason to suppose that that intercourse and correspondence which took place in the days of Jeremiah, and again in those of Nehemiah, had ever been wholly suspended. We may presume, then, that the exiles beyond the Euphrates were not unacquainted with the tendencies operating in their ancestral land; and it is possible, and indeed probable, that the idea of the consolidation of the new law was worked out there, independently of existing circumstances in Judah. It was in some respects an easier task to preserve the principles of separatism inviolate in Babylonia. There the deported Jews were in the midst of people of different speech, with no common traditions, worshipping other deities, observing strange and unfamiliar rites. But in Judah, on the other hand, the restored Jews were surrounded on every side by peoples claiming kindred with them, using the same language, descendants of those who had occupied the same soil, had shared the same history, had offered their sacrifices at the same altars. They were tempted, therefore, in a thousand ways, from which their brethren in the East were exempt. Moreover, they were exposed to the lowering effects of grievous disappointment. In Babylonia it was

still possible to idealise; it was not possible upon the spot. Amid the difficulties pressing on the new community, there could be little or no hope of the coming of that future to which they still looked forward. The advent of that time must depend on the national faithfulness, and the only mode of securing this appeared to be to pledge the unanimous activity of the entire community to the fulfilment of a sacred law, designed anew to give expression to that solemn relation of holiness in which the people stood to Yahveh. The Deuteronomic law had been insufficient, for it belonged to a state of things already long past; it did not deal with a number of elements which had since then largely increased in importance. The law which was now to be raised into practical sovereignty, must guard Israel much more carefully from every kind of defilement and impurity. It must lift the sacred worship into a place which it had never occupied before. It must enforce the principle of separation from the worldly and the idolatrous, so that the bond between Yahveh and Israel, and the Holy Land, might never again be broken. It was the great achievement of Ezra and Nehemiah to plant the law, thus elaborated on the basis of the labours of the Babylonian schools, in the midst of the streets of Jerusalem, and to secure for it so firm a hold that it never afterwards faded from its place. This new law was the Levitical Legislation.

The fundamental principle of this, the latest of the three codes now included in our Pentateuch, ran thus, "Be ye holy, for I, Yahveh your God, am holy" (*Lev.* xix. 2). It is plain at once that the idea of Israel's holiness here expands from the older notion of Yahveh's consecrated property to acquire a profound moral significance. It is no longer a description of a relation. Formerly Israel had been holy as belonging to Yahveh. But Yahveh could not be holy as belonging to Israel: Yahveh was holy through the transcendence of his own nature above everything earthly and unclean. Yahveh's holiness, therefore, involved the totality of his attributes as deity. But when it was made the ground of comparison

between himself and man, the aim and goal of human endeavour, it evidently bore a more special sense, and is plainly limited by the authors of the Levitical code to those moral elements of the divine nature with which man has kin. The holiness required of Israel was to penetrate all life, regulating deed and word and thought. In one aspect it gives birth to an immense number of ritual ordinances, often of the most minute and tiresome character, all intended to secure the strictest purity at once of person and of conduct. In another it rose to the loftiest perception of the true basis of all social relations. The Deuteronomist had laid down the first principle of all religion in the love of God; the Levitical Law now summed up human duty in the second and consequent principle, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." This principle really embodies the whole of the older prophetic ethics; and as Deuteronomy had carried religion into the midst of the affections, so now does the Levitical Law set morals by its side. The notions of public right and social justice have at length become individualised, and the alliance between religion and morals is complete.

It is not then surprising that in the Levitical Legislation we should meet with what seem at first sight the most glaring contradictions within the range of that single idea of holiness common alike to Prophecy and Law. On the one side is its whole scheme of holy things—vessels, furniture, vestments, sanctuary, its holy persons—the priests, its holy days of festival. Does not this materialise an elevated and spiritual conception? On the other hand is the representation of the Holy God, and the demand that his people shall resemble him: and what has this to do with special objects, places, seasons, men? The two views were no doubt inconsistent, but they were for a time necessary to each other. Not yet could the ritual be cast aside. The law was the vehicle through which the truths of the higher Prophetism were preserved, and made available for the national life. The framers of the code did what the Isaiahs had not been able to do; but without the Isaiahs they could not have done it. The Levitical Legislation was the great agent by which

Yahvism was saved and consolidated and sent forth on a new career. It had been the glory of the prophets to discern a far-off goal of spiritual religion; but they could only connect their future with their present by divine revolutions which never took place. The Law endeavoured to bring the principles of the sole deity of Yahveh, which they had steadily elaborated, into direct application to the circumstances of a community still in danger of frittering away the positive gains of prophetic thought. It thus accomplished what Prophecy had failed to find practical means to achieve. In the piety of the Psalms we see the blossom of its idea of holiness. The "Saints," so full of love and trust, waiting for Yahveh to show them the path of life, these are the holy people nurtured under the Law. And so the Law rescued Yahvism permanently from the danger of external corruption, and it formed a shell through which no outward influences could pierce and wound. The shell might be hard and rigid; but the intrinsic spiritual power of the true religion within it lived and grew, till the fulness of time was come at last. Then the Law gave way again to Prophetism in the still nobler form of the Gospel, and its essential aim after the divine ideal—"Be ye holy, for I, Yahveh your God, am holy"—was set free for ever from local limitation, and transfigured into the supreme end of all religion—"Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

J. Estlin Carpenter.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN MÜNSTER.

SOME few years before the end of the first quarter of the 16th century, the dawn of a brighter day seemed about to burst upon the dark night of the myriad toilers in Germany. A free peasantry had been forced into the most galling serfdom by a brutal and ignorant nobility, whose chivalry had degenerated to vulgar licence, and whose knightly spirit of adventure found profitable, if somewhat hazardous employment in highway robbery. The spirit of selfishness growing rampant with the decay of the old religious influences had led the German princelets to the most detestable doctrines of petty autocracy, and they welcomed with delight the Roman jurists, who found no place in their system for primitive folk customs, village jurisdiction, or the communal rights of a free peasantry. The peasant must no longer fetch his firewood from the forest, drive his cattle into the common meadow, or kill the game which destroyed his crops. His barns were burnt at night, he was carried off for a pitiable ransom even on his way to mass, and if he did not fulfil his legal or imposed obligations to the letter, he was punished in the most barbarous fashion, not infrequently culminating in death. On the other hand, the mad craving for wealth in the towns was destroying the old independence of the handicraftsman; the great extension of trade, the rise of commercial speculation and the perversion of the old guild system were making him more and more a tool in the hands of the moneyed classes. The Church, which for long had held in check with its spiritual terrors the individual struggle for power, had fallen into a state of corruption, which called down upon it the contempt of the

community. The poor and the helpless no longer found in the established religion that spiritual comfort, which might have strengthened them to endure their material misery. The great ideas of mediæval Christianity were fast losing their influence over the minds of men; the spiritual seemed dying out in the folk, which was rushing blindly along in its race for material prosperity, and with the usual result—the stronger arm, the stronger head went to the fore, but the weaker, the more ignorant were forced closer and closer to their hopeless grinding toil. The nobles hated the princelets, the towns detested both alike, while the peasantry was bitter in its denunciations of all who took refuge behind walls of stone. On all sides were signs of the decay of the social spirit, of the rise of a new materialistic selfish conception of life—irreligious in the truest sense of the word. Self-sacrifice—which can arise only from clearness of vision, or from a strong and fervid religious consciousness—was to all appearances dead. Every man was hurrying along in the race for worldly prosperity, and a Church no longer conscious of its mission, nay, which scarce blushed at its own impurity, could not cry, "Halt!—think of thy neighbour!" In vain the poorer members of the community sought around them for the cause of this misery, they sat helplessly looking into the night and waiting for a prophet! And then Luther came—Luther, the son of a peasant, boldly facing the indolent priest and the tyrannic prince—preaching a new gospel, a 'pure evangely,' full of comfort for men's souls! What wonder that the dawn seemed breaking for the folk, that they fancied the national deliverer had arisen?

For a short time peasant and craftsman, the humble toilers of all sorts, looked to Luther as to a god. What could this 'pure evangely' mean—which proclaimed the Bible as sole authority and itself as the primitive Christian faith—if it did not herald a return to brotherly love, mutual charity and an apostolic simplicity of life? What wonder that those poor ignorant folk, when they read the fiery appeals of Luther and his fellow theologians cast abroad o'er the land, thought the battle was not for a dogma, not for the letter

but for a total change in men's habits of life. They did not want a new set of doctrines, they did not want a new pope, they wanted a richer life for the listless struggler in the city, a more joyous home for the toiler on the land. They wanted the bread of a new emotion in life, and they were given dogmatic stones.

Worn out by generations of oppression the peasants banded themselves together and took as their password the 'pure evangely'; throughout the district of the bund this, and this only should be proclaimed from the pulpit. Could the people, could the princes once hear this Divine word there would be no need of dispute, its very simplicity would bring conviction to the minds of all. Poor simple peasants, the 'pure evangely' was clear enough to you, but hardly what the rulers of men were inclined to accept! Nevertheless you drew up your twelve modest demands and based each one of them on an appeal to Scripture and a plea of brotherly love. Brotherly love indeed! Were you not rebels disobeying the higher powers—or worse, disobeying God, by whom all the powers that be are ordained? So Melanchthon told you, so Luther told you. Nay, even if there were some shadow of justice in your claims, you still deserved a fearful judgment for the terrible sin of angering the powers that be! Even, if all your articles were in the 'pure evangely,' which Wittenberg was not inclined to admit, still you must wait, sit down and wait in your misery till the "pure evangely" should develop itself. That was the only consolation the new prophets had to offer you! *

It is little wonder that the peasants grew restless, that the terrible wrongs of the past would be ever reminding the present of its strength. Here and there the pent-up passion, the blind brute impulse to revenge, broke its fetters, and an awful judgment of blood fell upon the toilers' oppressors. Then Luther gave tongue to words which shocked even his own century:—"A rebel is outlawed of God and Kaiser, therefore who can and will first slaughter such

* Melanchthon, *Wider die Artikel der Bauernschaft.* 1525.

a man does right well: since upon such a common rebel every man is alike judge and executioner. Therefore who can shall here openly or secretly smite, slaughter and stab, and hold that there is nothing more poisonous, more harmful, more devilish than a rebellious man." Those words were the funeral knell of the 'pure evangely' in the hearts of the simple and ignorant oppressed. The peasants were slaughtered by the thousand, massacred as they stood nigh helpless with pitchfork and hoe—racked, flayed, burnt, one or all—ay, any other refinement of agony the scared ruler of men could contrive was eagerly adopted. But note, from that day forth Luther might found churches, but they were built on the will of the princes; he might still be a prophet, but not of the masses—a prophet of the *bourgeoisie*.

The peasant rebellion was repressed and society breathed again, conscious that it had got the turbulent stream once more into its narrow bed, and, so long as it stayed there and turned society's mill-wheels at the wonted pace, quite regardless of its chafings and eddyings and foamings. Not so however the toilers, not so many another, who were weary of this round of theological disputation, this tossing about of dogmas, this religion of the letter. The longings, the almost heart-sick yearning of the weary for a new spiritual guide was not blunted utterly, not yet reduced to a dull mechanical sense of the hopelessness of life. If they had thrown off the yoke of Antichrist, rejected the Roman Sodom, could they not likewise discard the 'new pope of Wittenberg,' the priest of the letter?—If the teachers had all gone astray, could not the simple-minded build up a faith for themselves, and what better foundation than the Bible, the undoubted word of God? Here was a new world, a new light for the folk—this Bible should be their priest and their Church—its wondrous powers should illuminate the craftsman at his bench and the peasant at his plough. Here was a theology without learning, a faith without dogma. Each might draw pure religion from the one book, and none dreamt that much was unintelligible,

or might be interpreted in a thousand different fashions. The Bible spoke directly to men in the voice of God; nay, might not that voice itself speak to them as it had done to the faithful of old? So again arose the conception of a strange mystic converse with God,—the Divine spirit within comforting the miserable and oppressed. Even their very misery, the toil and burden of life might be the origin of this strange union,—the very cause which carried them heavenwards. How could such men believe in Luther's dogma of justification by faith *alone?* A life of suffering, of labour, of self-repression was the key to their most spiritual emotions. With the failure of the peasant rebellion they had given up all hopes of a social or political reconstruction; they awaited in patience all the future might bring forth; they would willingly have separated themselves from the world if the world had but left them, which it would not, in peace.

"O dear brothers and sisters, we know how false the pope is, but from those who should teach us this we hear nought but quarrelling and abuse; the whole world sees how they are divided against each other. O Almighty God, we appeal to thee!—I pray all men in God's name, who desire salvation, that they will not despise His message, since the times are very terrible! Every day we hear those, who should teach the folk, say that he whom God has ordained to sin must sin, and he whom God has ordained to salvation, must be saved. O most beloved sisters and brothers, let us fly from this error! Has not Christ said: 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden'? And shall not each of us go and be saved? Our teachers have led us astray, it is time that we turn from them, and, depart from this darkness! We believe no longer in the mass, nor the pleading of saints. We believe no longer in the cloister, the priest, or aught of popedom. We know they have long led us astray. We do not think long prayers are good, as prayer has been hitherto; if one only prays 'Our Father,' and understands it, 'tis enough. We do not want pictures and images, nor should

God be worshipped in a temple built with human hands; the only temple in which He will dwell is the heart of man. O dearest sisters and brothers throughout the world, help me to pray fervently to God for safety from these errors. Oh, how long we have been living in sin! But what did the folk who, ignorant of the crucified One, had been living in sin, say to the apostle? 'O dear friend, what shall we do?' And Peter answered them: 'Repent, repent, and let each one be baptized to the forgiveness of sins in the name of Christ Jesus!' Then all men went and were gladly baptized to the number of three thousand. Shall we not do likewise? O dearest brothers and sisters, take this book with patience and in fear of God, since in my whole life I have not written a syllable against any man—I speak in the truth which is God himself."*

Such is the simple spirit of these early Anabaptists, not a touch of the bitterness or abusive language of the current theology; there is an unmistakable, almost terrible earnestness about it, which carries no ring of falsehood. For such men the Catholic Church had in earlier days found an outlet in new monastic orders; now this was impossible. Still less could the 'pope of Wittenberg' give them a place in his new evangelical Church. His justification by faith alone and his serfdom of the human will were to them unintelligible doctrines; nay, the rapid spread of this simple-minded faith threatened to destroy the 'pure evangely' altogether; the oppressed of all parties turned to this new brotherhood. The enthusiam which Luther had once evoked flowed into this new channel; here was a simple-minded piety, a brotherly love, an apostolic Christianity, which the masses had sought in vain in the 'pure evangely'! With Bible as guide, the members of this new community separate themselves from the rest of the world; rebaptism shall be the passage from the old world of sin to the new world of love. Simple in the extreme are their tenets—community

* *Ein Göttlich vund gründtlich offenbarung; von den warhafftigen widerteuffern: mit göttlicher warhait angezaigt.* MDXXVII.

of earthly goods and a future where there shall be no usury or tax. The brethren accept no office, and carry no sword; patience is to be their sole weapon, and brotherly correction, followed, if necessary, by expulsion from the community, the only punishment. After baptism, their one ceremony is that of bread-breaking, a communion of love and a reminder that all are brothers and sisters in the Lord Christ. Simple, and yet almost grand, in its simplicity is this re-establishment of primitive Christianity among the first Anabaptists.

The evangelical leaders, however, grow alarmed for the safety of their own Churches:—Luther sees in it all the direct agency of hell; he has no sooner stopped one mouth than the Devil opens ten others. The Anabaptists are prophets of the Devil, and as heretics to the 'pure evangely' are rebels to be punished by the authorities. He has done his duty in refuting them, and the blood of all who will not listen to his advice must be upon their own heads.* It is painful nowadays to note how Luther utterly failed to grasp the religious essence of this primitive faith. He saw neither the want which called it forth, nor the earnest truth of its followers. Had he been of a more tolerant, more broadly sympathetic mind, the history of German Protestantism might have had brighter chapters to record amidst its weary waste of theological wrangling. Zwingli, too, began to fear for the safety of the Swiss church. His toleration had drawn many of the religious radicals to Zürich, and at first he had condescended to dispute with them, leaving, as usual, the decision to the Town Council. Town Council, indeed! What had these enthusiasts to do with such a body? "God has long ago given judgment," they cried, "it is not in the power of men to judge." Then Zwingli began to talk about heresy, and the need of extermination. "No one had a right," he said, "to leave the church or follow any other opinion than that of the majority—than that appointed by the legal repre-

* *Von den Wiedertaufe, an zwei Pfarhærrn* 1528. *Von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern*, 1532.

sentatives of the community." Whereupon the Anabaptists girded themselves about with rope, and as if prepared for a journey, wandered through the streets of Zürich. Upon the market-place and in the open squares they halted to preach, talked of the need of a better life, of justice and brotherly love. "Woe, woe upon Zürich!" they cried, half threatening, half warning. What was to be done with these fiery enthusiasts—they were not criminals, they were not rebels? Banishment, suggested Zwingli, and repression and banishment followed throughout Switzerland.

Banishment scattered the sparks all over southern Germany, from Strassburg to the Tyrol. The apostles of this simple faith came like the early Christian teachers into the homes of the poor. They entered with the greeting of peace, and taught in plain, homely words, bringing new light, untold comfort into many a weary heart. The preacher arrived, taught, aroused the listless spirit, baptized, took up his staff and passed on. So in a few hours he might plant a little community of the new faith on a spot where he had never been seen before, and never might come again. The little community chose its own head, who had the simple duties of Bible-teaching, reproving, baptizing, and bread-breaking. The brethren and sisters would meet on Sundays for Bible-reading, for mutual exhortation, and to celebrate their primitive form of the Communion. Their clothing was simple and without ornament, they saluted one another with a kiss and "Peace be with you," while each termed the other brother or sister. Their property was at the service of all members who might need it, they prohibited the oath and the sword. None of them might engage in a law-suit or take a place of authority, for all government to them was the rod of God sent to chastise his folk; the brethren should obey it, paying rather too much than too little, patiently enduring suffering and persecution, awaiting the coming of the Lord.* These primitive Christians endeavoured to live apart from the world, avoided

* Cf *Carl Alfred Cornelius, Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs*, a most excellent book which unfortunately remains incomplete.

the churches, the taverns, the social gatherings of citizens and guilds, nay, even the greeting of unbelievers, for were they not God's own folk, men who had taken up Christ's cross and were determined to follow him? Justification by faith *alone*, indeed! Was not their life of suffering their justification? Persecuted, deprived of all means of subsistence, or hunted down like wild beasts, they laid down a witness in their life which passed all the power of words. There was something far beyond Luther here! There was a depth of earnest conviction about these Anabaptists which completely puzzled the Lutherans, even the very courage with which they met a martyr's death was the work of the Devil, or was an obstinacy born of passionate hatred to their persecutors! Even Capito saw the truth more clearly than Luther; "I testify before God," he writes, "that I cannot say their contempt of death arises from infatuation, much rather from a divine impulse. There is no passion, no excitement to be marked; no, with deliberation and wondrous endurance they meet death as confessors of Christ's name!"

Such was the material upon which persecution was to react, and it is one of the most instructive, although most terrible lessons of history to mark what persecution made out of this material. First and foremost let us obtain some conception of what that persecution meant; only then shall we be able to judge truly of the catastrophe which followed. Men are so apt to be shocked by the brutal outrages of a great folk-upheaval that they cannot grasp to the full the long years of oppression, the grinding torture, the bitter injustice, which at last causes the repressed passions to break forth in a torrent of molten lava-torrent sweeping before it all the bonds of customary morality, every restraint which knits society together. Persecution first reached a head in the Catholic districts, where Anabaptism was held a capital offence. In the Tyrol we find in 1531 upwards of a thousand executed. At Linz alone, in six weeks, seventy-three! Duke William of Bavaria gave orders that those who recanted should be beheaded, those who would not were to be burnt!

The Swabian Bund organised bands of soldiers to hunt down Anabaptists, and to kill the captives on the spot without trial! As soon as the Evangelicals felt strong enough, they, too, joined in the wild chase. The Anabaptists had introduced a partial community of goods among themselves; it was declared from the pulpit that they aimed at the confiscation of all property; their prophecies as to the end of the world were declared open rebellion; the darkest, most vile political and social motives were attributed to them. Preachers poured out the foulest abuse upon them, and encouraged the growth of a religious hatred which sprang up with its wonted rapidity and its characteristic bitterness. Anabaptists were now declared political offenders. They were beheaded in Saxony and drowned in Zürich. The blood of leaders and disciples flowed in streams upon the land: Mantz was executed at Zürich; Michael Sattler, at Rotenburg, was torn in pieces by red-hot pincers and then burnt; Hubmaier, comforted by his faithful wife, was burnt at Vienna; Blaurock was burnt in the Tyrol, Rinck was imprisoned for life in Hesse, Hätzer beheaded at Constanz. In Salzburg, however, the tide of brutality seems to have reached its flood. Here a brotherhood had been founded which met on waste spots, worshipped in a primitive fashion, and shared their goods together. The sign of membership was rebaptism. Thirty of its members being captured, their preacher and two others were burnt alive in the Fronhof, because they could by no means be brought to confess their errors. A woman and a bright maiden of sixteen years refused to recant, although told their lives would be spared; the executioner dragged them to the horse-pond, held them under the water till they were drowned, and then burnt their bodies. Two others, one even of noble birth, the other a wallet-maker, were, on confessing their error, beheaded and burnt! A button-maker and a belt-maker who remained obstinate were burnt on the market place; we are told "they lived long and cried with all their hearts to God; it was pitiable to hear them!" Ten women and several men who confessed were banished. "Upon the following

Wednesday, a town-notary, a priest and three others, among them a young and handsome belt-maker, were led out of the town to a house, where they had held their services, and as they would not recant, but boldly defended their opinions and had no fear of martyrdom, they were placed inside the house and it was set on fire; they lived for a long while, and cried piteously to one another. God help them and us according to His pleasure." Not content with destroying the persons of these poor folk, the very houses in the town, we are told, where they had met, were burnt down for a memorial. "Forty-one persons still lie in gaol, no one knows what will be done with them. God settle it for the best." *

Needless perhaps to heap up further witness of this terrible baptism of blood! Men, women, and even children went boldly singing psalms to the stake; the very bonds which bound the community together seemed to grow stronger and stronger as the list of martyrs increased. Heart-rending are the songs which the poor suffering peasants and handicraftsmen sent up to God from their prison houses! Some breathe a quiet spirit of resignation: "O God, to thee I must appeal against the violence which in these evil days has befallen me. For Thy word's sake I suffer greatly, lying in prison I am threatened with death. They led me bound before their rulers, but with Thy grace I was ready to confess Thy Name. They asked me of our faith, and I told them it was the word of Christ. They asked me, who was our leader, and I told them Christ and His teaching. He, our true Saviour, has promised us peace. To that I hold fast, that I will seal with my blood." He, who first sung this song was named Johann Schütz, and to strengthen his comrades he has sent it from the prison cell: "let man trust in God, however great his need let him put faith in no other. He can give life for death." Or again: "The world rages and palms off its falsehoods upon us; it terrifies us with its burning and slaughter. We are scattered as the sheep, who have lost their shepherd; we wandered through the forests; like the

* *Newe Zeyttung von den widderteuffern und yhrer Sect newlich erwachsen yhm stifft zu Salsburg vnd an andern enden.* MDXXVIII.

ravens we seek refuge in cave and cleft. We are pursued like the birds of the air, we are hunted down with dogs, and led like dumb lambs captive and in bonds. Through the agony and sorrow of death the bride of the Lord hastens to the marriage feast." Other songs again show a spirit which, like the worm, must turn at last. "O Lord, how long wilt Thou be silent? Judge their pride, let the blood of Thy saints ascend before Thy throne." Painfully intense hymns, evidently written for congregational singing, call upon God for aid and, at last, for vengeance.* Ballads of their martyrs, as that of the Two Maidens of Beckum, burnt by the tyrants of Burgundy, strengthened the faith in the hearts of the persecuted, and fanned their conviction almost to the fanaticism of despair.

In vain we seek a justification for this reign of terror, its only cause lay in the ignorant, nay, completely brute self-assertion of the powerful of earth. They never troubled themselves to examine the real convictions of these simple-minded folk; they accepted all the denunciations of their own narrow-minded theologians as based on fact; they saw rapidly spreading what they were taught to believe was a vast political conspiracy, and they stopped at no brutality which they fancied might check its growth, no bloodshed which could assist the work of extermination. Persecution brought, as it always does, a terrible retribution upon blind humanity. The Anabaptists driven wild with cruelty began to take a harsher view of their persecutors. Such horrors could only precede the day of judgment. They were surely among the terrors of the last days announced in the Book of the Revelation. God would surely come to avenge the blood of His saints:—"Await your Shepherd, since He is near who shall come at the end of the world." "Rejoice with all your heart and all your soul, thank God and praise

* *Münsterische Geschichten, Sagen und Legenden*, 1825. *Inter alia*, the song beginning—

"In diesen letzten Zeiten,
"Wo wir auf beiden Seiten
"Mit falschen Schlangen streiten."
(*i.e.* Luther and the Pope!)

Him, since the Lord has revealed to us brothers the time wherein He will punish those who have persecuted and scattered you. Those who have slain with the sword, shall be themselves slain with the sword; those who have hung the faithful, shall themselves be hung; those who have condemned the pious, shall meet with a like judgment. So also shall they without mercy be condemned according to the terrible anger of the Lord." Let the brethren be prepared to cross the Red Sea, ready to leave the land of Pharaoh. God is building a new Sion—a place of comfort for His people. The day of redemption is at hand. *

It is strange what an enormous influence the Book of Revelation has had in shaping many of the greatest movements of the world. The notion of a coming destruction, a terrible retribution upon the oppressors of men, the founding of a new and purer era—a kingdom of the good alone, the millennium of joy and the coming of Christ have a wondrous attraction for the injured and the miserable; it is the channel into which the thought and the hope of Franciscan dreamers, of Lollards and of Anabaptists, alike drift. The allegory of the Evangelist becomes an immediate future to all those who feel strongly the need of a great reformation, a judgment on centuries of abuse and intolerance; they require a voice for their passionate protest, and they find it in the Apocalypse. In its wild demoniacal destruction of the past and its errors, in its prophecy of a brighter future, they find expressed through the weird language of inspiration the pent-up emotion of their own dumb souls. Such were the first thoughts to which persecution drove the Anabaptists:—the Divine Avenger would come and found a new Sion for His saints. But as the months rolled by, and the bloody baptism of fire continued, a new idea began to spread among the community:—the Avenger surely meant to use the righteous themselves as the sword of Gideon; the saints should themselves arise and exterminate the worshippers of idols, then might they found the kingdom

* *Zwen wunderseltzamen Sendbrieff sweyer Widertauffer an ire Rotten ge Augsburg gesandt. Verantwurtung: durch Urbanum Rhegium.* 1528.

of righteousness and of love. The worm was beginning to turn at last! Let him who will cast the first stone. He who shuts his eyes to the misery of one half the human race, or thinks their wretchedness is an eternal necessity of all forms of human society, may smile cynically when he marks the simple faith of these toilers rapidly developing into a self-destructive fanaticism. Ignorant, misguided people, why did ye not keep the hand to the plough, the foot to the treadle, and the body to its bench? Why must ye strive in your darkness to build up a faith for yourselves, to take that unfathomable Book for a beacon? That was work better left to the priest, to the noisy theologian, to the professional twister of words! Get ye back to your toil, that the wheels of the social machine may run smoothly along! Your brotherly love and justice are absurd impossibilities. Cannot you see that the Book and actual life are quite different matters, and society—at least, our civilised half of it—is by no means inclined for your fancies? As the ass must be beaten, or it will not move, so must the ruler drive, beat, hang, and burn the populace, *Sir Omnes*, or it will get the bridle between its teeth; the rough, ignorant *Sir Omnes* must be driven as one drives swine.* Crudely put, but that was still the view taken then, as it is now, by many a most worthy citizen of the "inevitable" darkness of the toiling myriads. Why should *he* be responsible for the outrages, grotesque and terrible, which spring from the ignorance and folly of these "dregs of the folk †"?

But the "dregs" do not always take the same view of matters, and in the last years of the third decade the blood of our Anabaptists began to approach boiling pitch. Their leaders were all slaughtered; their organisations destroyed; they could not meet together for imparting mutual advice and mutual comfort. Each little community went on its own way, and often that way was a curious one. Nay, beyond the simple bread-breaking and adult baptism there was little in common among the various groups, persecution

* Luther. † So Zwingli termed them.

drove each to fanaticism in its own peculiar fashion. The ties of every-day morality were in some cases cast to the winds. If Luther could find nothing forbidding polygamy in the Bible, why should not Hätzer and a few followers declare polygamy instituted by God?* In other cases madness broke out in the most extravagant form. Some grovelled upon the earth to free themselves from sin; some acted as little children, for the Gospel declared that to be a stage to salvation; Thomas Scheyger, at the command of the Heavenly Father, beheaded his brother, with, indeed, the brother's consent; Magdalen Müllerin and her fellows went about as Christ and the apostles; some, believing themselves divinely freed from all the curses of flesh, made their liberty an excuse for every license; prophets arose interpreting wondrous dreams and proclaiming the coming of the Lord. Isolated as such outbreaks of fanaticism were, and steadily as the majority preserved their primitive tenets of a simple and moral piety, it was evident any strong new impulse, any enthusiastic prophet, might set the excited Anabaptists into an unbridled furor either of religious fanaticism or of social license.

Nor had either to wait long for an efficient motor. Religious fanaticism found its prophet in Melchior Hoffmann—social license in his pupils the prophets of Leyden. These men were the outward instruments, as persecution was the inward cause, which changed the Anabaptists from passive martyrs to ungovernable fanatics. While the process of extermination had driven the Anabaptists out of upper Germany, some had found refuge in Moravia; others, with whom we are alone concerned, had fled to Strassburg, where for a time toleration ruled. Here they and other religious radicals had gathered in such numbers that the Lutherans found comfort in the thought, that providence, in order to save the rest of the world, had allowed the dregs of heresy

* *Luther's Werke. Erlangen. Bd.* 33, *p.* 322. It is needless, perhaps, to note that the views of Hätzer were not generally accepted by the Anabaptists. Even in their songs polygamy was repudiated as against the direct teaching of Christ; nor is it part even of the *Münsterische Apologie.*

to flow together in Strassburg! Here, soon after 1530, Melchior Hoffmann appeared on the scene.

This man was a native of Halle in Suabia, and a skinner by trade. At first an eager disciple of Luther's, his Biblical studies and his keen sympathy with the sufferings of his fellow-toilers soon lead him beyond the 'pure evangely.' For seven years he passes a strange, adventurous life, preaching in almost all the countries of northern Europe, ever earning his bread by the work of his hand. Driven from country to country and town to town, persecuted by both Lutheran and Zwinglian, he wanders with wife and child from trouble to trouble, ever persisting in his self-appointed task. Arriving at last in Strassburg we find him busy with the Apocalypse, and denouncing all evangelical doctrines as mere faith of the letter; true Christianity is a religion of the meek, the humble, and the suffering. What wonder that the Anabaptists welcome him as their own! From Strassburg he passes as the prophet of Anabaptistism into the Netherlands; but the faith he teaches is not the old brotherly love and primitive Christianity; its leading doctrine is the immediate coming of Christ. He appeals to an excited imagination, to a fancy overwrought by persecution around and by suffering at home. Surrounded by minor prophets, his life is half mysticism, half madness. Strassburg is to be the New Sion, the chosen city of the Lord, from which the 144,000 saints shall march out to preach the Word of God. He himself will then appear as Elias! Holland and Westphalia soon become covered with a network of Anabaptist communities. The poor, the handicraftsman, or the peasant, are carried away by Melchior's enthusiasm. Louder and louder, more and more earnest grow his prophecies as the year 1533 approaches, which is to end the rule of unrighteousness and witness the coming of God. Returning to Strassburg he stirs up the folk almost to outbreak. He is imprisoned, but preaches to the people in the town ditch through a window in his tower. He is shut up in a cage, but he manages to communicate with his disciples:—"The end of the world is at

hand, all the apocalyptic plagues are fulfilled except the vengeance of the seventh angel. Babylon is tottering to its fall, and Joseph and Solomon come to establish the kingdom of God." * Wondrous are the reports of his doings which reach Holland, where the excitement is intense. A second prophet and witness, he who is to reveal himself as Enoch, arises,—Jan Mathys, baker of Haarlem, fanatic of a deeper dye even than Hoffmann, who will lead the persecuted to break through all restraints. Mathys's creed is of a far more hostile character than Hoffmann's. He teaches that the saints must themselves prepare the way of the Lord. He curses all brothers who will not hear his voice, and his fanaticism overpowers the scruples of the more fearful. He points out the lesson of those nine heads wagging on their poles over the harbour of Amsterdam. He sends out apostles to baptize, and proclaims that the blood of the innocent shall be no longer shed, that the tyrants and the godless will shortly be exterminated. Everywhere is endless commotion, unlimited fermentation, among the Anabaptists. In Münster Mathys's disciple, the youthful Jan Bockelson, has won a strong foothold for the Anabaptist doctrines. The worm is beginning to turn in real earnest, it is grasping to the full the notion that God's people must separate themselves, that there may be a destruction of the godless. And then follows persecution renewed and bitter throughout Holland—the Anabaptists fly before it with one accord to Münster. Jan Mathys is with the fugitives, and he announces that God has chosen Münster for the New Sion, owing to the faithlessness of Strassburg! There towards the beginning of the year 1534 are gathered men, women, and children, from all quarters and of many classes, peasant, noble, trader, handicraftsman, monk and nun. The majority, it is true, are poor, miserable, and persecuted—the few, religious or political idealists; all are bent on establishing the rule of righteousness and love—the Kingdom of God in Münster.

* The best and fullest account in *Cornelius's Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs.*

Before entering into an account of this weird Kingdom of God—this grotesque and yet terrible drama—it will simplify matters to relate briefly the events which prepared the way for it in Münster. From the very first the Reformation took in that town a strongly political character. On the one side we find a prince-bishop, Graf Franz von Waldeck, personally utterly indifferent as to both the old faith and the new 'evangely,' and ready to adopt either, as it may serve his purpose, the maintenance of his autocratic authority; on the other side we have a populace who fancy that the 'pure evangely' means the abolition of the bishop and the triumph of self-government. The bishop, licentious, drunken, grasping after power in order to support his concubines and enjoy his feastings to the full—the populace eager for freedom, ignorant and full of contempt for the bishop and his underlings; between bishop and populace, the Town Council, composed for the most part of the patrician burghers and by no means anxious for either bishop or democracy. The bishop supported by a corrupt chapter and an indolent, if not immoral clergy—the democratic element introducing the preachers of the 'pure evangely,' and the Council desirous of organising them into a church which while opposing the bishop shall yet remain under its own thumb. Foremost among the evangelical preachers who found their way to Münster was Bernard Rottmann, by no means a leader of men, incapable of really guiding or restraining the populace. His broad sympathy with the oppressed classes, unchecked by a clear and dispassionate reason, caused him to follow folk-opinion rather than direct it; while at the same time his power of language marked him as a chief advocate of the popular cause. Carried along on the top of the stream he is the central object of attention till he dashes with it over the precipice. At first we find him preaching outside the gates of the city, as some say with the connivance of the bishop. He adopts the Lutheran doctrine that faith alone can save mankind, all the rest—form and ceremony—is the devil's own handiwork. Notwithstanding this, he has a large following in

Münster, and the handicraftsmen and their wives flock out to hear him. His teaching is not without effect, and on Good Friday of the year 1531, during the night, the mob storm the church of St. Maurice, outside the gates, and destroy the altars, pictures, and carving. Rottmann seems to have thought it better after this event to retire, not however without the suggestion of a bribe from the Catholic clergy.* In the following year notwithstanding, he returns once more to Münster, and although he is forbidden to preach, the folk erect a wooden pulpit for him in the churchyard of St. Lambert inside the city, and at last, to prevent a riot, the church itself is given up to him. The 'pure evangely' having thus obtained a sure footing, Rottmann writes to Marburg for assistance, and we soon find six evangelical preachers in Münster battling to destroy the old Church. The Town Council and the Syndic Van der Wieck favour the preachers, because with their assistance they hope to free themselves from the obnoxious chapter. The six preachers prepare thirty articles and, with the connivance of the Council, force the Catholic clergy to a disputation. The Evangelicals are declared to have God and reason on their side, and the six parish churches are surrendered to their preachers. Meanwhile, the dean and chapter have left the town and appealed to the prince-bishop. The bishop at first attempts to play one party off against the other, and even temporises with democracy. Finally, however, he holds a council at the little town of Telgte on the Ems, and determines to starve his sheep out of their 'pure evangely.' Democracy laughs him to scorn, marches out guild-fashion to Telgte by night, and surprises the bishop's court, the council and the dean and chapter—only unfortunately not his grace, who happens to have left a few days before. The captives are brought into Münster, and handed over to the Town Council. "Here we bring you the oxen; hark how they bellow!" The bishop deprived of his 'oxen' comes to terms; the preachers shall be

* *Dorpius, Warhaffige historie wie das Evangelium zu Münster angefangen*, &c.

recognised in Münster, the cathedral alone reserved for the Catholics. So the 'pure evangely' seems to be triumphantly established.

But democracy having tasted 'evangelical freedom' is by no means disposed to stop here, and where it drifts Rottmann will follow. As the Lutherans said: "The devil finding it impossible to crush the 'pure evangely' by means of the priests, hunted up the Anabaptist prophets." Already Rottmann, the idol of the populace, has begun to be in bad odour at Wittenberg. Luther writes to the Town Council: "God has given you, as I hear, fine preachers, especial Master Bernhardt. Yet it is fitting that all preachers be truly admonished and checked. Since the devil is a knave, and can well seduce fine, pious, and learned preachers even!" Master Bernhardt, it is true, had been instituting somewhat curious ceremonies. The Holy Supper, he argued, was but a feast of brotherly love, and accordingly he broke bannocks in a pan, poured wine over them, and invited all who would to partake. He preached from the pulpit against the "bread and wine God" of the Catholics and Evangelicals alike. He found that democracy was in perfect accord with Gospel teaching, and the poor—the toilers—not only of Münster, but from far and wide gathered round him. "His doctrine is wonderful," wrote the Syndic Van der Wieck, "a miserable, depraved mob gathers round him, none of whom, so far as I know, could scrape together two hundred gulden to pay their debts!" Still the Syndic and Council grow anxious, the scum—the toiling oppressed—the persecuted and now fanatical Anabaptists are gathering round "Bannock-Bernt" in Münster. Forced on by his more radical following, he begins to express doubts as to infant baptism. Hermann Strapraede of Mörse declares from the pulpit that it is an "abomination before God." The Council appeals to Luther and Melanchthon, but these names have long lost all authority among the masses. The Council orders that the Anabaptist teachers shall be driven out of the gate of the city, but the 'Spirit of the Lord' (or the Devil, as the

Evangelicals said?) moves them to march round the walls and re-enter at the opposite gate. The Council doubting its own strength, appeals to reason in the shape of a disputation, and imports Hermann von dem Busche to combat Bannock-Bernt. But Bannock-Bernt has by far and away the glibbest tongue, and after he has spoken for several hours, the Council breaks up the disputation in despair. After a little further bickering, in which the power of the radical preachers becomes more and more evident, the Council shuts up all the churches. The preachers are even more effective outside their pulpits than in them, while Rottmann, with the working classes and an ever-increasing mob of Anabaptists at his back, scoffs at the Council. He will fulfil the duty laid upon him by God, however stiff-necked be the authorities! Then the Council try a new expedient; they introduce the Catholic orator, Dr. Mumpert. Mumpert preaches against Bannock-Bernt in the cathedral, Bannock-Bernt against Mumpert in the Church of St. Servatius; which only leads to rioting and the banishment of Mumpert! In desperation the Council strives to establish an 'evangelical church order,' and imports Lutheran preachers from Hesse. Rottmann and his colleagues shall be banished. Crowds of women threaten the burgomeisters, and demand the restoration of their beloved preacher and the ejection of the Hessians. Again the mob triumphs; the Evangelicals are driven from the churches, even torn from the pulpit. Heinrich Rollius,* formerly a Lutheran, now a prophet, rushes through the town crying: "Repent! repent! and be baptized!" Many are baptized, some for fear of God, others for fear of their property. Suddenly the Anabaptists pour out of their holes and corners and seize the market-place, the Rathhaus and the town-cannon Catholics and and Evangelicals entrench themselves by the Church of 'Our Lady across the water.' Yet the 'party of order' is still the stronger; they march across the cathedral close and plant cannon facing the approaches of the market-place. But

* Shortly after Rollius was burnt as an Anabaptist at Mastricht.

then fear seizes them that the bishop will take the opportunity of falling upon the town. The Anabaptists find that they are still too few in numbers, a truce is made; all men shall hold what faith they please. "The day of the Lord has not yet come!" Peace!

Peace in a seething mass of fanaticism like this? Nay! Münster is to be the 'fortress of righteousness'; wait but a while, till more of the saints have arrived. From that day onward the saints continue to pour into Münster, and the 'party of order' dwindles away, flying with all its portable property out of the city. Bannock-Bernt declares he will preach only to the elect. Haggard-looking faces and people in strange garbs appear on the streets; families are broken up; wives speak of their husbands as the 'godless,' and even children leave their parents to become 'saints.' At midnight the gun booms over Münster, calling the Anabaptists to prayer; prophets rush with the mien of madmen, shrieking through the streets; the power of the Council vanishes in the whirlpool of fanaticism which, dark and terrible, is involving all things. On the 31st of February, 1534, the election of burgomeisters falls entirely into the hands of the Anabaptists, and they appoint their own leaders, Knipperdollinch and Kippenbroick. From that date the Kingdom of God commences in Münster!

Of the four principal actors in this terrible judgment of history, we have marked the leading characteristics of Jan Mathys and Rottmann; it is necessary to say a few words of the other two, Knipperdollinch and Jan Bockelson of Leyden. Bernt Knipperdollinch was a draper of Münster, a favourite with the folk, probably on account of his burly figure and boisterous nature. Long before the outbreak he seems to have got into difficulties with the bishop; he had sung satirical songs against him on the streets, and won folk applause by his somewhat ribald satires on the dean and chapter. At one time the bishop had put him in gaol, and the burly draper by no means forgave the insult; he determined "to burn the bishop's house about his head." Not in the least an enthusiast, he yet pinned his faith to

democracy; desirous himself of power, he was yet not strong enough to be anything but the tool of others. His fanaticism when once aroused tended rather to sensual than spiritual manifestations. He represents the brute, almost devilish, element in this mad dance. He seems at times to have been conscious of the grim humour of this mock Kingdom of God; and it is difficult to grasp whether his fanaticism was a jest or his jests the outcome of his fanaticism. Yet when captured and examined under torture he could only say that he had done all from a feeling of right, all from a consciousness of God's will! * Of a far different nature was Jan of Leyden. As the illegitimate son of a tailor in that town—his mother the maid of his father's wife—Jan's early life was probably a harsh and bitter one. Very young he wandered from home, impressed with the miseries of his class and a general feeling of the injustice in the world. Four years he spent in England seeing the poor eaten off the land by the sheep; then we find him in Flanders, married, but still in vague search of the Eldorado; again roaming, he visits Lisbon and Lübeck as a sailor, ever seeking and inquiring. Suddenly a new light breaks upon him in the teaching of Melchior Hoffmann; he fills himself with dreams of a glorious kingdom on earth, the rule of justice and of love. Still a little while and the prophet Mathys crosses his path, and tells him of the new Sion and the extermination of the godless. Full of hope for the future, Jan sets out for Münster to join the saints. Still young, handsome, imbued with a fiery enthusiasm, actor by nature and even by choice, he has no small influence on the spread of Anabaptism in that city. The youth of twenty-three expounds to the followers of Rottmann the beauties of his ideal kingdom of the good and the true. With his whole soul he preaches to them the redemption of the oppressed, the destruction of tyranny, the community of goods, and the rule of justice and brotherly love. Women and maidens slip away to the secret gatherings of the youthful enthusiast;

* Cf. *Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster*, where the confession is given in full.

the glowing young prophet of Leyden becomes the centre of interest in Münster. Dangerous, very dangerous ground, when the pure of heart are not around him; when the spirit "chosen by God" is to proclaim itself free of the flesh. The world has judged Jan harshly, condemned him to endless execration. It were better to have cursed the generations of oppression, the flood of persecution, which forced the toiler to revolt, the Anabaptists to madness. Under other circumstances the noble enthusiasm, with other surroundings, the intense will of Jan of Leyden might have left a different mark on the page of history. Dragged down in this whirlpool of fanaticism, sensuality and despair, we can but look upon him as a factor of the historic judgment, a necessary, but mournful actor in the tragedy of Münster—one of the most terrible chapters of the Greater Bible.

All is enthusiasm, ready self-sacrifice and prophetic joy in the New Sion during the first few days of its establishment. At every turn 'God be with you!' is heard upon the streets, and the cheery reply 'Amen, dear brother!' On Saturday the new burgomeisters had been elected; on the following Monday they at once proceeded to take steps for the defence of the town. With 1,500 saints they march out from the St. Maurice Gate and destroy the cloister of the same name. The buildings and all their art treasures ascend in flame to heaven, that they may not form a shelter for the godless; meanwhile bands of women carry into the town all the provisions, that can be found in the neighbourhood. Then precautions are taken for the safety of the walls and protection against surprise. No sooner is the new kingdom safe from the godless without, than it befits the saints to destroy the godless within. What are these pictures, these carvings, these coloured windows to the chosen of God? Symbols, which have long lost their meaning, badges of a slavery which is past, signs of a faith in the letter which are but cursed idols in the light of the new freedom. Let the stone prophets and apostles come crashing from their niches; carry out

these painted semblances of God and his saints and burn these abominations on the market place! Have we not prophets and apostles of real flesh and blood, are not the saints of New Sion better than these tawdry fictions, for God is enshrined in their hearts? Away with this outward form, these altar trappings, these gorgeous missals, these sacramental cups! The Spirit of God works within us, why mask it in idle display? Show your contempt for such devilish delusions in the coarsest and most forcible fashion. These archives and documents, again, what need can there be for such legal distinctions in Sion? Naught of the past remains holy—what are these bones to us—bishops and saints, relics of men who lived in the age of sin? On to the dunghill with them, for they cannot help us to the light of day! So thought the Anabaptists, and stormed the churches, cleared out the relics, the art treasures, and the labour of many a generation; what for years men in faith had been creating, the folk of New Sion in faith promptly destroyed. Barbarous, fanatic, the world has called it! Yet, while the Anabaptists cast down stone images and burnt forms of canvas and paint, your prince-bishop also played the iconoclast,—only his images were of flesh and of blood. He drowned five Anabaptist women at Wolbeck, he burnt five at Bevergem; ten helpless ignorant souls, yet panting as all souls for life! What wonder the saints in Münster grew mad in their fancies, and madder in deed! But not only was the decoration in the churches grievous to the saints, but even the churches themselves. God will not be worshipped in a temple made by human hands. Let then these masses of stone be turned to fitting purpose; the cathedral and its close becomes Mount Sion, the gathering-place for God's elect. The Church of St. Lambert becomes St. Lambert's stone quarry, whence all may fetch stone for building their houses or repairing the city walls. A like fate meets the other sacred buildings, and over their portals are inscribed new names:—'Our Lady's Quarry,' and so forth. Woe to the brother whose unlucky tongue lets slip the old name! As

penance he shall be forced to drink "einen pot watter"! * The destruction, however, did not stop here; the innumerable spires and towers of the city were not only dangerous as marks for the enemy's cannon, but often reminiscences of an idolatry which had obscured the knowledge of God; so our children of the New Sion were "mighty to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God." The convents, too, can be turned to useful purposes, when once the idols have been destroyed and the idolaters ejected; for in them a home can be found for the crowd of Anabaptist strangers. Not that ejection was always necessary, since the nuns of St. Aegidius flocked to be baptized, and their sisters of Overrat followed. The true spirit of asceticism was long since dead, and in the New Sion the nuns hoped to unite holiness and the pleasures of sense. Nor were some of the monks behindhand, for we hear at least of one old convent guardian who remaining took unto himself in the latter days of Sion four wives! 'Tis a poor race of folk this, with none of the noble aims of early Christian asceticism, a very dangerous earthy element in the new kingdom of the spirit. Nay, a stupid little abbess who even does fly with her nuns can tell us but little of the doings of the saints. She has no conception of the meaning of this great religious fermentation. It is all very wicked, all very terrible, all comes of a runaway Wittenberg monk saying mass in German and administering the communion in two forms. She had fled with her nuns to Hiltorppe, and there on the first night they found nothing to eat and drink, and some of the sisters had been so thirsty that they had been compelled to drink—water! † Both the saints and godless seem to have had a horror of water! Still one more test follows of the faith of the saints. On the night of Thursday, the 26th, the prophet Mathys preaches against the letter, and calls upon the folk to destroy all the books in Israel, all except the Bible. Books,

* *Heinrich Gresbecks Bericht* in the *Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster* Bd. 2.

† *Chronik des Schwesterhauses Niesinck* in the *Geschichtsquellen.*

it is, that have led men astray, twisting with words and quibbling o'er phrases. The truth has been strangled in a network of written lies, and God could not reach the heart of man. Pile up the books on the market place, the kingdom of Sion is based on the spirit, not the letter, and the wisdom of the past is idle delusion in the light of this new day. Ascend in flame, ye vain strivings of the human brain, Sion starts unhampered by your dark questionings; her knowledge is granted directly from God; her wisdom is the outcome of inspiration; she has naught to do with the toiling, erring reason of the past!

But not even yet is Sion purified, not even yet are the godless separated from the saints! On Friday, the last day of the first week of the establishment of God's kingdom in Münster, the prophets rush inspired through the streets with cries of, 'Repent, repent, ye godless! Out of the city of the blessed, ye idolaters! God is aroused to punish you!' On the same day the saints hunt the godless out of the town, all who will not be baptized. The poor unfortunate Evangelicals escape from the fury of the Anabaptists only to fall into the hands of the bishop—the Syndic Van der Wieck and two Lutheran preachers are promptly beheaded without trial! What wonder that many remain and are baptized? For three days the cry of 'Out with the godless!' resounds through the streets, for three days the prophets stand baptizing on the market place. Before each prophet is placed a pitcher of water, and as the folk come up one by one and kneel before them, they exhort the converts to brotherly love, to leave the evil and follow the good; then they baptize them with three handfuls of water in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Each new brother or sister is given a metal token with the letters D. W. W. F. inscribed upon it: "Das Wort ward Fleisch," —the word became flesh. Even when the baptizing on the market place is over, the prophets go round the town baptizing the old and feeble. Every house is inspected, and if any godless are found, their property is seized for the benefit of the community while the owners are driven from

their homes. So at last the New Sion is purified! What is the value of such a purification? It might purge the 'Kingdom of God' of human foes; could it reach the germs of disease within the hearts of the saints? We have yet to note how the 'rule of righteousness' prospered in Sion; how unchangeable are the laws of human development; how inexorable the judgments of history.

KARL PEARSON.

IS NOT ALL TRUE THEOLOGY SCIENTIFIC?

NOT long ago I was permitted to listen to an essay in which a Minister discussed the question: "Can Theology be taught scientifically?" with a view to determining his own conclusions as to University teaching of Theology. He himself, a gentleman of fine mind and truly scholarly culture, and of remarkable simplicity and earnestness of spirit, was unfeignedly anxious to establish the possibility of teaching Theology, in Schools open to all and honestly devoted to Learning for its own sake, upon those same bases of research, criticism, experiment, advancing insight and frank declaration of new views of what from time to time appears to be the Truth, which now happily underlie all genuine University education in Literature, History, and Mental and Moral Science, as well as in what are commonly called scientific subjects.

This branch of learning, like those, could surely be followed and developed in the interest and by the methods of unbiassed and progressive Love of Truth;—so he believed.

But, my friend* was a member of that most respectable christian Society which, while claiming to be a champion of independent Association, commonly takes great pains to formulate an orthodoxy of its own, and to make those whose judgment that creed does not satisfy clearly understand that they are perfectly free—to go; but cannot any longer be allowed to consider themselves as members of its fellowship of faith.

* A Congregationalist Minister. He afterwards said his first thought was the right one, and his argument fallacious.

He was, therefore, nevertheless, compelled to own that for the purpose of teaching Theological Students, it must not be forgotten that the interests of the particular Body amongst which such students would be preparing themselves to become Ministers, would necessarily require the inculcation of the Theology of that Body with its accustomed formulas and its regular series of arguments in support, and would with equal urgency prohibit all real and, possibly, hazardous discussion of the accuracy of those opinions or the sufficiency of that Apparatus. A religious Body did not want Theology in general, but its own particular view of such subjects.

Moreover, it was obvious that the success of the future Minister in his career, and even his livelihood, would depend very much upon his expounding as the great majority of his hearers would expect him to expound, and keeping himself and them clear of lines of thought or expressions, which they might find unfamiliar, and more or less disturbing or dangerous.

And further, there was the subscribing Supporter of the College to be considered. He would certainly make his disappointment heard, if his teaching staff did not turn out the article he wanted,—and paid for.

And indeed, how was the natural desire of the Body to increase its numbers and influence to be secured, if its trumpeters gave uncertain sounds?

He was therefore compelled to come to the conclusion that it was not possible to teach Theology like other branches of Learning.

Professors and pupils might pursue their studies of Criticism, History, and Psychology as they felt inclined, but "Theology" must be studied apart, and on lines of its own, with constant regard to prescribed schemes, and in short could not be studied scientifically.

The Denomination and its college were too near together, and their conjunction necessarily shut out light and truth!

The question was a grave one, but it did not receive any satisfactory answer,—because of the too habitual movement

and too contracted survey of the Minister, evidently suffering from constitutional orthodoxy.

Various points present themselves somewhat differently to an inquiring Layman, free from professional bias, or aims, or reputation, and since that discussion the following notes have taken shape.

Theology in its proper sense—a word about God—is thinking on religious subjects, and its reduction to exact expression. Religion is the subjective recognition of our relation to Divine things,—of the association of man with God,—and of spiritual regeneration, aspiration and satisfaction. Theology is the investigation of those matters and the statement in terms of acquisition and communication, of the truths regarding them, so far as our observation and reflection, that is to say, our insight and knowledge for the time being, extend. It includes the discernment and the study of what we apprehend, and the clear arrangement and enunciation of our thoughts and facts, arguments and conclusions, in such form that we ourselves may know what we know, and why; and may, in discourse with others, communicate our different lights to mutual advantage;—so that—to use honoured phrases—we may be persuaded in our own minds, may give reason for the faith that is in us, and may edify one another.

There is a so-called Theology which confines itself to illustrating the conclusions of bygone investigators, accepting their propositions, and bending its whole effort solely and deliberately to exhibiting them; or, at most, making no more adventurous attempt than to accumulate what it calls arguments for the demonstration of those foregone conclusions, while studiously debarring itself from any real questioning. This sort of Theology, moreover, is very apt to project its certainty as to what it has received, upon its unknown past of thought, and to admit under the names of Authority, or the Mind of the Church, or Revelation, or the

Word of God, peremptory conditions which refuse to Reason any place. With this cult of creeds, a very making and vending of images of Great Diana, after the pattern, of course, of that one which fell from Jupiter, our honest inquiry is not at all concerned. Based on dogmatic assumptions, and reserving its foundations from discussion, it is certainly not a true word, nor even the word of a lover of Truth. It seeks no better knowledge, and is characteristically unscientific. That is no true word about God which has ceased to be uttered after reverently seeking light upon the holy mountain, but which only vainly repeats before the curtain of some temple made with hands, its inherited professions and liturgies. Theology—the word about God and his Kingdom, his power, his glory—is not in the dictation of Book or Church, not in continuous choruses of chanting brotherhoods, but in thinking, in eager, advancing study, in hypotheses, in faith and trust in methods honestly followed out and watchfully amended, and in results which will hold till reverently displaced by better ones. Theology—true theology—is not finished, and set, and stiff—and dead; but ever fresh, and growing, and free, verily a living word, if ever any word is so.

As Theology means the word about God, so we may explain the term Scientific as meaning of the kind that makes to know.

Unfortunately, just now, the extraordinary proficiency of the age in the special field of physical nature has seriously narrowed the import of the great name of Science, to the progressive study of physical nature only, and we are distracted with babble and squabble about the conflict of Science and Religion, the incongruity of Science and Theology, and their several reconciliations and the like, and are pestered with the philasophic verbiage of the Agnostics, as if Religion and its discussion had not everything to do with progressive knowing. It is the fatuity of those who may perhaps know what they have learned, but don't know what they do not know. Science to them only means the study and declaration of what they can see and handle, and they doubt

Psychology and flout Theology. There are scientific men who, having found out the unsatisfactory nature of the pretentious theologies of the Churches, and having not yet discovered the truer way to God, deny the existence of any way, while others save themselves from this pit by keeping Science for their intellect, and refusing for it any entrance into the counsels of the Spirit;—blind leaders indeed, amongst too many blind, and at once falling and leading others into sloughs.

It is better done to maintain the older and truer meaning of *Scientia* as the state of knowing; not knowledge only of what has been learned and said, but the apprehending, and understanding, and explaining, by degrees, all about everything; and that, spiritual as well as physical, always reaching forward to a larger Knowledge about the Universum.

The Physicists have, however, so far as they have yet gone, perfected the scientific method, namely, accurate and corrected observation, watchful criticism, cautious and patient experiment, close, unbiassed reasoning, and humble renunciation of any conclusion on the discovery of error or new fact. They have shown the true scientific aim to be earnest prosecution of the search after more light and truer views of Truth and confident advance in Knowing. Their objects are necessarily contracted, and their calculus confined and essentially inapplicable to the subject of this essay. They cannot see except with their eyes, and know nothing of the higher spiritual senses. There can be no atomic theory of morals, no mechanical equivalent of Spirit. The child saw trees and flowers, but it shut its eyes when it "walked in God." It is faithfulness, however, within its province, to this conscience of thought that builds up the sciences of Mechanics and Chemistry, and Geology and Astronomy, and many another physical study. The same conscientiousness ever carries the matter further, and, combining these and other kindred sciences in one comprehensive view and deduction, will some day open the vistas of Cosmology,—the Science of the Created.

And Biology and Psychology, and History and Ethics,

pursued with less of material limitation, when we have reached proficiency enough, will blend in an intellectual Science of which Comte, the Confucius of a nineteenth-century Paris, has only dreamed.

And when the study of divine things has been, with still higher insight, faithfully pursued in the same earnestness, with the same care and the same openness of soul, a true Knowledge of the Spirit will take its own place, and for the first time Theology will rank with, and above, Cosmology and Philosophy.

And, then, with larger minds and purer hearts, we shall be a little nearer knowing what God means by man, and what man means by God;—and hereafter, if not in this embryotic world of ours, those who have reverently learned to unite the requisitions and the calculus of all these parts of knowledge will see before them, no matter how infinitely far in front, the all-embracing knowledge, which is the Light of the immediate presence of God.

Have we not under the impulse of the Spirit of knowing already exchanged the vanishing perspectives of certainty for an ever-widening outlook into space and time? Are we not, at this moment, peering eagerly into new worlds of Association and Mankind? Are we not already reverently exulting in the "breathings of eternity," that release us for ever from the sensuous splendours and the wearying routine of the throne-room of Jehovah, from the crude imagery of a self-begotten God, and the faithless, hopeless slavery that the Churches mostly preach?

Our nature is characteristically capable of this pursuit; and, by the grace of God, our maker and preserver, because it is so capable, whenever a Seer sees with peculiar insight new and greater Truths, so often the discovery of one becomes the proper possession of all cultured people, be they chemists or coal-miners or electricians, or students of mythology or philology, or Chaldeans, or Jews, or Germans, or Cornishmen, or, for the matter of that, Mexicans or Esquimaux. So, as when an observer of nature or a student of subtler science recognises the flash of new light, the kindred

capacity for illumination in his disciples seizes the novel point and it is thenceforward the commonplace of all; in like manner, when the pure in heart has seen God, his very presence and the utterance of his vision lifts his people and his age out of the mists of wandering, and all see for always afterwards so much more of the Infinite in wisdom and goodness. In either case there is plainly an Inspiration and a Revelation; but in neither does the Light come except to the seers, or the Spirit except to the seekers; and these are men like all the rest of men, and speak what they understand; and what we can understand, and can follow out to new applications and new developments of our own,—all by that Reason which has been given to us for this very purpose.

And herein, what of authority? This may be the weight of testimony,—of the witness borne to facts by the ages past of human experience, or by the credibility of one trustworthy soul; in either case, a case of proof, acceptable and accepted by that same reason,—a genuinely scientific element in the acquisition of knowledge. In fact this sort of authority is often that of a truly observant or even experimental investigation. There is another authority, that asserted by Churches and Popes, great or little, bidding every neighbour and every brother "Know the Lord," always according to the peculiar dogma. If the lesson is the repetition of what everyone knows, say some truth of human nature or of conscience, or is one that approves itself to thoughtful consideration after free, frank, study, it will have its due weight, simply by the reasonable way of testimony and knowing,—not from the Church or the priest and their arrogant claims to dictate.

But what has any man, who faithfully exercises the powers he finds he has in him, to say for the instruction that is not so justified,—which Church and Pope require to be swallowed whole, and about which they will have no questioning, no thought, no investigation, no judgment, even repudiating any acceptance which assumes to be intelligent? Is any other knowledge attained, or really

attainable by acceptance of that kind? Surely not. Nor does the allegation of revelation help. A revelation, a dogma, is only acceptable upon the same testimony as other facts; not because a Church chooses to raise the fiction in order that it may stand upon it, or to keep repeating prayers that may have expressed a truth to some sometime, but have long since ceased to do so. Many persons have accepted a statement even about Jehovah only, that He wrote on two tables of stone that He had made. Do we?

And now as to the true Word about God, is it anything but of the kind that makes to know? Can it continue true, without increasing knowing?

How has it been? When some savage first raised his thought above his animal needs, and pondered as deeply as in him lay on the mystery of his rude life, and discovered in some suddenness, or some queerness, the solution of his difficulty, and learned to carry about and foster his fetish, and to shew the way of the higher life to his fellows, his elementary religion was the subject of a theology, elementary also, of course, but (as far as he could go) truth seeking, and truth following, and truth declaring, and absolutely and genuinely as scientific as it was essentially spiritual up to the measure of his day and his strength. Was that perception of the Fetish less truly a revelation to him than the message to the Prophet in Israel? Was that truth not for him Divine? God did not show Himself in either case, but led His child to discover what he could for himself. What had the man done but think it out with all his mind and all his soul? And as he prosecutes his study, and reverently follows his light to uglier and stranger comforters or medicines for the ills of fate, he continues his faithful search after the Truth, even to the mysteries of carnage or cannibalism. Too soon, alas! as in much more advanced communities, men find too much else to do to take trouble to work out the matter again for themselves, much less carry on the search; and they learn to be content with what has been told them. And then self-ordained

"priests" find their profit in the humanity which will worship whether it understands or not, and by degrees persuade even themselves of the sanctity of their "mumbo jumbo," and grow rich on fees and legacies, and their dupes pay them.

So that clear-headed old savage, who is said to be still living, now, in the midst of our England already priest-ridden for a thousand years, who, while she felt justified in charging Providence with unwise and even unfair treatment of her concerns, could still reassure herself by reckoning that "there was Them above as would look after he," had faithfully conducted her investigation of such things, and learned to look forward towards the Truth, and framed her word about God, true for her, according to her lights, by thinking the matter out for herself.

So the Aryan lover of Nature brooded over its variety and succession, and the many, and the all in one, with watchful observation and unwearied thought, ever passing on through learning and knowing to more light, till he too fell amongst priests, and his theology sank from words about God to rituals, and commentaries on commentaries on the hymns of old.

So the Chaldean astronomer ordinated the constellations and the planets, and discovered their laws and the Creator and his ministers, and the strife-trained Bactrian puzzled out his Ormuzd and his Ahriman and all their hosts and their conflict, and the Victory of the Good, and the spiritual kinship of those who fight on the same side,—till each in his turn fell a prey to the professional interpreters, and manuals of witchcraft filled the arrow-headed page and magian rites overwhelmed purer enthusiasms.

The history of our own faith and truth runs on like lines. From Ur of the Chaldees came out the man who was called the friend of God. We know how his natural science nursed his spiritual discernment, and, together, they became his guide to Knowledge, and with Semitic insight Abraham solved one section of the question of Man and God, while man is man, so far as he went, and so far as we yet know.

But it has taken 4,000 years of persevering thought, the power of Moses, and the passion of David, and the wisdom of Solomon, and the fervour of Isaiah, and the love of Jesus, and the zeal of Paul, and the virtue of the Stoics, and the madness of the Crusaders, and the wrath of Luther, and the charity of Wilberforce, and the contributions of ten thousand other seers and prophets, and many a recasting of phrases, to work out the word about God *which is true for us now*. And many Another shall come before men may know what faithful seekers shall know hereafter.

So Hebrew prophets declared what they saw, and heard, and knew, continually opening fresh vistas of spiritual truth, elevating and purifying the conception of God, and discovering and revealing within their little tribe the laws of tendency towards association and union with the Infinite in existence and in wisdom and goodness.

So Indian sages have seen and declared the infinity and the variety of God as no others have ever done; and a Hindu moralist studied out, with surpassing devotion, the mysteries of desire and distress, and learned and taught to millions the way of renunciation to peace passing understanding.

So Jesus learned and taught his knowledge of the Fatherhood of God and the family on earth, and self-abandonment in duty—the way of love and the cross to holiness and death.

So the enlightened, having left behind alike the wilderness of self-regarding, and the mists or mirages of self-consciousness, owning their own littleness and ignorance, and opening, like the lilies, above the earth, in the pure glory of the light of the Infinite God, continually acquire and diffuse more knowledge of the perfectness of his presence, and the simplicity of his requirement, and, casting aside the imaginations of Nirvana and "the future life," live in eternity from hour to hour, and trust the Truth, whatever it may be.

It may be true that the extraordinary riches of this world, for the yesterday that is now passing, have choked the word, and we are unfruitful. The night may have to come, and it may be reserved for those that come after us to see the day-

spring again; but through all, as in the past so now, and for the future, this has been and is and will be our redemption. We *shall* go on, confidently, but ever more meekly, inquiring and learning and knowing and teaching more of the truth of God's everlasting Now. And ever again and again in the fulness of time the prophet of a larger and truer knowledge will come to call men up to a wiser goodness and a holier truth, a more absolute love, and more perfect communion.

We have eyes to see and must see.

So Paul studied and declared, and Augustine mused and repented and preached, ever forgetting the things behind, pressing forward towards the mark of their high calling.

So Wicliffe translated, and Priestley rationalised, and Wesley meditated, and Parker read, and severally spoke from the fulness of their minds and hearts.

And so every free and unfettered, reverent and self-forgetting seeker after God has striven, and will continue to strive to know and to show the truth as far as he sees it, according to his light, and still to seek more.

In spite of the besetting indolence of the generations of men, and their readiness to go on in the old grooves, and the continuance (until the day of judgment no doubt) of the professional Tares, with their forged credentials, and their arrogant pretensions, and their management or prohibition of the Scriptures, the covenant that the Lord made with the House of Israel still stands: "I WILL PUT MY LAWS "INTO THEIR MINDS AND INTO THEIR HEARTS, *and they* "*shall not teach every man his neighbour and every man* "*his brother, saying, 'know the Lord,' but* ALL SHALL KNOW "ME FROM THE LEAST TO THE GREATEST."

It is the impudent orthodoxies of Churches that have ever closed the written and silenced the inner word—of Churches, that never seek to know more, or wish to see men learn Truth for themselves.

It is the Churches with their self-sufficient crystalisation that have ever persecuted the student of God in his works and every independent thinker; always seeking to

drive men under the chattering formulas of routine into the hands of soul-destroying priestcraft. So, now, in this our own day, unthinking clergy—men who never try to see by the way of new knowing—are deliberately reviving the figures of former days, and, because they have no real word about God in their hearts, go abroad with all their ghastly make-believes of Ritualism, as Levite and Brahmin did and do; and priests commit enthronization in the courts of their Lord's house, and are not ashamed; and even Unitarian ministers, with a veritable perversion, organise the Denomination, and warn off the Syrophenicians; and people of weak faith dreadfully puzzle themselves how to make services of God "interesting."

The instinct of worship keeps the religious faculty alive whether men cherish Rome or the written word, or more simply seek God directly; but *they* give stones for bread who pass off the formulas of bygone ages, or indeed of themselves or this age, for the word about God of any other man.

Such formulas may have been—may be—true expressions for the thought of former or of present thinkers, such as it is; and they may be so for men who are of exactly the same culture as the thinkers dead or alive; but every man, if his theology is to be true for him, must see and learn and know for himself. It is by the truthfulness of that intention, or the truth of that continuous revelation, that we read now with a genuine sympathy and reverence the hymns of the Egyptians, or in a nearer descent repeat to-day the psalms of the Exile from our very hearts to the Christian's God, or renew the loving faith of Jesus before the less human but more glorious God whom we are beginning to try to know as the One who alone has Knowledge and Law, and who is Wisdom and Righteousness and Love and Help and ineffable Comprehension.

We may understand the divine operations better because men have lost themselves in the paradoxes of the Trinity or the controversies on the Eucharist, in which it is hard to think that any living soul can now take any real interest; but woe and death to us if we take the phrases of a former

knowledge, much more of puzzled persuasion, for finalities; the truth of doctrines for the truth for us, dishonourably resting in the labours of our forerunners instead of honestly labouring on as they did.

Others' view of truth cannot be true for us, as soon as we pass beyond their stage of culture and knowledge; and not to have done so is to sleep or to lie dead and decay.

As certainly as we are alive, and working on with all our heart and soul, with all our mind and strength, we must press forward, meekly sure of our imperfect power, and owning our limitations of insight, but honestly and faithfully and reverently seeking to see and know something more of the truth of all that lies beyond and above, and humbly trying to express our better word about God as we are made to know more.

And, while we are men, our methods are those of sacred intuition and truthful reason. By our very constitution we must observe and enquire, note, try, define, correlate, renew, correct, and advance, and speak out, continually, as in Chemistry, so also in Theology.

In one word, our word about God, our Theology, to be true, *must* take the path of seeking to know, which we call Scientific.

We must worship God in Spirit and in Truth, and there is no Life of Spirit that is not free and infinite, and no way of truth but the endless way of knowing.

And, after all, while Theology—false or true—is but as trifling and transitory as man and all his science,—enticing words of man's wisdom,—Religion needs only the soul's surrender to the Godhood around and above, and with or without Theology, THE PURE IN HEART SHALL SEE GOD.

R. D. DARBISHIRE.

A TRANSITION PERIOD IN FEMALE EDUCATION.

SO much has of late been said and written about the education of girls that one might feel disposed to regard the subject as exhausted and expect to find all problems connected with it either solved or in a fair way to solution, with the exception of such questions as the imperfection of human faculties renders entirely insoluble. But on attentive reflection, we perceive two or three retarding causes which prevent the formation of a clear and rational public opinion on the subject. In the first place, the spirit of partisanship, —that influence ever fatal to clear and consistent thought, though perhaps almost indispensable for vigorous action,— has invaded this field and complicated what was in itself no easy matter with all those burning controversies loosely classed together as belonging to the "woman question." The political disabilities of women, their rights as holders of property, their admission to professions and public offices,— all these subjects have, of course, a certain bearing on that of female education, yet it is well, if possible, to keep them aloof while examining the matter in hand. Nay, the question of the equality or inequality of the sexes is often dragged into a discussion of the educational claims of women, where it is as much to the point as would be an investigation of the comparative merits of wheat and oats in a discussion on systems of irrigation. But party spirit does more than complicate the problem. It often leads those who take a sanguine view of the future of women's education and social position to regard as cowards or as retrogrades those whose hopes are not unmixed with fears, and who see among the forces which are changing the old order of things some that

should be furthered as much as possible and others that need to be checked.

Again the question is kept from lucid discussion owing to a want of harmony between those whose interest in it is purely theoretical and those who regard it practically. Not that theorists do not show an interest in the actual movements of educational progress, or that practical teachers have not often wide and clear views as to the essential nature of education; still here as in other departments of life it is hard for the thinkers and the workers to meet on common ground, and it is no uncommon thing to find a thoughtful person well furnished with educational theories but totally ignorant of many of the great educational enterprises of the last few years; or, on the other hand, a capable teacher regarding with distrust if not with contempt the speculations of theorists on educational method. This remark applies still more to the education of girls than to that of boys by reason of the rapid strides now being taken in female education, with which the general public can scarcely be expected to keep pace, and also of the limited class of persons engaged in this particular work. Such being the case, it may seem not impossible that a person who has had some practical acquaintance with women's colleges and girls' high schools may be able, not indeed to sound the limits of the subject or to foretell the future progress of education, but to point out a few results of the changes which have taken place within the last few years, to warn against some rocks ahead, and to throw some light on the critical nature of the period through which we are passing.

Since, however, rapid changes are also being made in the education of boys and youths, it is desirable first to see how far the progress being made in the education of the two sexes is due to the same causes and tends to like results. The differences peculiar to modern education irrespective of sex may be divided into two classes, both of them due to the practical and scientific tendencies of the present day, viz., changes in subjects taught and changes in method of teach-

ing. The magnitude of the latter class of changes and their beneficial character must be admitted by every one who reads any modern work on educational method or discusses the matter with an experienced teacher. Of course the value of a good method may be and often is over-valued. In all ages a ready-minded and sympathetic teacher has been able to accomplish more on a very defective method than a mere routine worker with the best of theories and appliances. But for those who are neither "born teachers" nor hopeless dullards—and of this middle class the vast majority of workers must always be composed—it is surely a good thing to be brought to realise that there is such a thing as an art of education, and that if it is practised unsuccessfully the fault is at least as likely to be in the workman as in his material; that in teaching any subject whatever the gradual progress from simple to complex, and from concrete to abstract, may be made both a profitable and a pleasant mental exercise; and that dull scholars, so far from requiring a smaller share of good teaching than those who learn with facility, afford a field for the careful application of means which might elsewhere seem to be superfluous. Nor is it in changes of this kind that we find the chief differences of opinion. All good teachers may not be agreed on minor details of method, but their main principles are generally the same, and in so far as those principles have a definite psychological basis, we may expect to see them become more and more prevalent. In this field, too, not much difference is to be seen between the effects in boys' and those in girls' schools. But when we approach the other class of changes, those which relate to the choice of subjects to be taught, we find a wide divergency among educational thinkers of various types, and also some difference in the nature of the problem when transferred from the education of one sex to that of the other. We hear on many sides nowadays that too much time and trouble has in times past been spent in drilling boys in the elements of the dead languages, with which but few ever obtain sufficient familiarity to be able to use them as vehicles to a world of

literary culture. The practical mind of the modern Englishman is impatient of a system which seems to yield no fruits, and demands the admission into the curriculum of subjects of evident use in the world, particularly modern languages and the natural sciences. One subject after another has, as, it were, fought its way to a place in the recognised curriculum of our public schools and universities. But the old system was too firmly established to be easily uprooted. Classics and mathematics had been for generations the sole subjects regarded as constituting a liberal education. Consequently they have not ceded their place as the main elements in the education of boys and youths, and the additional subjects admitted have taken a subordinate place and been regarded as extras rather than as the "staple," so to speak, of education. But with girls the case has been quite different. For centuries there has not been any "staple" of female education. Whenever any great intellectual movement has been going on, women have generally participated in the same mental food as the men. The cultivated ladies of the Renaissance were learned in Latin and Greek. Those of the days of the Encyclopédie studied the natural sciences. And in all past times, a woman with an exceptionally strong craving for knowledge would seek to satisfy it with whatever nutriment came most readily to hand, which was generally of the same kind as that which was being supplied to her brothers and male friends. The question of its adaptation to her needs was not considered any more than in the case of Aurora Leigh and her father:—

> The trick of Greek
> And Latin, he had taught me, as he would
> Have taught me wrestling or the game of fives
> If such he had known. . . .
> He wrapt his little daughter in his large
> Man's doublet, careless did it fit or no.

But setting aside exceptional periods of intellectual activity and exceptional individuals who could not be confined within conventional limits, the instruction given in girls'

schools has been, up to the revival of women's education within our own recollection, so slight and so superficial, that there cannot be said to have existed any subjects which furnished the substratum in the education of girls as classics and mathematics have long done in that of boys. Modern languages and music were generally supposed to be taught, but without method and thoroughness. The consequence is remarkable, and one not, perhaps, sufficiently estimated by those conversant with education:—the want of a consensus among teachers of girls and women as to what subjects should be taught, not merely as extras but as fundamentals, and resulting thence a wide variety in the curricula adopted in different schools and often a policy of fluctuation and of uncertainty in aim which is greatly to be deplored.

Historians have often dwelt upon the differences of constitutional development in England and in France. In England the advance has ever been "from precedent to precedent." Scarcely once has there been a serious breach of continuity. The constitution, like a living organism, has ever been readapting itself to altered conditions, its fundamental characteristics remaining the same. In France, on the other hand, the forms of popular liberty were lost early, and when the revolutionists took it upon themselves to frame a constitution, they had to fall back upon the rights of man. Now this comparison may not inaptly be transferred to the education of boys and that of girls in England. Whereas the progress in boys' education has been, as has just been said, comparatively steady and without revolutions, the leaders in the movement for improving the education of girls, finding no curriculum to adopt and readapt, have had to fall back on first principles, and consider in the first instance what subjects ought to be included in the education of an average woman. At first sight, this may seem to be advantageous for girls, in allowing them freedom from the tight bands of custom and prescription which hinder progress among boys. Macaulay, in the midst of his unloved study of trigonometry, bitterly congratulated his sisters that they

were free to direct their studies along the more congenial paths of literature. To the same purpose Adam Smith remarks, after complaining of the retarding influence of old foundations for the education of boys: "There are no public institutions for the education of women, and there is accordingly nothing useless, absurd, or fantastical in the common course of their education." Practical experience, however, shows that there is much to be said on the other side of the question. Rules laid down by our forefathers may be defective, but they are often better than the passing fancies and fashions of the present day. Routine may be dull and cramping to the powers, but it is at any rate better than anarchy. And that the present state of girls' education, so far as relates to the choice of subjects to be learnt, is altogether anarchical and chaotic, is a fact necessarily arising from the circumstances of the case.

It was said just now that in framing a course of study for girls, teachers have to set aside tradition and have recourse to first principles. But in point of fact few are agreed as to those principles, and many seem to doubt their very existence. Some peculiar difficulties in finding and applying them are inherent in the nature of the problem as it now stands. For where the leaders in the movement have been men, it is almost unreasonable to demand from them that practical and accurate knowledge of the needs and capacities of girls for which the noblest purpose and the widest culture cannot furnish an equivalent. When, on the other hand, the work of reorganising the system has fallen to women, those women, merely by not having themselves enjoyed that thorough and wide education which they are endeavouring to secure to future generations, are scarcely capable of arriving at a certain and sound conclusion. Add to this fact the mass of prejudice which the reformers have to encounter from parents of pupils and from the general public—the British impatience for results, which can often be held in check by reverence for an old-established routine, but seldom by respect for scientific theory—and it will be admitted that a restless and unsatisfactory transition stage must

be a necessary preliminary to a stable and consistent settlement.

But just at the time when the difficulties of the question "What ought girls to learn?" were first making themselves seriously felt, a partial solution was afforded by our universities, in throwing open to girls those local examinations which had for some time been exercising considerable influence on a large class of boys' schools. Since they have become popular, those examinations have had more power in establishing a system of instruction in girls' schools than they could ever have among boys. For whereas the leading public schools for boys have not required this kind of examination, but left the benefits of it to the lesser public and the private schools, among girls, as a rule it is the public schools of the highest grade that have generally furnished a large proportion of the candidates. And the unsettled, loose state of girls' education made it ready to flow into any mould that was presented by sufficient authority. But though the influence of the local examinations on girls' schools has been powerful both for evil and for good, it did not finally determine the choice of subjects which should form the chief elements in the education of girls, since their object is to test knowledge in the subjects presented for examination, not to prescribe a routine, and considerable latitude is left to those preparing pupils for examination as to the relative stress which may be laid on the different subjects taken, the points which may be made strong, and the additional matter which may be cursorily acquired in the hope of gaining a few more marks or escaping a failure. Let us glance for a moment at the different kinds of curriculum which, even within the limits imposed by the university local examinations, may be, and actually are adopted by teachers of various capacities and tastes.

One plan on behalf of which much might be said is to make no difference, at least during school years, between the instruction of girls and that of boys, to ground them well in the elements of classics and of mathematics, the primary requisites for a literary and for a scientific education

respectively. For after all, the female mind is not essentially different from the male. Some processes of reasoning may generally be easier to one sex or to the other, but there is no way by which women can acquire sound knowledge save by patience and accuracy in apprehending and in retaining truth, qualities which are likely to be promoted in similar ways among boys and among girls. But such a scheme is beset with difficulties. Setting aside one that is entirely temporary, the difficulty at present of finding a sufficient number of mistresses well trained in classics and mathematics, we come to the more serious drawback that there is a great danger at present of putting a severer strain upon girls than their physical strength is able to bear. True, a healthily-trained girl has often a great deal of mental and nervous force, and if only thoroughly sound methods of instruction were adopted, that force might be greatly economised. Still, every one who has had much practical acquaintance with girls knows their tendency to overstrain their powers not so much by work as by worrying themselves over their work when the tasks set them require strenuous exertion. Very few have that power of throwing aside all thought of work during the time of recreation which is observed in the average school boy. True, as the physical culture of girls improves, this difficulty may be partly or wholly removed, but our practical concern is with the state of things at the present day. And when we remember that a number of small demands of a domestic nature are constantly made on the time of a girl, and that public opinion, perhaps rightly, demands of her more acquaintance with music and the other arts than is expected from her brothers, we must acknowledge that it is unreasonable to require girls to learn all that boys learn, plus a good deal which, whether well or ill-taught, has been demanded from the women of previous generations. An intelligent girl's powers of brain and nerves are like an elastic band. They often seem capable of bearing a great strain for some years and then suddenly and unexpectedly collapse. The consideration, likewise, of the rapid changes taking place in the

education of boys, which are tending to alter the old routine in many ways, may make us hesitate to adopt voluntarily a heavy burden, which, when imposed by necessity, may sometimes be found a useful ballast.

A second plan is to make the more important part of a girl's education consist in a training in English language and literature. Those who know how to teach these subjects in a thorough and at the same time a lively manner find in them an excellent means of drawing out the mental powers of pupils, of leading them to observe and to remember and of awakening a power of criticism and original thought. They also yield a much speedier harvest of intellectual wealth than those harder studies which involve years of drudgery before the pupil is able to discern any relation in them to his own daily life of thought and action. For those whose early education has been neglected and who have no time to make up past deficiencies, it is certainly more profitable to learn to appreciate Shakspere and Milton, than to spend an equal amount of time in toiling at Greek and Latin grammar without a hope of being able ever to read Virgil or Homer with ease and pleasure. On the other hand, for the large and continually increasing class of young women who have both leisure and intellectual taste such as to make them capable of receiving a thorough literary or scientific education, such a curriculum is manifestly insufficient. Their whole mental career is hindered by a want of training in those elements which are best acquired in youth, while the verbal memory is most tenacious, and the critical faculty as yet undeveloped. To them it will seem that their school training has been of little value, if it has merely supplied them with the kind of knowledge which they would else have obtained for themselves in the intervals of graver studies, if it has been devoted to stimulating their intellectual desires rather than to supplying their intellectual needs. And again, where such a plan is pursued, where English studies are made all-in-all, and classics, mathematics, and science are only admitted as unnecessary luxuries, as time and occasion serve, the good

to be derived from these latter subjects is reduced to a minimum. For it is quite impossible that even Latin and elementary mathematics should be taught with any real advantage unless a much larger portion of the scholar's time is devoted to them than has hitherto been the case in most girls' schools. A merely superficial study, such as is represented by a weekly lesson requiring an hour's preparation, is most likely to breed either a vain confidence in attainments which are not really possessed or an equally ungrounded belief in the superiority of mental power in boys proportionate to their superior knowledge of the subjects which form the groundwork of their education.

Very similar arguments might be brought both for and against the plan of using modern foreign languages as the principal part of the intellectual training of girls. If these are well taught, they may both help in forming habits of accuracy and furnish the keys to wide fields of literature. But for those who aim high, they can never take the place of classical languages, especially as a really scientific study of any Romance language presupposes an acquaintance with Latin, for want of which the knowledge obtained is often superficial and valued rather on account of its practical than of its educative use.

There is, however, a worse method than any of these three, which teachers, distracted by the arguments of rival theorists and the demands of impatient parents, are sometimes tempted to adopt. This is, not to elevate any subject to the paramount position held by classics and mathematics in the education of boys, but to divide a tolerably equal portion of time to each of the subjects which are commonly contained in the curriculum of a liberal education. The result must be that almost everything is taken in a scrambling and superficial way. Where the pupils are prepared for examinations, those subjects encroach in which the candidates are expected to pass or to obtain distinction. The rest are taken up as soon as one examination is over, and dropped as the time of the next approaches, and so no satisfactory progress in them can be made. The minute

subdivision of time and the continual changes lead to distraction of mind, and are totally preventive of calm and steady work. And if any girls are really able for a time to work vigorously at a multitude of subjects at once, in order to offer them at a local examination, the strain they undergo is probably injurious both to body and mind.

The want of thoroughness, of concentration, and of calm which results from the practice of studying too many subjects at once is very frequently complained of among those interested in the education of girls. The worst dangers might be avoided by adopting a principle which an eminent public schoolmaster has called "stratification of studies." If the subjects taught—with the exception of some which are hardly capable of such treatment—were alternately during a year or a shorter period of time made the principal or the sole work of a class, the pupils would be enabled to obtain a firmer grasp of them, and the danger of forgetting what had been learned might be met by judiciously arranged recapitulatory work. Such a method seems particularly applicable to the study of modern languages and of history. The minds of children who have to learn several languages at once become hopelessly confused and they often come to the end of their schooldays without having a practically useful acquaintance with any. The history taught in schools often amounts to no more than the amount of English history contained in a dry text-book which is gone through every year, and teachers complain that if there is only time for one lesson per week in the subject they really cannot attempt to secure such a minute and thorough study as could make the pupils feel a genuine and intelligent interest in their work. But if for one term of the three history were made an important subject, and an hour or two daily devoted to it, there would be time to work in detail through a course of books on the history of some country or of some notable period in many countries, and the insight gained would more than compensate for any neglect of the subject during the two remaining terms. Similarly with regard to mathematics:—

if no algebra were taught till the pupils had a fair knowledge of arithmetic, and if when it were begun, all work at arithmetic were dropped for a while, to give as much time as possible to algebra, far more rapid and satisfactory progress would probably be made in the elements of the subject, which are sometimes found to be an entire mystery to girls who have been devoting a small portion of time to them year after year. Unfortunately, this plan of "stratification" would be thought not likely to pay in the Local Examinations, and therefore we have little hope of seeing it adopted. If a girl takes a local examination every year, she must still go the annual round of English history, of arithmetic, of the various languages. Even under these circumstances, however, improvements might be made if parents and teachers had some architechtonic idea in education—if less were left to haphazard—if the last terms of a girl's school life were not taken up with work that is introductory to subjects she never means to study—if examinations were made the test of work rather than work the preparation for examinations. The enlightened efforts of educational workers and thinkers are almost certain in the long run to overcome the tendency to "cram" and to superficiality. But meantime, in this period of transition, the evils are manifest to all who are acquainted with the work done in girls' schools.

But it is of little good, by a process of negative criticism, to point out the faults to be found in most of the modern tentative system of girls' education, unless we are able to delineate, however generally and roughly, the lines along which we may hope to discover suggestions and hints of some more satisfactory course. If education be really an art based on scientific principles, not a mere practical process regulated by dogmatic precepts and empirical rules,—if the educator, like any other true artist, cannot perform his task aright without understanding whither his labours are tending,—we can only hope for light on the subject by going back to the preliminary question: What is the object of the school education given to girls? For the sake of

simplicity we will consider here chiefly intellectual education, and leave aside all questions relating to moral and physical training except in so far as they bear upon that of the mind.

Now the object of education is acknowledged by all parties to be this—to prepare the pupil for the duties of his or her future life. But great mistakes will be made if we give too narrow an interpretation to this principle. It is not the purpose of a liberal education—we are not speaking here of technical instruction—to teach the means by which the duties of life are to be performed in all their details. Its aim rather is two-fold—in the first place to train the mind in such a way that it will readily apprehend and steadily follow the best course in the business of life whenever the time for taking up that business actually arrives; and in the second place, to create such tastes and habits as may lead to a pleasant and profitable use of leisure time, without which all work is likely to degenerate into a mechanical and unintelligent routine. By this consideration it is easy to refute those who would argue that as the principal work of most women relates to domestic and family affairs, therefore instruction in domestic work, in cookery, needlework, the management of children and similar matters, ought to hold a prominent place in the curriculum of a girls' school. What an ordinary girl might expect to learn at school is not how to manage a household,—for instruction in such matters can hardly be given at school,—but how to be able to turn herself intelligently to the thorough performance of domestic duties when the school days are over, and how to nourish her mind and develop her energies in the intervals of such duties so that she may be a thoughtful and vigorous worker, not a mere machine and household drudge. Similar principles are to a certain extent acknowledged in boys' schools wherever an attempt is made to differentiate those who are preparing for different kinds of life. On the modern side of public schools there is not much taught as to the details of commercial life, nor on the classical side are those destined to be doctors, lawyers or

clergymen instructed in those particular matters with which they are in the future to be most conversant. But each class is supposed to receive the education that will prepare best for the course of life to be adopted if those faculties are trained which will be most in requisition and those tastes formed which are likely to receive satisfaction.

To return to girls' schools: When the present time of transition is passed and the method which has been found fittest has alone survived, we may hope that the education of girls will be of a kind to develop those capacities and tastes which are desirable in a woman's life. Here, however, a great difficulty arises from the impossibility of determining, in the case of most girls, the walk of life which they will have to follow. If all women married, if they all married men of their own station in life, and if they each had families of an equal size, the case would be different, but at present it is quite impossible to know, or even to guess with any approximation to probability, the kind and amount of work which will be expected from any girl after she has grown to womanhood, or the amount of time which will be at her disposal for indulging her intellectual tastes. While the difference between the life of a woman whose duties are entirely or chiefly domestic and of one who has to earn her bread or to carve out her career by the power of her own hand and brain call for a differentiation of education at least as strongly marked as is that between the modern and the classical side in boys' schools, it is quite impossible, during a girl's school time, to be certain which kind of education she ought to receive, and there must always be a risk of wasting time, energy, and money in imparting instruction which if not valueless—for no subject in the world can be taught well without some benefit to the learner—is at any rate of considerably less practical value than some other kind of knowledge which might perhaps have been acquired with greater facility and at less expense.

If then we state that the only good education for girls is one that fits them for their duties in life and that it is impossible to tell what those duties will be till after their educa-

tion is completed, we seem to take a pessimistic view of the whole subject. Yet unless the facts to which we are calling attention are fairly faced, no rational solution of the problem can be reached, for those difficulties will not be apprehended which must always be a serious obstacle to the admission of women in large numbers to professions which require a long and costly preparation. Here, however, we are concerned only with liberal, not with technical education, and with the practical question as to how girls should be trained at school, while it is as yet uncertain whether their duties in life will be chiefly of a domestic or of some other character.

For young girls—up to the age of thirteen or fourteen—the case presents not much difficulty. For the preliminary training in quickness of observation, accuracy of reasoning, and clearness of expression which should be given in the lower forms of girls' schools are equally desirable in all possible walks of life, and probably it would be best that up to the age mentioned all boys and all girls in schools above the primary grade should be taught the same subjects, those namely which are found by experience the best means for imparting the training required. When, however, girls reach the age of about fourteen, it seems as if some distinction should be made according to individual wants and capacities. A little reflection will make this evident. Let us consider what tastes and capacities need to be developed in a girl of fourteen, of average abilities, of the middle class, who has two or three more years of school life and will subsequently devote herself to the tasks of a wife and mother. Plainly, it is not desirable to make her give all her time to study of a kind that is certain to be entirely neglected after she has left school. Suppose that she is taught enough Greek and Latin to be able with difficulty to construe an easy author and also something of the higher mathematics. It is extremely improbable that she will derive any advantage from such studies beyond the mental exercise which she might as easily have gained in some other way. Not that domestic life is so engrossing as to afford no time or oppor-

tunity for intellectual pursuits, but it is essentially a life of details, and as such demands a mind not so absorbed in intellectual work or devoted to abstract considerations as not to be ready at any moment to drop the thread of its meditations that it may throw all its energy into some slight practical work. There is much truth in the old saw that "Man works till the set o' the sun, But a woman's work is never done." A woman who is at the head of a household and superintends herself all the small matters which go to make up the health and happiness of family life cannot, like her husband, throw herself heartily after the close of her day's work into some absorbing intellectual pursuit. If she allows her mind to be engrossed by science or philosophy or the higher kind of literature, she is liable to find herself in the position of Plato's cave-born man who was brought into the sun-light and then restored, with eye-sight bleared and dazed, to his former dwelling—with the difference that in her case there would be no hope of recovering her sense of sight, with an increased power, after habitual sojourns in the upper air.

Must we say then that for domestic women—who form the large majority of our female population—no advantages are to be expected from improvements in the education of girls? Such is very far from being our opinion. In fact it is perhaps these women more than any other class that we hope to see benefited thereby. The preliminary mental training given to all young girls will have cleared their minds and rectified their power of judgment, and from the training given during the last years of their school life we may expect them to derive the power of enjoying real intellectual pleasures in their scattered moments of leisure. For them the principle may be laid down that those studies will be most beneficial which give the highest culture at the least expense of intellectual labour. And as modern languages, English literature, and social science and history as popularly treated seem to fulfil these requirements better than the classical languages, or the exact sciences, we may expect and desire that they should ordinarily form the principal part, if not the whole of the

instruction given to girls of average abilities and in ordinary circumstances in the highest forms of girls' schools.

But there are other women whose claims ought not to be neglected—those who have to earn their living in some independent way, and those who have strong intellectual tendencies which lead them to seek for a more thorough literary or scientific training. To these, good schools should afford such facilities for acquiring proficiency in different branches of knowledge as may fit them for benefiting to the full by a university education, and make them competent to start on their intellectual course as fully equipped as a well-trained public school boy. As time goes on and the preliminary requisite of a good elementary training becomes universal, we may expect to find an increasing number of women who study the same subjects as men and pass on to the universities, though it is probable that it will never become customary for women who do not intend to enter a profession or who have not decided intellectual tastes, to take up a university course.

But to return to our previous difficulty: How are these classes to be differentiated at school? The differentiation can certainly not be perfect, and much must be left to individual tastes and the pressure of circumstances. But probably the final result will be that in the better class of girls' schools we shall find in the upper forms a certain number working at classics and mathematics in preparation for a university career and for some profession, particularly that of teacher, and a large number studying chiefly modern languages, history, and literature, with no views beyond that of stimulating and partly gratifyi ng those intellectual tastes which will make them cultivated women.

The results which will follow from the changed system of things are certain to be great, and may afford an ample field for curious speculation. There is probably very little ground in the fears of some timid conservatives lest the spread of higher education should render women unfit for household pursuits. As was said just now, the elementary training given to girls cannot but make them fitter for the perform-

ance of any duties which fall to the lot of rational beings. Also a certain amount of literary culture will make them more refined in their choice of recreation and more fitted for performing adequately their social duties. Entire absorption in scientific or metaphysical studies of a character to call away the attention from practical matters is likely to be found in a very small minority of women. It may be that the fancy of such a possibility has arisen from the fact that till but a few years ago only women of exceptional character and tastes had been able to acquire any culture worth the name, and those who failed to apprehend the nature of the transition period through which we are passing have judged of the rank and file from the pioneers of the cause. Feminine nature is not likely to lose all power of asserting itself, whatever changes may be made in education. And if it be allowable to refer to personal experience, the present writer has been surprised to see how, in a large girls' school, strong domestic proclivities, shown especially in love of children, skill in needlework, and interest in the little things of home, were most noticeable in girls who were foremost in the intellectual work of their classes.

One result which we may confidently expect to see after the time of transition is past is the disappearance from social life of a somewhat picturesque and amusing figure,—the clever woman who has had no education. So clever a woman as Ethel Newcome, for instance, innocently asking "Who was Helen?" will become an impossibility, and cultivated men will no longer be delighted by the naïve questions of women who are quick to seize upon some points of an intellectual conversation but unable to comprehend any important question in all its bearings. Such a loss to society will not be great, and will be more felt by the male than by the female sex. But there is another figure we shall be far more reluctant to miss,—that of the self-educated woman who has striven against a mass of difficulties to attain a certain standard of intellectual culture, and who serves the cause of knowledge with a far simpler and purer devotion than do any, whether women or men, who have had their

mental food prepared and seasoned for them without much effort on their own part and whose work has generally been stimulated by the hope of prizes and honours and the fear of disgrace. It were idle indeed to regret that obstacles are being removed out of the way of the many because of the diminished lustre of the characters of the few who were able to surmount those obstacles, and until a royal road to learning has been made there is no fear lest there should be want of scope for the energies of eager students. Yet perhaps there is a real danger lest among girls and young women those who are capable of strong intellectual work stimulated by pure love of learning should suffer mental and moral degradation by being led to regard the means rather than the end,—to think more of the prize to be gained or the place to be won in a class-list than of the studies which examinations and prizes are intended to direct and to encourage. The spirit of competition is in all our schools and universities a strong enemy to the disinterested desire for knowledge, quenching that desire in all minds but those of the finest calibre, and transforming all the serious work of a young person's life into one vast game of skill. The dangers attendant on the system of the university local examinations, the tendency they produce to study in a scrambling way, from paltry motives and without scientific method, has been already touched upon, and we may add that the excuse made for excessive competition in the case of boys,—the plea of necessity,—is generally inadmissible in that of girls. It is very seldom that with them recourse must be had to this method for selecting some candidate for a post requiring intellectual qualifications, and most teachers will probably agree that girls can be made to work more readily than boys without the stimulus of excessive competition, and that owing to the sensitiveness and proneness to anxiety generally found in intelligent girls such an influence is extremely detrimental to them, physically, mentally, and morally.

One danger of which we hear much—that of overwork —belongs especially to the transitional character of the education now given to girls. When a general consensus

of opinion has been arrived at as to what subjects are necessary to the education of an ordinary woman, the present hurry and strife may be mitigated and our aims adapted to possibilities. In the meantime a most fortunate accident —if such it can be called—has occurred to militate against any tendencies to overwork connected with the higher education of women,—I refer to the coincidence of that movement with two others, one towards a revival of art, the other towards physical culture. The invention of lawn-tennis has come at a most opportune moment for women and girls now that the additional strains put upon their intellectual powers need to be counterbalanced by abundance of physical exercise and fresh air. The revival of art too, and especially of art in the house, however much the movement may be degraded by its fanatical votaries and by those who find it fashionable to imitate them, has opened up for women another sphere of thought and action which prevents them from restricting themselves too narrowly to the field of books, and from neglecting the culture of the emotions for that of the intellect.

Perhaps it is possible to overestimate the future consequences to society of the spread of education among women, for many of the mental and moral qualities peculiar to one sex are the result of natural causes, and can be modified but not entirely abolished. Nevertheless those consequences are of considerable magnitude, and the extent to which they will be beneficial depends in great measure on the growth of a sound public opinion among cultivated people during this time of transition. To secure to all girls a sound preliminary training that may prepare for any course to be taken up subsequently, to give to those who need and desire it as complete a training in science or literature as can be obtained by men, to afford to those who have less leisure or capacity for intellectual labour such a degree of culture as may give a variety and beauty to life without any waste of power, to steer between excessive competition on the one hand, and vague desultoriness on the other, — the Scylla and Charybdis

of education,—to adapt the kind of instruction given to the length of time passed at school and to the probable requirements of after life;—these are some of the problems set before the promoters both of the higher education of women and of the sounder education of girls, and any step towards their solution will be a service rendered to the society of the future.

ALICE GARDNER.

PROTESTANTISM IN GENEVA.

A GOOD deal has been said lately, on more than one occasion, by the English press, about Geneva, its Protestantism and its Churches. There was an excellent article on the subject in the *Contemporary Review* of August, 1882, by Canon Fremantle; it was brought up in connection with the adventures of the Salvation Army in Switzerland; and more recently it was discussed by the *Spectator* of July 14 and September 29. These latter articles, appearing in an influential journal, were calculated to cause a harsh judgment to be passed on the people of Geneva.

In order to appreciate the real character of a country, however small it may be, it is not enough, as we well know, to have a more or less accurate acquaintance with certain public events, and certain legal enactments; we must also be familiar with its past, with its ideas and its customs; we must have lived amongst its inhabitants, have observed them and talked with them, and so have come to perceive the inner causes of the movements of its public life.

Above all, it is necessary to have the desire and purpose of being just, and to infuse into criticism that measure of good-will which is essential to strict justice.

The writer of the present article will constrain himself to maintain a position of impartiality, so far as that is possible to a man who sees his country and his Church unfairly treated. He will confine himself to repelling the accusations which, in his eyes, are unfounded and even unjust.

May we be allowed to remark, at the outset, to our English readers, whose good-will we set great store by,

that the little country of Geneva has certainly some claims on the sympathy of great England? Christians who are interested in the cause of Protestantism in the Latin countries, the friends of liberty, so numerous in England, will not think it out of place if we remind them of the claims which Geneva has on their interest. This city, with its narrow bounds, has been for a long time the asylum, the home, the school of Protestantism, in the French-speaking countries, struggling incessantly for two centuries against the superstitions, and in the 18th century against the coarse or mocking unbelief, which prevailed in France. During the whole of her difficult existence as a small sovereign republic she has with remarkable ability and tenacity valiantly maintained the independence which has been continually endangered, but has been protected by that Providence which watches over every sacred trust, and keeps inviolate the refuge of noble causes. She has elaborated in a workshop, of limited area, but always in activity, through many internal struggles and by an honourable but often perilous initiative, the principles and the practice of the political liberalism, and afterwards of the democracy which have established themselves in the heart of the great nations. We may be permitted to add—*si parva licet componere magnis*—that a marked analogy has often been observed between the Genevan character and the English, as in the sense of duty and of justice, the taste for the natural sciences, personal independence, the critical spirit, an aptitude for business and finance, seriousness, reflection and a strong will.

Again, numerous mutual relations have been established between Geneva and England ever since the 16th century. Exiles from the persecution of Mary Tudor formed here a Protestant community, which left us when Elizabeth came to the throne. Knox had been a pupil of Calvin. From a distance, Protestant England proved itself the friend, if not the protectress, of the little republic, surrounded as it was by menacing Catholic powers. She gave a welcome to a number of distinguished citizens of Geneva, and even found

a place for them at court, or in military or ecclesiastical offices, or in the honours conferred by her associations. Two Casaubons were dignitaries of the Church; four Prevosts and others distinguished themselves as superior officers in the army; our three most eminent theologians in the eighteenth century were made members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Benedict Pictet, J. A. Turrettini, and Jacob Vernet, and they kept up a friendly epistolary correspondence with the archbishops of Canterbury in their day. Numerous Genevan pastors have served the Churches of refuge in Great Britain. Between 1750 and the present date, there have been no less than fifteen Genevan savants who have belonged to the Royal Society of London. Delolme, Sir Francis d'Ivernois, Mallet-Dupan are publicists who have served the Liberal cause in England, while making its constitution and politics better known on the Continent. The two brothers Marc-Auguste and Charles Pictet, quite at the end of last century, founded at Geneva the *Bibliothèque Britannique* (which still exists under the name of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*), in response largely to English ideas in the French-speaking countries. A number of our scholars have been students in the universities of Scotland; a still greater number of our merchants and financiers have gone into business in London, Manchester, and Liverpool. On the other hand, many illustrious Englishmen, princes, lords, savants, both before and after Lord Byron, have stayed for pleasure on the borders of our lake, and have even taken—which is more than the poet did—a practical interest in our public life. Two international institutions of which England had the benefit, were born in this narrow cradle, the Convention of Geneva and the Red Cross, in 1864, and, in 1872 the Tribunal of Arbitration in international disputes, which dealt with the affair of the *Alabama*.

At the present day we have an English colony and an American colony settled permanently among us, and held in much esteem. Two chapels, that of the Anglican Church and that of the American Episcopal Church are open for

their religious uses; in summer a service is held for the Scotch in the Cathedral, and in another place there is one for the non-episcopal Americans. One important English journal, the *Continental Times*, is issued from our press; and the professor of English Literature at the University, Mr. Robert Harvey, has taken pleasure in contributing to it a series of interesting articles, the object of which is to set forth the relations between the country of his birth with that in which he holds his professorship. As to the young Genevese who go over to England to make their fortune, they soon feel *at home*, and on the Continent we are very ready to accuse them of Anglo-mania.

Such are, in brief abstract, the claims, out of proportion perhaps to her small dimensions, which Geneva may establish on the justice, not to say on the interest and the goodwill of the English Press. If your readers bear them in mind, they will be less disposed to lend an ear to any rash and harsh judgments on this city. We cannot characterise in any other terms those to which no less distinguished a journal than the *Spectator* commits itself when it uses the following expressions in writing of Geneva:

. . . . the conclusion, which has long been patent to local observers, that the Protestant Rome has become the most Free-thinking of European cities, and the Church founded by Calvin the least Christian of Churches. . . . . People are sinking into a condition of cynical indifferentism. They not only believe that there is no truth in religion; they doubt if there be truth in anything; look upon belief as the mark of an inferior understanding—&c., &c.

There are other foreigners who have observed us more closely, or for a longer time, and have declared, on the contrary, that this city is one of those in which religion has most influence in animating men's minds and hearts, in nerving their arms and opening their purses. Indeed, this belongs to its tradition, handed down from age to age; and it is not possible to imagine that the empire of such a tradition could vanish away and leave no trace behind.

Let us give a mere glance at the past. From the time of the Reformation to that of the Revolution, and to the annexation to France in 1798, all the citizens took an oath of fidelity to the Gospel. The closest relations united not only the two organisms of the Church and the State, but also Religion and the Nation, witness the history of public education in the schools, the college and the academy, and that of public morality in the sumptuary laws. The Company of Pastors had the surveillance in the domain of ideas, of instruction and of the press; the Consistory in that of manners; while the Government was over both. The annual fête of the *Promotions*, so-called, was a fête at once of the College and the Academy, of Science and of the Church. All the Councils, all the political elections, were opened by prayer or religious discourses pronounced by ecclesiastics, and the citizens could not separate in their affections things which were inseparable in the public customs—faith and one's country. There is, therefore, no cause for surprise in the phenomenon—by no means an altogether common one—that all the savants and literary men of Geneva of the 18th century made profession of religion, and that several of them were even apologists of Christianity. We will not do more than cite the names of Le Clerc, Mdlle. Huber, Cramer, Calandrini, Abauzit, Dr. Tronchin, De Luc, Charles Bonnet, Trembley, Lesage, De Saussure, Necker, the minister of Louis XVI.; not to mention the pastors who were the secretaries of Mirabeau,—Etienne, Dumont, and Reybaz. I do not except Rousseau, the only one of the philosophers of his time in France who zealously undertook—in his own way, of course—the defence of Christian spiritualism. The profound impression produced by this education of the mind and character by the Bible, by preaching, and by noble Christian examples, was not effaced by the Revolution, in the very heart of which Christian voices were heard without opposition, nay even with applause, at the national fêtes. This impression remained through the period of the French rule; it has survived the introduction of a certain number of Catholic

communities, Savoyards, and French; it has not disappeared, we assert, although it may have been weakened by a considerable immigration of foreigners (of a very different kind from that of the time of the Refuge) under the democratic régime initiated by the Revolution of 1846.

The influence of Christianity to-day, although sometimes contested or partially eclipsed, is still the one that is the most strongly felt in Geneva, both in social life and by the majority of the people. We make this assertion boldly, and we shall confine ourselves to the brief statement, in its support, of a few characteristic facts which show the set of public opinion.

1. If, in the first place, we refer to the political journals which represent the two parties—conservative-liberal and radical-liberal—the *Journal de Genève* and the *Genevois*, neither the one nor the other ever attacks religion; and both of them, since the vote on the separation of Church and State, in 1880, have insisted on its traditional importance in the land and its utility in public life. Their two weekly literary contributors are two distinguished ecclesiastics—one of them a Professor in the faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris; the other a Professor in the faculty of liberal Catholic Theology at Berne. The *Tribune*—a journal of news and business, which does not represent any particular party—is openly favourable to religion. Of course I leave out of the question here the religious journals properly so called.

2. Let us look at the department of instruction. Up to the year 1834 it was partly under the direction of the Protestant clergy. Since then, and especially after the revolution of 1846, and the reconstruction of the staff of the Academy by the new radical government, a certain number of men entered it who were strange to the traditions of this ancient institution and even to religion itself. At a later period when the Academy was transformed into a University, still more notable additions were made to its staff. There are at this moment seventy-three professors and

privat-docents in the University. We know personally a good half of them who as individuals or as fathers of families, have given in one way or another pledges of attachment either to evangelicism or to liberalism, and we should be very sorry to say that the others are opposed to the Christian belief. Those who are in open opposition might be counted on the fingers.

3. It is proper to mention here the public and free courses of Lectures, in the great hall of the University, which were founded in 1855 at the suggestion of M. Carteret, and which we may be permitted to say are worthy of admiration and imitation. The government offers to the public every evening (except Sunday) for five weeks before and five weeks after the beginning of the new year, a series of lectures or addresses, on all kinds of subjects, by the most competent men in the city or from elsewhere. Not one can be mentioned which has been directed against religion, —the government indeed would not allow it—and a good many of them have treated, if not of dogma, at least of the history of religions or of some particular period in the history of the Church. Many ecclesiastics have been invited to take part in these courses; and amongst seventeen lecturers in the programme for 1883-4, there are no less than four of them to be found. Other public free lectures, addressed specially to working-men, are supported by a fund left to the city of Geneva by P. Bouchet, and the course was begun by Lessons from the lives of the great physicists who have been religious men.

4. If we pass in review the savants, the literary men and the artists of this century who have belonged to Geneva, we shall notice that most of those who have gained an extended renown have given evidence of their attachment to Christianity. We need but name among the savants, the physicist Aug. de la Rive, the naturalist F. J. Pictet, the doctors Gosse and Rilliet, and General Dufour; amongst the men of letters, de Sismondi, Mdme. Necker de Saussure, Töpffer, Sayous, the brothers Cherbuliez, Adolphe Pictet, A. Rilliet, H. F. Amiel, R. Rey, the poets Petit-

Senn, A. Richard, H. Blauvalet: amongst the artists, the painters Calame, Humbert, Hornung. To these we may be permitted to add some of the men still living, Daniel Colladon, the geologist Alphonse Favre, the physicist Raoul Pictet, the geographer P. Chaix, the doctor H. Lombard, senr., the painter L. Lugardon, the poet and novelist Marc Monnier, the Egyptologist Edouard Naville, &c.

5. The works of philanthropy at Geneva attain to a figure out of proportion to the small dimensions of a canton which reckons hardly more than a hundred thousand inhabitants. The latest philanthropic report, in 1879, enumerates no fewer than 268 items, which are classed under the following heads: General philanthropy—General assistance for the needy—Old age, sickness, accidents, hygiene—Instruction—Education and morals—Labour—Domestic Economy—Provident saving. Now, with the exception of certain official establishments, and some eighty-five societies for mutual assistance among the working men, which owe their origin only indirectly to the religion of fraternity, we are in a position to assert that the greater number of these institutions have been founded and are maintained by the Christian thought. Amongst the 268 items one ought to be mentioned which stands third in the list—collecting-boxes for philanthropic and religious works, Genevan, Swiss or foreign, that are put up in various places, and are emptied four times a year by a Christian committee that distributes the amount according to the directions of the donors. The annual result, independently of the collections made from house to house, reaches about fifty thousand francs. To the enumeration of these works we have yet to add about twenty religious societies for evangelisation and edification. It will be impossible not to acknowledge that so many efforts of charity and faith could not have been put forth in the bosom of a population consisting mainly, as some have not feared to assert, of indifferentists or unbelievers.

6. No less suspicion has been cast on the members of the Genevese government. That some magistrates more

or less conservative-liberal, before or after the revolution of 1846 (such as J. J. Rigaud, J. L. Rieu, A. Naville, and at the present time A. Chenevière) should be professed Christians, causes no surprise, though the same thing is not witnessed everywhere; but that there are radical magistrates who treat religion with respect, is a thing that seems to be considered impossible. It is true that the present head of the radical government, Antoine Carteret, is known to declare openly and energetically for liberal protestantism; but what is not known outside of Geneva is that he does honour to his religious profession by a rare probity in public affairs, and by an exemplary domestic life, which his adversaries, political or ecclesiastical, are constrained to recognise. And he is very far from standing alone in these respects in the political circle to which he belongs. Lately, on the 25th of November, the radical Council of State, which had been re-elected, proceeded, according to custom, to deliver its programme at a solemn meeting and in presence of an immense assembly in the Cathedral of St. Peter, and to take, on the Bible, an oath of fidelity to the laws; and M. Gavard, who walks in the steps of M. Carteret, concluded a long speech with the following words, which give the key-note of the party when it is at its best:—

People of Geneva! dear fellow-citizens. The oath that we have taken in your presence, within these ancient walls, the mute but glorious witnesses of the life of a free people, is invested with a solemn character. It is an engagement entered into before God, religiously to observe the constitution and the laws, never, in the administration of public affairs, to depart from the dictates of justice and impartiality, to husband the contributions of the tax-payers, to employ judiciously the resources which are the common property of all, and not to allow any portion of the heritage of the past to be depreciated, but to transmit it intact, only greater and richer if possible, to those who shall come after us. Let every one fulfil his duty with diligence, and the Republic of Geneva will press

forward on its way, with unrelaxing endeavour, to the high destinies to which the practice of whatever is useful and good will conduct it.

May God prosper our common work! May He protect our country, while continually inspiring her children with the love of labour and the worship of truth!

7. The population of Geneva has been freely accused of not having respected, of late, the great principle of liberty of worship. We shall have a word to say a little further on about the Salvationists; but first we will lay it down that no service in any of our numerous churches, established or free, Swiss or foreign, has been troubled anywhere by any interference within or any mob disturbance outside. Nor is there any trace whatever of anti-Semitism; on the contrary the Jews have received on every hand numerous demonstrations of sympathy, which have been called out by the ill-usage their co-religionists have undergone elsewhere. As to the Roman Catholics, it is an exaggeration to give the name of persecution to the legal measures of which they have been the object. It must be borne in mind that the ecclesiastical law of 1873 which commits the nomination of the curés to the Catholic electors, was passed in the Great Council by a majority of 77 to 8, six of the latter being Protestants.

Twenty Catholic deputies were present at the sitting, and of these 17 voted "yea" and 2 "nay," and one abstained from voting. When it was put to the popular vote it was accepted by 9,081 *yeas*, against 151 *noes*. It may be said, therefore, that it was passed by the immense majority of the nation. As a consequence of this legislation, the official buildings would be assigned to such of the Catholics as accepted it. The liberal Catholics, however, proposed to the Roman ones that the use of them should be equitably shared; but the offer was rejected. The Government compelled, in a high-handed way, the opening of the Roman Catholic churches, in certain quarters, to the worship that had been established by the new legislation. This is what the liberal minds at Geneva called "*la manière forte*" in the application of the law, and

it was made a matter of blame and of regret, and with all the more reason in that it injured much more than it benefited liberal Catholicism, which, since the departure of Hyacinthe Loyson, has not prospered. We also are of those who would have preferred what has been called "*la manière douce*," and who desire with all their heart a reconciliation, not indeed of the Ultramontanes with the modern State, for their respective pretensions are incompatible, but of the fellow-citizens belonging to the two confessions. At any rate, we cannot regard men as persecuted who are free to establish wherever they choose halls for worship, or churches, without any opposition or disturbance whatever, while in their journal they treat the Government of the country with extraordinary violence. We cannot admit that they have any right to claim an entire independence of the State, as an unendowed Church, and at the same time enjoy the privileges of union with the State. Not to speak of the past, how many Catholic countries there are to-day in which the Protestants would only be too happy to enjoy the same amount of liberty and peace!

As to the Salvation Army, it is true that its exercises were first disturbed by the populace, and then interdicted by the Government. Personally we regretted this; but we accounted for it by the aversion of the people for what they call "mummeries"—that is to say, attractions in connection with religion that are eccentric, noisy or enervating, and by the revelation of the Jesuitical character of the regulations of the Salvation Army made by an orthodox Christian, the Countess de Gasparin.

The Salvation Army is served by courageous people, zealous for the conversion of souls; but it has carried on its operations in such a fashion, that in the three Protestant cantons of French-speaking Switzerland, which is far from having a character for intolerance or irreligion, it has been rejected by public opinion, including that of the majority of Christians. Finally, it must not be forgotten that the inhabitants of Neuchatel who connived at the meetings of the Army were acquitted by the jury of Boudry, and that a

Counsellor of State, the head of the police at Geneva, and, moreover, an upright and energetic man, owed in large measure to the position he took up with regard to the Army, the rebuff he received at the late elections, of November 17.

We think then that it must be allowed by any attentive and impartial observer that liberty of worship is respected at Geneva as much as it is elsewhere, that it is rooted in men's convictions and manners, and that these incidents, greatly as they are to be regretted, are exceptional and temporary, and cannot seriously compromise it.

8. The Genevese people have shown, by their attitude, respect and even sympathy for all the great national associations, religious or moral, which have made Geneva the scene of their general gatherings: the Christian Unions of young people in 1858, the Evangelical Alliance in 1861, the Society for the Observance of the Sabbath, in its first congress of 1876, the British and Continental Federation for the elevation of public morality, under the presidency of the Hon. James Stansfeld, in 1877. The centenary of Calvin in 1864 was less generally celebrated by the people for whom the name of Calvin carried with it certain unsympathetic associations than that of Luther has just been, or than we may hope Zwingli's will be at the beginning of next year.

9. No doubt there are in Geneva, as everywhere at the present day, many persons who are hostile to traditional Christianity, and to the clergy, whom they regard *en bloc* as the supporters of conservatism or of reaction. The city being at the meeting of the ways of Europe, a number of nihilists and social revolutionaries pass through it or stay in it, but the noise they make within its walls is in inverse proportion to that which their names often make outside.

The native populace may be said to know nothing of it,—no rows, no disturbances, no fulminating bombs, no assassinations. We could wish that as much tranquillity were enjoyed by other countries and other cities which display to little purpose the powerful engine of their police and

soldiery. The Genevese have no inclination at all for revolutionary proceedings, advanced as their politics may be; and if the anarchists were to make here the least attempt at a rising, the radical party would be foremost in restoring order. The best proof of these assertions is perhaps in the ill-will expressed towards the people of Geneva by revolutionary and atheistic writers, who have not found the echo there which they had expected.

But we must bring our list of facts to a conclusion.

We cannot accept this ill-founded verdict of the *Spectator*, and knowing, as we do, a great many of the cities both in the Latin and the Germanic countries, we assert, without fear of contradiction by those who take a comprehensive view of the facts, that there are few over whom the religious idea with all that it involves holds still so strong a sway. In fact, it would be contrary to the laws of history, and all the presumptions which we are entitled to draw from the social power of Christianity, if this were not the case. Reality agrees here with logic, and the probability turns out to be the truth.

II.

It is against the Church of Geneva that these attacks have been especially directed. They are made (1) from a dogmatic point of view; and (2) from an ecclesiastical point of view, properly so-called.

1. Our detractors seem to us to judge, in the first instance, according to what we do not hesitate to call a religious and dogmatic prejudice. They start, that is, with the assumption that religion is identical with theology, and, moreover, with a particular theology, the traditional theology known as orthodox.

This prejudice is not shared by the majority of Genevan Christians, even in the free church. They are aware that all the Protestant churches, even those which are the most firmly and strongly governed, are affected in variable degree by what is called heterodoxy, and that it is impossible for

them to protect themselves against it, wherever there is any movement of thought. They know that, judged by such a standard, a good many of the disciples of the Master, whether the seventy or the twelve, would not have been accounted genuine Christians, and that some of the authors of the writings of the New Testament would have been set down as wanting, suspected, or unsound.

They hold that from this point of view the Catholics alone are logical, accepting as they do the *credo* of the Church, in its entirety, without attempting either to revise it, or even to make it their own by that personal faith which is the assent of the whole being to the truth that has been attained to by individual study and experience.

With more or less consistency the great majority of Genevan Christians of to-day insist on the difference between belief and faith, theology and religion; between a creed (however orthodox) and vital Christianity; a view which does not prevent them from differing from one another in their theology and their creed.

A rapid glance at the history of religious ideas in Geneva during the nineteenth century seems required for a right understanding of the actual state of parties in the church.

At the beginning of the century there prevailed in the National Church a way of thinking which has sometimes been called, not without a feeling of hostility, Genevianism. It was characterised by a sincere supernaturalism, which made valiant war on the rationalism of Voltaire, and even on that of Rousseau, while at the same time it was heterodox on certain capital points of tradition—the Trinity, the atonement by the blood of Christ, everlasting punishment. These were not directly attacked; but in the absence of sufficient evidence for them in the Scriptures they were set on one side. This, however, did not prevent the men who held this position from courageously maintaining the cause of Christianity in the midst of the unchaining of the irreligious passions of the Revolution.

Presently came the Revival, which had been in preparation for several years, but which came to an issue in

1817, in Geneva first among the countries where the French tongue is spoken. There were some general causes which had prepared the way for it here as elsewhere; the reaction against the 18th century, the passionate return to the great memories of the past, a just admiration for St. Paul possessing men's minds again, religious needs long repressed, a hunger and thirst of the mind for the ideal. Some special factors determined it; the activity of a little group of Moravians, the influence of Haldane, and that of some other Englishmen who were the organs of a Methodist propaganda, and the influence, less conspicuous but more widely felt, of certain national pastors who had remained evangelical. The young men who identified themselves with the movement had talent, zeal, and piety; and several of them rose to eminence, such as César Malan, Ami Bost, Louis Gaussen, Merle d'Aubigné. Taken altogether, the Revival showed its power in evangelisation, in the organisation of independent churches, and in a number of religious works.

But, as it seems to us, it had the great defect that it shut itself up in the antiquated theology of the 16th and 17th centuries, and affirmed before all things the plenary inspiration of Scripture, and all the dogmas which the Reformation, adhering too faithfully to many articles of tradition, held to be contained in Scripture—the Trinity, the personality of the Holy Spirit, Predestination, particular Election, the absolute authority of the constitution of the Apostolic Church, &c., &c. And it committed the further error of fixing these in new confessions of faith, in which there was little to be perceived of the spirit and methods of the 19th century, or I might even say of the vital breath of the Revival itself.

The ancient Genevan school, which still had the control of the National Church, struggled against this invasion of traditional dogmatism, in the review called *Le Protestant* (1831-1838), and it obtained its triumph in the third jubilee of the Reformation, in 1835. Its watchword was "The Bible and Free Enquiry," and its symbol the medal of the Jubilee, bearing the device of a Bible on the altar, with

the two figures, Reason and Faith, and the motto *Biblia Fidei et Rationi restituta.*

This first period of conflict between the two tendencies presently gave way to a truce of some length, which lasted till 1869, and during which what is generally known as Evangelicism prevailed. A conception of Christianity that was deeper and more inward than that of the eighteenth century, representing it, above all things, as a teaching and a practical life, had been sown in ground that was well prepared to receive it. The influence of the pupils of Neander and of Vinet, and that, earlier in date, of the Genevan thinkers and preachers, such as the pastors Cellérier père, Barthélemy Bouvier, Charles Chenevière, J. J. Martin, and Professors Diodati and Cellérier fils, had slowly but surely established the conviction that Christianity is much less a doctrine than a life, the life of communion with God, lived by the Master, and communicated to his disciples by virtue of his sacrifice, and the gift of his spirit.

With these convictions there came to be connected a new zeal for the development of the Christian life and for the maintenance of Christian influences in the midst of our changeful and progressive society, in which pure democracy had established itself by the two successive revolutions of 1841 and 1846. This zeal carried with it all the clergy, and such of the laity as had taken to heart the lessons and the needs of the time. The Protestants, moreover, had a strong motive for agreement amongst themselves in the invasion of Catholicism through the immigration of foreigners, the increasingly seductive attractions of Ultramontanism, which were energetically though differently represented by the curé Vuarin and by his successor, the wily and brilliant orator Mermillod. Accordingly, every effort of the theologians and the preachers was devoted, on the one hand, to a learned or popular polemic against Catholicism, on the other to a popular system of apologetics. A great number of addresses, of lectures and discourses, from the pulpit or the platform, in the churches or in the *Salle de la Réformation*, were given with one or other of these purposes in view,

by several distinguished men, such as the controversialist Bungener, the apologists Agénor de Gasparin, Ernest Naville, and others, French or Swiss; MM. de Pressensé, Bersier, Bois, de Rougemont, Puaux, Charles Secrétan, F. Godet, &c.

The general and indisputable result of this great literary and practical activity was threefold. It maintained and propagated the Protestant spirit in the new social strata; it brought clearly before men's minds, what a long and vital experience had for centuries been leading the Genevese republicans to recognise, the necessity and the excellence of religion in both private and public life. In short the two Churches, the national and the free, the two tendencies which had hitherto been in rivalry with one another, were drawn together by the force of these common dangers and united efforts.

In 1869 a new champion was to come down into the arena, and to provoke fresh conflicts. It was what is known as the new liberalism, or liberal Christianity, or modern theology. It made its first appearance in the teaching of the professor of oratory, Edmund Scherer (afterwards the senator and the celebrated critic), on occasion of his resignation in 1849, followed by the publication of the *Revue de Strasbourg* by his friend Colani. But this incident had no immediate effect in Geneva, except in the meditations of certain young minds. Liberal Christianity reappeared in French-speaking Switzerland in 1869, on occasion of a controversy about the use to be made of the Bible in the education of the young. The question of the value of the doctrine of plenary inspiration was thus openly and conspicuously brought forward, and from that time a schism was inevitable between those who were alarmed by the modern theology and those who had, for a longer or shorter time, been silently drawn towards it. This schism openly proclaimed itself towards the end of 1869, on the one hand by the establishment of the journal, the *Alliance Libérale*, as the organ of the new ideas; on the other hand by the more bellicose character henceforth assumed by the *Semaine Religieuse*, which has been, since 1853, the organ of the practical activity of

Evangelicism. The two schools of thought were not slow in organising themselves, and connecting themselves with kindred associations established in Switzerland, and in ranging their adherents, ecclesiastical and lay, in two opposition societies, the *Union Nationale Evangélique*, and the *Union du Christianisme Libéral.* We may just give a general outline of the doctrines of these two societies respectively.

Those of the evangelicals have been embodied by them in the "declaration of principles" which was signed in January, 1870, by fifty-three out of the ninety-three clergymen belonging, at that time, to Geneva; and it was addressed to the public. The substance of the document is contained in the following articles:—

We believe it to be our duty to make the following declaration in opposition to those which characterise the liberal doctrine, so-called.

For us Christianity is not simply a product of the progress of human reason and conscience. It is, in the full meaning of the words, a supernatural fact, a revelation of God and of His redeeming love.

For us, the Bible is, therefore, not simply a human book, superior to other human books. It is the Word of God, inspired by His Spirit, and we continue to recognise in it the sole authority in matters of faith.

For us Jesus Christ is not merely the ideal man, the perfect man. He is the only Son of God, the Word made flesh, and we affirm, with His divine nature, His supernatural birth, and His glorious resurrection.

For us, therefore, neither is Jesus Christ merely an initiator of the religious life and the moral life; He is, in the full sense of the word, the Saviour, who has ransomed us by His death from the condemnation of sin, and by whom alone henceforth we can find grace with God.

For us, finally, the Christian life is not and cannot be the result of the natural dispositions and the forces proper to man. It is the fruit of our union with Christ, and has its necessary origin in a new spiritual birth, which is the work of God in us by the Holy Spirit.

Such is our faith: founded on the authority of the Word of

God; it is neither more nor less than the full adhesion of our reason, our conscience and our heart to the truth.*

Now this declaration is already nearly fourteen years old, and in the present age the evolution of ideas does not go on slowly. We have reason to believe that many who signed this document which was struck off in the heat of the conflict, would not put it in the same shape to-day, and would express their convictions in a form less directly opposed to modern theology. Let us await a new opportunity.

Turning now to Liberal Christianity; we do not find any collective counter-declaration of its adherents, for two reasons. In the first place, this phase of opinion has presented itself, by the simple force of circumstances, under a negative aspect, and in the next place, the avowed partisans of individual liberty in matters of faith, shrink from anything that would appear to bind them to the letter of a document, in a common bond. At the same time liberal Protestantism finds ample enough expression in the journals, the addresses and the publications of its principal adherents in the French-speaking countries.†

The following, briefly and in broad outline, is their theology. As they have come forward in the character of reformers we may properly mention first what it is they reject, and then what they retain, of the great traditions of the Churches.

What they reject is authority under the diverse forms in which it has continued to be recognised in Protestantism, plenary inspiration, miracles, the supernatural, dogmatism and confessionalism, that is to say the claim to confine the spirit of Christianity within superannuated formulas and

* These ideas have found expression in the works of F. Coulin, the most distinguished orator of the party, L. Choisy, F. Chaponnière, the learned and clever editor of the *Semaine;* and in the *Etrennes Religieuses*, a collection of articles of edification, history, varieties, and news, with an ecclesiastical chronicle of the year, which has appeared since 1850.

† In France the late Athanase Coquerel fils, Colani, Pécaut, Réville and others who have remained within the circle of ecclesiastical activity, such as Fontanés, Viguié, H. Mouchon, Gérold, Théophile and Elisée Bost, C. and E. Rabaud; and, at Geneva, amongst others J. Cougnard, the late J. Viollier, Chantre, &c.

to impose them on believers as the adequate expression of divine truth itself,—"a stone in place of bread."

What they retain is, in the first place, Christian theism, while at the same time they do not take sufficient account of the great problem which is involved in the term, I mean the relation between the immanence and the transcendence of God. In the French-speaking countries, especially at Geneva, I do not know a single theologian who in his boldest flights—which are discreet by the side of those of not a few German theologians—has ever called theism in question. Not one is an Agnostic or a Positivist. It can only have been in ignorance that the contrary has been asserted. The next point of doctrine is the central and supreme place which belongs to Christ in the faith and religious life of the soul and in the history of humanity,—Christ the revealer of the sonship of man and the fatherhood of God, the founder of the kingdom of God, or of true moral and social civilisation. Finally there is the belief in the personal survival of the soul, which, in the view of almost all, will issue, under the government of the God of love, in universal salvation.

We might charge the liberals, like the rest of the Genevese, with a certain lack of mysticism. The Genevese is a good naturalist and historian; he observes facts; but in philosophy he has done little more than generalise experience, and, as a rule, he is wanting in speculative boldness and in depth.

We owe but few writings (beyond the articles in the *Alliance*) to the liberal party in Geneva.*

Beyond these parties, or in an intermediate position between them, we find a group of men who are non-militant, and who have preferred for the most part not to rank themselves exclusively with either party, but to remain in-

* We should mention however *La Résurrection de Jesus Christ*, by S. Viollier, a remarkable attempt to explain the development of this belief in the apostolic age; the occasional sermons of the eloquent Professor Cougnard, the studies and moral conferences of Pastor Guillermet, and a series of annual volumes, which correspond to those of the Evangelicals, and which have appeared since 1874 under the name of *Etrennes Chrétiennes*.

dependent. They constitute, as it were, the right centre and the left centre. They are by choice professed theologians, professors of the national faculty, and certain young pastors who have been alive to the dangers of the spirit of party. These men have attempted to combine free science and faith, and have laboured for the reconciliation of men's minds in this field of thought.

It was in their spirit that there was founded twelve years ago the *Société des Sciences Théologiques*, in which are presented and debated with perfect courtesy, from different points of view, every month, papers on questions of doctrine or religious history. The majority of the theological works of importance which have appeared of late years have emanated from this group.*

We believe that while they may be left somewhat in the background during the excitement of the conflict, this group will exercise a continually increasing influence, and will succeed much better than the liberals with their sharp polemic, in detaching the younger generation from the traditional dogmatism, so as to lead them to that higher synthesis of modern science and piety towards which all earnest minds are aspiring.

2. I have said that the detractors of the national church of Geneva start with a second prejudice—the ecclesiastical prejudice—namely, that the true church must be a close corporation, in which the clergy and laity are bound by an orthodox confession of faith. There are two means by

* The new version of the Old Testament, by Professor Segond, of the New, by Professor Oltramare; the *Commentary* (in two volumes) *on the Epistle to the Romans*, by the latter; the great *History of Christianity* (in five volumes), by the ex-Professor Chastel, lately completed; *Le Dogmatisme et les Grands Traits de la Religion de l'Humanité*, by César Malan fils; *La Fin du Mal*, by Petavel Olliff; *L'Introduction à l'étude de la Theologie protestante*, by Ernest Martin; *La Genèse de l'Idée de Dieu*, by J. J. Gourd; to which may be added the works of the present writer, the two latest of which have been noticed in the *Modern Review*. The same spirit seems to us to have inspired most of the theses which the candidates in theology maintain, and publish at the conclusion of their studies in the national faculty, (those of the *Ecole Libre* do not publish theirs), to obtain their degree or their licence. There have been a hundred and ten since 1872.

which this result can be secured. We may either have a congregational church composed of voluntary adherents grouped round a creed of their own choosing ; or we may have a national church with a clergy that subscribes to some ancient historic confession, and looks after the faith of the flock. The only position we can see besides these two is this third one, of a church in which pastors, teachers, and laity, in perfect freedom, remain united in spirit with Jesus Christ, and united to one another in the bond of memories and examples, and of a real inner mission to society. It is this last attitude that the Genevan church has come, in course of time, to take up, and which I allow is perhaps difficult of comprehension outside the country itself, on which account it is generally misunderstood and severely and unjustly judged.

Circumstances have led this church to separate itself more and more from confessionalism and clericalism, and to advance in a more liberal direction. We may show how this has come to pass by taking a rapid glance at the course of events.

During the second half of the sixteenth century and the whole of the seventeenth, Calvinistic orthodoxy had prevailed, not without hardness. It asserted itself against the infiltrations of Arminianism and Cartesianism in turn, by the canons of Dordrecht and the *Consensus*. Men's minds, however straitly repressed and unintelligently divided, did not submit to this yoke without impatience ; and, at the beginning of the 18th century, under the influence of a great mind, Alphonse Turrettini, a friend of Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Church of Geneva set itself on two separate occasions (1706 and 1725) to shake it off, in order to substitute the Bible for every confession of ecclesiastical faith. It went so far as to recognise no other rule of faith than the Bible interpreted by private inquiry. This régime continued for a hundred and fifty years, and became a tradition of liberty which was a source of legitimate pride. In the *Règlement organique de l'Eglise*, which was drawn up by the evangelicals, after the democratic constitution of 1847,

the following articles appeared under the first heading, 'The Church.'

1. The National Protestant Church of Geneva receives as the Word of God, and asdivinely inspired, the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It takes them as the basis and the sole rule of faith and life, infallible and entirely sufficient.
2. Founded on this basis, it recognises for each one of its members the right of free inquiry.
3. This Church, instituted for the advancement of the kingdom of God by faith in Jesus Christ, has as its special mission to provide for the religious and moral interests of the members who compose it.
4. It admits, as the sole rule of its teaching, the teaching of God as it is contained in the revealed books.
5. It is united in a spiritual communion, by the bond of Christian brotherhood, with the evangelical churches which are founded on the authority of the Word of God.

After the appearance of the new liberalism, the logic of the situation removed out of the way even this remnant, certainly modest enough, of a confession of faith. The expression "infallible rule" had, since the Vatican Council, on the one hand, and the controversy about plenary inspiration, on the other, acquired a rigorous meaning which in the first instance had not belonged to it; and so the liberals could not keep it without inconsistency. The first section therefore disappeared. Under stress of the same experiences the obligatory character of the old official catechism disappeared also (the obligation, by the way, was practically very elastic), as well as that of the liturgies. It is to be observed that the liturgies of the Reformation had from time to time undergone various modifications both in substance and in style, each edition marking a further remove from Calvinism. The last revision, however, of 1861, had still an impress which was somewhat strongly evangelical. The liberals proposed, as an addition to the prayers and the formulary of 1861, some new formularies, cast in the same mould but of a different theological texture, and the liberal consistory of 1875 printed a final edition, containing, side by side, the two

series, which differed from one another less than might have been expected. The liberals, however, have ceased to read from the pulpit the "Apostles' Creed," on account of their having been reproached with not accepting, *ex animo*, all its articles.

This absence, however, of a confession of faith or prescribed liturgy, by no means prevents the two groups from making, each on its own account, when the occasion arises, such declaration of principles as may be deemed necessary for the edification of the people, or for making their convictions clear. I have already mentioned that of the evangelicals in 1870. There have been articles written with the same object in the *Alliance*. We go so far as to believe that the whole Church might be brought, in such a concurrence of circumstances, to set forth its aim, its mission, the God whose love it proclaims, the spiritual head on which it depends, and the engagement to the spiritual life which is more or less expressly entered into by all those who have a part in that life. But such a declaration would have no resemblance to the old confessions of faith. With these the Church of Geneva will no longer have anything to do, because the difficulties and dangers connected with them have been too vividly experienced. Moreover the majority of the members of the Church feel no need of them. The Church is a moral personality which has already had a long experience of life; she has a strongly marked physiognomy, in spite of the changes in her formulas; and as regards her Protestant type, her vital character and position in the land, she has remained always the same. No son will ask of his mother: Who art thou? No Genevan Protestant can fail to recognise the living unity, which, by her training, she has impressed on all her children. Neither of the two theological parties ventures to claim her exclusively for its own doctrine. This is so true that the evangelicals and the liberals, after having quarrelled among one another pretty sharply for seven or eight years, have in the end perceived that the two tendencies corresponded to two needs which were different from one another, but equally waiting to be satisfied;

that they had neither the power nor the right to dispossess one another; that the two groups had an equal claim to the heritage of the fathers, to a place of their own in the house; and that at the elections, while each did its best to obtain a majority, they were bound for the sake of justice as well as of peace to leave a share to the opposition.

The Church of Geneva has advanced more slowly, but not less surely, in a direction contrary to clericalism. The Company of Pastors, which till lately had a preponderating influence in ecclesiastical and academical affairs, had retained this in great measure since the Restoration under the régime of the Constitution of 1814. Some attempts were made on its privileges in 1834 and 1842, but it received its severest blow in the democratic revolution of 1846 and the Constitution which followed in 1847. It was then that, with the applause of several distinguished evangelicals, for the *Church of the Clergy* was substituted the *Church of the People*. From that time onwards, the universal suffrage of Protestant citizens has decided everything. It is they who elect the Consistory, it is they who appoint the Pastors in every parish. The Consistory administers and directs the Church. This body, composed of twenty-five laymen and six pastors, has two laymen as president and secretary; which does not prevent the small minority of ecclesiastics from exercising a just influence in its counsels. The Company of Pastors has finally lost the small remnant of power which was reserved to it by the law concerning Public Instruction of 1872, and the constitutional ecclesiastical law of 1874. The university regulations including the Faculty of Theology as well as the four others, the Company was deprived of the power of nominating the professors and superintending the theological studies, and the right of requiring the examinations of the candidates to be submitted to them. The theological students, nevertheless, are dependent on them in so far as they perform, under the title of *Proposants*, the offices of worship. Besides this the pastors are always summoned to sit on the boards of examiners.

To sum up: the result of the whole movement has been

to destroy clericalism, in principle at least, and to give the laity a preponderating share in the direction of religious affairs; from which, however, it by no means follows that pastors distinguished by their capacities and their zeal have lost their personal influence.

Such a state of things may seem alarming enough to those who theorise about the question of the Church. To those people whose lives do not belong to it and who do not interpret it by its history, its circumstances, and usages it may appear suspicious, dangerous, and deprived of all safeguards. But these fears have but little foundation. There remain, in fact, sufficiently solid guarantees in the education both of the future pastors and of the Protestant citizens.

As regards the former, there is hardly a chance that the parishes would elect any but Genevese, or students of the Faculty who, as *Proposants*, have been for three years under the moral superintendence of the Company of Pastors, and who, moreover, have become known to the public by their preaching and by the share they may have taken in religious works.

And as to the Protestant citizens, we may judge of their fitness to take part in the affairs of the church if we take into account the influences of the following institutions :— the pastor's annual house-to-house visitation of his parish; the religious consecration of marriages; the funeral services, conducted in the bosom of the family; the lessons in religion given in the state schools, which are optional but are generally attended; and the association of pastors with laymen in a number of patriotic and philanthropic works. Special account is to be taken of the deep influence of a characteristic institution, the religious instruction of the catechumens, which is conducted as follows :—All the young people in the Protestant families are invited to attend a course of instruction given by the pastor of the parish, or by some other pastor selected by themselves,— the course extending over eight months in the town, or two winters in the country. They are not admitted till they

are of an age to profit most by this education, the boys at 16 years, the girls at 15. The course is concluded by an examination, followed by a solemn public ceremony, in which the young people voluntarily enter into a serious engagement by replying "yes" to the questions which we here transcribe.

1. You, then, catechumens, who present yourselves for admission to the Lord's Supper, have you a sincere faith in the truths of the Gospel, and are you so persuaded of these truths that you are ready to suffer anything rather than abandon the profession of them?

2. Will you, in response to the love which God has shown in Jesus Christ, love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your soul and all your mind?

3. Will you love your neighbour as yourself, and live with all your brethren in peace, in charity, and in the communion of Jesus?

4. Are you resolved, trusting in the help of the Holy Spirit, to fight against sin, and to regulate all your life by the commandments of God?

5. In order continually to strengthen your faith and your piety, do you promise to give yourselves to prayer, to read carefully the Word of God, and diligently to frequent the services of public worship?

6. You declare, then, in the presence of God and of the Church, that you confirm the vow of your baptism, and that you consecrate yourself to God your Father and to Jesus Christ your Saviour. Is this, catechumens, what you declare?

In consequence of these declarations and these promises, I admit you, in the name of the Lord, to partake of the Holy Supper, and to all the privileges of the new Covenant which God has made with us by His Son.

Such is the force of a tradition of centuries, the benefits of which successive generations have so well appreciated, that scarcely a single Genevan family holds itself aloof. I do not hesitate to say that, notwithstanding the lamentable number of men and women who forget the pledges of their early days, there remains an indelible recollection of this period of their life—memories which revive

in the trials of mature years, like the more ancient writing in certain palimpsests. I do not hesitate to attribute to it a good part of that religious character which persists in the Swiss conscience, and at Geneva more especially, that interest in the things of religion, that regard and affection for the pastor, of which so many evidences abound; and I see in it all a guarantee, a purely moral one, it is true, and therefore variable and liable to be weakened, as are those of education, but still a genuine one. The Church, then, is a mutual school, an institution of the higher civilisation; and the journals and radical orators, in 1880, declared it to be necessary, useful, beneficial, for the morality, the culture, the happiness of the nation, more especially by virtue of its breadth and its hold upon the people.

For the rest, there could not be any other guarantee of the sincerity of men in the conduct of their spiritual affairs; and why do we distrust these so often? Why should they seem to count for nothing in comparison with the legal guarantees, and the control of the authorities? Is it that we have at bottom a want of that confidence which Jesus had in human nature, which is the offspring of God? Is it not to ignore the hold which honour, good sense, and enlightened interest have on the mind of the individual and of the masses? What! is it imagined, and has any one the assurance to say that young people without any vocation, without faith, as freethinkers hardly believing in a God at all, would enter on a course of theological study, long, laborious, difficult, and then on such a career as that of the Christian ministry, which is less lucrative and more beaten upon by the winds than any other, and in which God, conscience, and the opinion of men compel the minister of the Gospel to treat his commission seriously, and to be faithful to it? What a gratuitous outrage on a clergy entitled to all respect! What an insult, even to common sense! Is it to be believed that these much-despised liberals would crave a ministry which must be peculiarly difficult for them, and abounding in bitter fruits, without any strong and clear conviction that they are the

messengers of true Christianity? And is it to be imagined that the Protestant people, with the general education which we have depicted, and with a long experience of public life, and of the exercise of electoral rights, and an undeniable interest in the welfare of institutions which have so many claims on their regard, are going with a light heart and a frivolous mind to appoint as directors of their church unworthy men, enemies of Christianity! And does any one, in his ignorance of men and affairs, dare to assert that these things are done! This, too, is a pure calumny.

The *Semaine Religieuse* has called attention to the fact that of the eleven pastors last elected by the people, seven were évangelical, four liberal. A late election which took place on the 28th of October, brought to the city an evangelical pastor from the country, M. Doret, a man held in the highest esteem by everyone. We are in a position to declare that, after taking into full account the respective weight of the parties who have in turn gained the day, the Consistories appointed by universal suffrage have all taken their duties seriously to heart, and have fulfilled them with justice and fidelity. And as to their sincere attachment to the Gospel, it is easy to judge of it from their *Addresses* to the congregations. Your readers may judge it for themselves from the following extract from the Charge which the present Consistory, with a liberal majority, published last September, signed by its lay president.

A people without religious principles, a people who would be the slaves of their interests and their passions, greedy of pleasure and accessible to the voice of flattery, would not be slow in sinking. Such a people would no longer produce those strong moral personalities who have done honour to our country. Shall we, dear fellow-citizens, renounce a past to which we owe so much? Shall we renounce the idea of being in the future a Christian and believing people, and content ourselves with the bread that perisheth? Shall we limit the range of our hopes to the narrow horizon of the present time, and break with the traditions of piety and sanctity? The Consistory are persuaded that you have no such thoughts. They urge you therefore to

celebrate the fasts of humiliation to which you are summoned, with a feeling of sincere repentance, individual and national. Bring to these religious festivals a spirit of prayer and supplication, and let everyone who has at heart the maintenance of our national Church assure himself that this venerable institution depends less on the popular vote than on the worth of its members.

The new Consistory which you have called to take in hand for four years the administration of the Church, convinced that a disputatious and narrow spirit is injurious to the cause of religion, invites you all to give it the support of your co-operation and your enlightenment. Let us profit by the truce in the discussion of ecclesiastical questions which seems to prevail in the land, and learn to love and respect one another. Let us build up one another in the faith of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Let us forget those things which are behind us and press forward towards the things that are before, desiring but one thing: that the Kingdom of God may come, and that His will may be done in our happy corner of the earth as it is done in heaven.

There is one more feature which characterises the Church of Geneva, namely its *Nationalism.* This is inherent in it by virtue of its origin and its history. We have recalled how, up to the time of its annexation by France, the old republic was exclusively Protestant, how all its citizens took the oath of allegiance to the gospel, and how the Church was connected in the closest union with the State, and the State with the Church. Since the rule of the French, which introduced Catholicism into Geneva, and the treaties of 1815 which incorporated in the old republic, when it was restored and became Swiss again, certain French and Sardinian Catholic communities, Catholicism has been recognised as having equal rights, and its priests have been paid by the State. But, in point of fact, Geneva has remained a Protestant country, in education, in character, in its passion for liberty, its aversion for the domination of the priest in the intellectual and moral realm. This is just what determined its resistance to the pretensions of the Vatican, armed with its syllabus and its infallibility; that brought about the

expulsion of the Curé Mermillod, when he posed as apostolic vicar, in spite of the State and the confederation, and soon after the foundation of a national Catholic church, of which, however, I do not intend to speak here. Suffice it to affirm this profoundly national character of the Protestant church, connected as it is by such ancient and close bonds with the destinies of our people.

The idea, however, of the separation of the Church from the State, which is quite justifiable in theory, was introduced among the Protestants of Geneva in the first instance by the appearance of small independent churches which were created by the Revival, and which, by the high qualities of some of their leaders, and by their activity, have received a notable increase in numbers; and it gained ground by the propaganda of the disciples of Vinet, and also of some free-thinkers, and more recently still by the local adhesion of the Ultramontanes. The question has on several occasions been brought before the political councils of the country, in 1842, 1847, 1855, and last of all in 1879 and 1880. It is well known that it was decided by a very large majority in favour of the maintenance of the union, on the 4th of July, 1880, as has been related in the *Contemporary Review* (August, 1882). All the liberals, both pastors and laymen, voted for the union. Certain evangelical pastors who, after the passing of the new law of 1874, had signed an Address, declaring that they remained in the national Establishment to labour there to raise up the true Church in the country, pronounced for separation in their discourses and by their votes. It seemed as if logic must compel them to leave the church; but they have remained in it. The separatists have reproached them for this. We cannot do so. There are in life forces which are mightier and even more legitimate than that of logic. They have remained from attachment to the parishes which they had so long served, and which, in return, had multiplied upon them the proofs of their gratitude. Need we add also that after the first heat of the struggle between evangelicism and liberalism, the evangelicals ended in recognising the

rights of the liberals, not only within the pale of the outward institution, where it is evident, but, what they had contested and what is more important, within the spiritual pale of Christianity itself; and that at the last moment they recoiled, in 1880, as they had done after the Constitution of 1874, from a schism which would have separated them from old friends, and would have compromised the position of Protestantism in the country and the influence of Christianity on the masses. We begin to understand that these two conceptions of Christianity are not incompatible, and that some day the work of theology will bring them to that higher synthesis of which we have previously spoken; and meanwhile the two parties must bear with one another in the same establishment, and make mutual concessions in all things which are not expressly matters of conscience.

This is in fact the position of affairs to-day. Each of the two parties has included in its list some names from the other side. The Consistory elected in 1879, with a majority of evangelicals, went by the name of the "Consistory of pacification," and the system of a limited vote, which guaranteed the representation of the minority, was very nearly carried, in May, 1883, on the advice of an eminent historian of the country, the type of the true citizen, a friend of justice and of peace, who died shortly after, and whose name must be placed on this page—Amédée Roget. The Protestant electoral body, taking it altogether, is animated by a genuine spirit of equity; and if we consider the whole series of nominations which it has made we see that it has instinctively kept the balance true. It is a practical reply, and the best that could be made to the detractors of the present régime, to those who, closing their eyes and ears, cry Anarchy! Disorder! Triumph of Unbelief! Anti-Christian Church!

The National Church has thus come to be inspired with a spirit of intelligent tolerance, and to assist the free play, within its bosom, of different groups, and the activity of little churches within the great one, on the condition, always, that its directing and controlling body shall keep a firm hand in the administration of the whole, and not allow

itself to be deprived of this power by any one of the militant parties, since in it alone resides the power to maintain order by just and equal dealing. Your Anglican church includes three parties which differ from one another as ours do —High-church, Broad-church and Low-church; and yet it lives,—so surely will life baffle and surpass logic.

Let us take a last general survey of the facts which we have successively set forth, and then let us seek to gain from them some prevision of the future.

1. The Church of Geneva is divided into two parties (for it is absurd to say that there are "as many opinions as parishes") and the collision between them is greatly lessened by the independent minds who do not range themselves exclusively on this side or that. The liberals carry the day in the city, where they have for the most part the support of the resident Swiss of other cantons. In the country the case is reversed.

2. We cannot prevent the working of the respective affinities of the religious parties and the political parties. The liberals have generally the support of the radicals, the evangelicals that of the conservatives. As far as that goes, are not these relations in the nature of things, and met with everywhere? Are not your liberals rather dissenters, and your conservatives rather partisans of the High church? And in Germany is not the governmental party rather orthodox, Lutheran, and the liberals friends of the party called national and progressist? The main thing is not to allow to the divergent affinities a mischievous power over men's belief and conscience.

3. The Church, under the democratic régime, has seen the laity take a continually greater part in its interests and its works, not only because it has afforded them more rights, but also because it has called them to more duties. The régime, indeed, requires of all greater watchfulness for the maintenance and triumph of their convictions. The more manifest it makes the evils that exist, the more does it call out the efforts for good; and we believe that, in this way far from stifling religion or causing it to be eclipsed in men's minds by more conspicuous and more

urgent political and social interests, it stimulates all the religious and moral energies and impels them in a course which is stormy, indeed, but attractive to all holy ambitions.

And now if we turn from the present state of things to the prospects which it opens out to us, the following are some of the glimpses we get as regards doctrine.

Religion is a power, at once ethical and mystical, which is inherent in the human mind, urging the will and the affections towards the infinite, and nowhere better comprehended, aided and satisfied than in Christianity, regarded as the reflection and the work of Him who could call God the Father, and himself the Son, and us, with him, the Sons of God. But this power, great as it is, is not always, even amongst Christians, as enlightened as it should be. Being connected with a particular fact, the figure of Christ, who is himself at the centre of a vast history, it requires the help of science to control the knowledge of the fact, of reason to formulate the impression which this fact leaves on men's souls, and to define and co-ordinate the ideas which the fact carries with it, to correct those which have prevailed in different periods, in a word, to reconcile vital faith, or Christian experience, with reason. We venture to assert it is to this end that the efforts of the Genevan clergy have been directed since the beginning of the last century. That the historical and literary criticism of the Bible, which is almost entirely a product of the present century, was wanting in the 18th was almost inevitable; and we may admit, without surprise, that in the course of the 19th century there has not been a sufficient measure of that genius at once speculative and mystical, that blending of fidelity to Christ with boldness and penetration in the knowledge of the world, without which we shall never see a complete reconciliation of faith and modern thought.

But let us give the liberals full credit for the way in which, with all their disadvantages, they have tended in this direction, and let us encourage the evangelicals, with all the solid wealth of their traditional equipment,

to undertake this noble research. Some recent indications have led us to hope that the Genevan clergy, as a whole, feel impelled to advance along this fruitful path.

Finally let us consider the future of the Question of the Church. All the forms which Reformed Protestantism can give to the Church have been tried at Geneva. The Revival asserted the divine authority of the organisation of the Apostolic church, and would have it reproduced in our day. The various experiments which have been tried and tried again by the free church have shown that in the matter of the Church there is nothing absolutely and eternally true; that the Church has a relative existence and, in the spirit of the Founder of the kingdom of God, must modify itself according to the times and circumstances, and the religious and other needs of the age and the country. In the national church the same result has been attained, by different experiences. Here also the effect of the union of the Church and State and of universal suffrage in ecclesiastical affairs, has shown that this method of church government is not the only one which makes for the extension and confirmation of the kingdom of God in modern society. Experience has clearly shown us that while the kingdom of God is the end, the Church is but the means; and that the means may and should vary, while the end remains the same, that is, the education of the individual and of society in and by the spirit of Christ. If this higher liberty in regard to the question of the Church and its different aspects, together with this firm adherence to the unchanging aim, is being continually more fully apprehended in this little workshop of ecclesiastical novelties which is called Geneva, the lesson may be taken to heart in larger countries and by the whole of the Protestant world. The essential thing is not such and such a relation between Church and State, such and such a position of clergy and laity respectively; the essential thing is that enlightened Christians should make it their aim to become more and more truly, in their country and within their own circle, the light and the salt of the world.

AUGUSTE BOUVIER.

OUTLINES AND EPISODES OF BRAHMIC HISTORY.

THE name of the Brahmo Somaj, or Theistic Church of India, has of late been recalled to public attention in Europe by several occurrences. The fiftieth anniversary of the death of its founder, Rájá Rám Mohun Roy, was recently commemorated in the city where that event took place, by an interesting lecture from Professor Max Müller: an eloquent Brahmo missionary has been making a preaching tour through England and the United States; and various able writers, English, French, and Dutch, have been publishing biographical or historical sketches of the Brahmo Somaj, either separately or in current periodicals. But the fullest epitome of the movement which has yet appeared from an European hand is contained in a work just published by Count Goblet d'Alviella, on Contemporary Religious Evolution. * In the first two sections of the book the author sketches the various phases of what he terms "Religious Rationalism" in England and the United States, while the third section is devoted to Indian Theism. The author, who had previously published a little book of travels in India—*Inde et Himalaya*—makes no claim to acquaintance with the Indian languages, but he has diligently studied such native publications as are accessible in English, besides many English compilations from original sources, and he has woven all this various information into a continuous narrative which is both lucid and

* *L'Évolution Religieusc Contemporaine chez les Anglais, les Américains, et les Hindous.* Par LE COMTE GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, Membre de la Chambre des Représentants de Belgique. Paris: Baillière. Brussels: C. Muquardt. London: Nutt, 270, Strand. 1884.

graphic, and should go far to render the story familiar to European readers. A few errors of detail may be observed here and there, and some of the judgments expressed by the author are open to considerable question; but taken as a whole, his sketch may be undoubtedly recommended as the best summary of Brahmic history accessible to non-Oriental readers, and as marked throughout by an earnest desire to present a faithful picture of the reality.

To those who have watched the Brahmo Somaj with sympathetic interest for many years, it is deeply gratifying to observe all these tokens of its gradual entrance into the religious commonwealth of mankind, as a recognised power for moral and religious good. At the same time, it is impossible not to be struck by one limitation which is common to all the European summaries of Brahmic history that have yet appeared, viz.: that with the exception of a few rare passages here and there, they are all confined to the proceedings of a few remarkable men in the city of Calcutta. Count Goblet d'Alviella's book is partly an exception to this; he is really aware that Calcutta and India are not synonymous terms, and he gives a few occasional glimpses of the background to his picture; but it does not enter into his plan to do more. Yet it is quite time that more should be done, and that Western thinkers who care to understand what the Brahmo movement really is, should study it in those phases which have hitherto passed unnoticed here. Fully to do justice to these less familiar aspects of the subject would require more space than a review article, and linguistic qualifications which the present writer does not possess; but some contributions to such a sketch may be here given. Passing lightly, therefore, over those portions of the chief Calcutta events which are tolerably well known, and to which the pages of the *Évolution Religieuse* render such full justice, the following narrative will supply, where practicable, some of the missing links, and attempt to give a general view of the whole.

It is now just fifty-four years since the January day on which the Brahmo Somaj was first definitely established in

Calcutta, in the presence of five hundred Indians, and one solitary Englishman, Mr. Montgomery Martin, who had, under the instructions of Rám Mohun Roy, drawn up the well-known Trust Deed by which the building was set apart "for a place of Public Meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people, as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner, for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, and Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe." This was the crowning act in the noble life of Rám Mohun Roy; a life which had been spent, first in an ardent and unremitting search after religious truth, and next, in the endeavour to wean his countrymen from the degradations of idolatry and the barbarities of widow-burning, and to promote their enlightenment and welfare to the utmost of his ability. Having at length seen his chief labours blessed with success, by the abolition of the Suttee in December, 1829, and the establishment of the Brahmo Somaj in January, 1830, his work was done. A few months later he sailed for England, whence his return was prevented by death, on September 27, 1833.

After this, his Church unavoidably languished for some years; but it was revived and virtually reconstructed by Debendra Náth Tagore, who carried it on to a far higher level of spiritual development, and also laid the foundations of its practical organisation as a religious community. An interesting sketch of his labours and character has been given by one whose memory goes back to this period. We have room only for a few of the main points.*

"By a variety of circumstances, quite unique and singular in their character, he was suddenly impressed, at the age of twenty, with the vanity of all earthly pleasures, and began a deep, earnest, and spiritual search into his own being, its wants and aspirations. As a consequence, his steps were led towards the Brahmo Somaj." He found that the movement had degenerated both as to doctrine and prac-

* *The New Dispensation and the Sádhárun Brahmo Somaj.* By Pandit Siva Nath Sastri, M.A. Madras, 1881. Pp. 4-6, 10.

tical usefulness, and he set to work to give it life and consistency. In 1839 he started the Tattvabodhiny Sabhá, or "Truth-teaching Society," for the dissemination of religious truths, and extended its operations by the establishment of schools in various places, and (in 1843) by the publication of a monthly journal, the *Tattvabodhiny Patriká*, which soon became the best vernacular journal of its time, and still maintains a high reputation.

Along with the thoughts of these practical works, there were other thoughts of a deeper and more spiritual nature working in his mind. He found the Somaj as Rájá Rám Mohun Roy had left it, a mere platform, where people of different creeds used to assemble week after week to listen to the discourses and hymns. Men by joining it pledged nothing, incurred nothing, and lost nothing. Many who attended these services were idolaters at home, and, in fact, knew not what the spiritual worship of the One True God meant. He instantly applied himself to remove this spiritual want. He bound himself and his friends by a solemn covenant introduced in the year 1843, which, besides clearly laying down and defining the attributes of the Deity, enjoined, in the first place, a vow to cultivate a habit of daily prayer; secondly, a vow to give up idolatry. He was the first to sign this covenant, and many were the privations and bitter the persecutions he had to suffer on account of this resolution. He describes in one of his lectures how he would wander away from his house, in sun and rain, on those days when the great goddess Durgá would be worshipped by his parents and relations, simply to avoid taking part, in the least, in any idolatrous ceremony.

After the introduction of this covenant, hundreds of new members were induced to sign it during the next six or seven years, and many branch Somajes were also established in many mofussil [provincial] stations.

Meanwhile another important change was approaching. Hitherto the Vedas had been tacitly acknowledged as the great authority in religious matters, but doubts began to arise on this point, and it was strongly urged that the grounds of belief in Vedic infallibility should be investigated.

Accordingly, Bábu Debendranáth Tágore deputed four young Brahmans, at his own cost, to proceed to Benares and to collect

and read the four Vedas, with a view to be able to correctly expound them after their return. The upshot of these fresh researches was, that the infallibility of the Vedas could not be any longer maintained. The Vedas were finally given up, leaving the creed of the Bráhmo Somaj pure and simple Theism. After this great and important change, Bábu Debendranáth proceeded to revise the articles of his faith and to lay down those fundamental principles upon which the Adi Somaj at present stands. He also reframed a Theistic Covenant for the acceptance of his disciples, and published a remarkable book called, "*Bráhma Dharma;* or, the Religion of the One True God," the best monument of his religious genius. It consists of Theistic selections from passages of the Upanishads, with his own commentaries. . . . Before his time, Brahmoism had existed as a mere matter of speculative thought. It was he who gave it the attractions of life, by teaching the secrets of prayer and spiritual communion. It was he who taught the Brahmos to worship God, as the "soul of their souls," and the "life of their lives," and in his own devout person he showed the way. We still vividly recollect the day, when we hung with profound respect and fond filial trust upon every word that fell from his venerable lips, and when a single sparkling glance of his eyes awakened strange emotions in our breasts, and made us feel that God was near. His deeply meditative nature, his warm and overflowing heart, his exquisitely-poetic temperament, and, above all, the saint-like purity of his life, all combined to make his Brahmoism a living reality, and to mark him out, even to this day, as the highest type of a truly devout character amongst us.

These extracts will give some idea of the amount of development which the Brahmo Somaj attained under the guidance of its second founder, a purely Hindu Theist of the noblest type.

Rám Mohun Roy cleared the ground and laid the foundation stone, but it was Debendra Náth Tagore who raised the first story of the superstructure; and it was inevitable that that first stage should be substantially Hindu. The time, however, could not but arrive when wider vistas should be opened. To quote again from Pandit S. N. Sástri—"There was a body of young men, early inoculated with Christian

ideas, and trained in the school of Parker and Newman, who were longing for a broader and more comprehensive type. The *sense of sin* and *prayer*, first imbibed from Christian sources, had taken root in their hearts. The old Hindu type of piety was rather chilling and benumbing to their spirits. They were longing for getting away—doing God's good work in the world. . . They boldly launched into social reforms, and the older party held back with doubts and misgivings." * At last, the divergences between the older and the younger parties became too wide to admit of harmonious co-operation, and the result was a secession of the younger Brahmos under Keshub Chunder Sen, who had joined the Brahmo Somaj in 1857, and between whom and Debendra Náth Tagore there had been a very close union in personal affection, and in the joint work of reform and development of the Church. The secession took place in February, 1865, and the seceders enrolled themselves in November, 1866, into a separate body entitled the "Bháratvarsya (or Indian) Brahmo Somaj," a title which was anglicised as the "Brahmo Somaj of India." At the meeting held for this purpose, Mr. Sen thus described the situation :—

We see around us a large number of Brahmo Somajes in different parts of the country for the congregational worship of the One True God, and hundreds upon hundreds of men professing the Brahmo faith; we have besides, Missionaries going about in all directions to preach the saving truth of Bráhma Dharma (Theism); books and tracts inculcating these truths are also being published from time to time. To unite all such Brahmos and form them into a body, to reduce their individual and collective labours into a vast, but well-organised system of unity and co-operation—this is all that is sought to be accomplished at the present meeting. Professing a common faith, it is our duty to combine for common good, and not to remain isolated from and be regardless of each other. We must endeavour to realise, as far as lies in our power, the true ideal of the Church of God; we must form a truly Theistic Brotherhood, a family

* *Brahmo Public Opinion*, August 4, 1881. "Development of Piety in the Brahmo Somaj."

of God's children, of which He is our common Father and Head; that holy Kingdom of Heaven of which He is the Eternal King.

During the next ten years, much was done which undoubtedly tended towards the realisation of this ideal in various ways. In 1866, a selection of Theistic texts was published, taken from the Hindu, Jewish, Christian, Mahometan, and Parsi Scriptures, and chiefly intended for public reading at the Somaj services. This book has passed through several editions, with successive enlargements; and the same has been the case with the *Brahmo Sangit*, or Hymn Book, which was issued by the Somaj. The two religious newspapers which had already been started before the schism, viz.:—the fortnightly *Dharma Tattva* (or "Religious Truth,") and the weekly *Indian Mirror* (which included secular subjects also) were well kept up and circulated, while the *Sangat Sabhá* (or "United Society"), for religious conversation, and the "Society of Theistic Friends" for theological discussion, were also continued—the former being an important instrument of spiritual culture, from which many later developments subsequently arose. A little "Bráhmicá Somaj" was established for the ladies in 1865, and a Prayer-Hall or Church was at length built in Calcutta, and opened for regular Sunday worship in August, 1869. The next year, Mr. Sen paid a six months' visit to England, preaching here extensively, and with deservedly wide acceptance from men of various classes and creeds. When he returned home, he started a new Society, the "Indian Reform Association," for general educational and social improvement. This society was divided into five sections, viz:—Female Improvement, General Education, Cheap Literature, Temperance, and Charity. In the first and fourth divisions a good deal was accomplished, the chief result being a Female Normal School which was fairly successful for several years. A popular weekly newspaper, the *Sulabh Samáchár* ("Cheap News") was started, which still exists, as does also, to some extent, the Charity section, for giving assistance to poor families or students.

Such was the work undertaken by the Brahmo Somaj of India in the metropolis, in addition to which the work of general propagandism was carried on with much zeal. A Mission Office had been opened in the year 1864, and a number of earnest and devout men had forsaken their secular employments and come forward to preach and propagate their faith all over the country. Their sufferings and privations at this early period were very great. Many of them came down from comfortable circumstances to poverty and want, and were sometimes obliged to go without even the bare necessaries of life. But they worked on with unceasing devotedness, and to their zeal may be attributed a very large share of the progress made by the Brahmo Somaj throughout the country, especially in Bengal.

By this time, however, Brahmoism had begun to show itself in other parts of India also. In 1863 a Brahmo Somaj was started in Lahore by a few local Bengali residents, among whom one of the foremost was Babu Navina Chandra Ráy, a learned and philanthropic Brahmo, who has contributed largely to Theistic literature, and is still a distinguished member of the Punjáb Brahmo Somaj. In 1864 and 1867, Theistic churches were started in Madras and Bombay, under the respective titles of Veda Somaj and Prárthaná (Prayer) Somaj; but these, though doubtless stimulated by the example of Bengal, were organised independently, and it is important to note that both in Western and Southern India, the Theistic movement has ever since continued to develop almost entirely from local impulse, though in fraternal relations with the Eastern Theists. For a long while, however, the "Brahmo Somaj of India" undoubtedly held the foremost place in aspiring to a definite Brahmic ideal, which found a name in the term of "Progressive Brahmoism." The eloquent discourses of Mr. Sen, and the beneficial institutions under his direction, attracted wide-spread sympathy to the movement, even from those who dissented from the Brahmic creed. But the most notable and important achievement of Progressive Brahmoism was the Native

Marriage Act, passed in March, 1872, after nearly four years' agitation. By this Act, definite barriers were established, for all who would accept their shelter, against idolatry, polygamy, child-marriage, and (indirectly) caste; and the result has been to raise the moral and social level of life for a large and increasing portion of Indian society.

There is no doubt that a very great share of the credit due for this invaluable reform should be assigned to Keshub Chunder Sen, who, though assisted by others, was himself the chief organiser of the Brahmo-Marriage movement. But after leading the van of Progressive Brahmoism with conspicuous success for many years, K. C. Sen's sympathies began to turn in a different direction. The emotional Gospel of Vaishnavism, with its ecstacies and asceticisms, gained an increasing hold over his imagination; and, in corresponding ratio, the reformatory elements which he had previously cultivated were neglected more and more. How this reactionary wave at length carried him (together with other collateral influences) to the point of shirking his own hardly-won Marriage Act in order to give his child-daughter to a Hindu Prince—the ceremony being even performed (March 6, 1878) with quasi-idolatrous rites—and how this defection, and the plea of *ádesh*, or "divine command," with which he defended it, caused a speedy breach with the majority of his own Church, is too well known to need more than a passing reference. What is not known, however, and needs to be told plainly, is the fact that this breach resulted in a fresh accession of strength to the cause of Progressive Brahmoism. For some years previously, Mr. Sen's modes of procedure and tone of preaching had been growing more and more divergent from the normal types of Brahmoism, to the serious pain and disappointment of many of the oldest members of the Church; and the absence of any regular constitution in the Somaj left all power in his hands, and acted like a dead-lock upon the activities of others. But his fatal error of the 6th of March broke the spell, and restored freedom to the Church. At first, it was

attempted to reorganise the "Brahmo Somaj of India," but as this soon proved impracticable, it was decided to reconstruct the Brahmo Church on an independent basis; and on the 15th of May, 1878, at the Calcutta Town Hall, the chief Brahmos of the metropolis—supported by the official concurrence of twenty-nine provincial Somajes, the written declaration of 425 Brahmos and Bráhmicás, and the warmly-expressed sympathy of the venerable Debendra Náth Tágore—inaugurated the Sádháran (or Universal) Brahmo Somaj, "to secure the representation of the views and the harmonious co-operation of the general Brahmo community, in all that affects the progress and well-being of the Theistic cause and Theistic work in India."

This step was the initiative of a new period, which may be truly called a Brahmic revival. The springs of life were opened afresh, and the Bengal Theists worked with renewed hope and zeal for the realisation of their faith and the reconstruction of their Church. Determined to avoid the dangers of the "one-man rule," and anxious to rally as large a number for common work as possible, their first efforts were given to the establishment of a republican constitution; and this has happily proved to be of a workable kind. The office-bearers (annually elected) are four in number—a president, secretary, assistant-secretary, and treasurer. These act in conjunction with a General Committee, composed of forty persons elected at the annual general meeting of members, and of such representatives from the Provincial Somajes as the latter have previously elected or confirmed. This General Committee, in its turn, appoints twelve of its members as an Executive Committee for the year, who meet every week, and by whom all the actual work is performed, subject to revision at quarterly meetings by the General Committee, who are themselves ultimately responsible to the general body of members. By this arrangement the chief rule practically resides with the Executive Committee, who are chosen from the most active and experienced members of the Somaj, and who, while fully responsible to the general body, are yet quite free to

act efficiently as its accredited managers. At the same time, the annual elections render it easy to vary the actual *personnel* of the Committee, and to utilize the floating margin of newer men who may come forward as older members retire. Thus various ideas come to the front, and different capacities are tested in turn—a flexibility of plan which has great advantages.

The amount of work that has been accomplished by the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj in the course of its five-and-a-half years' existence is most encouraging to all its well-wishers. The first requisite was a Prayer Hall, or Church, in Calcutta. For this a good site in Cornwallis Street was secured, and the foundation stone was laid in January, 1879, before the Somaj had completed its first year; and at the January Anniversary Festival of 1881 the building was opened for regular service. On each of these occasions a Statement of Principles was read aloud in three languages successively,—English, Bengali, and Urdu, and was received by the assembled congregation with deep and vivid sympathy. The second and fuller edition of this Statement, read at the opening of the Church, was as follows:—

This day, the 10th day of Mágh, 1287, according to the Bengáli era, and the 22nd of January, 1881, according to the Christian era, in the fifty-first year of the Brahmo Somaj, we dedicate this Hall to the worship of the One True God. From this day its doors shall be open to all classes of people without distinction of caste or social position. Men or women, old or young, wise or ignorant, rich or poor, all classes will meet here as brethren to worship Him who is the author of our salvation. This great, holy, Supreme God alone shall be worshipped here, to the exclusion of every created person or thing; and no divine honours shall be paid to any man or woman as God, or equal to God, or an incarnation of God, or as specially appointed by God. It shall be ever borne in mind in this Hall that the great mission of Brahmoism is to promote spiritual freedom amongst men, and to enable them to establish direct relationship with God, and the sermons, discourses, and prayers of this place shall be so moulded as to help that spirit. It shall ever be its aim and endeavour to

enable all who thirst after righteousness, to know God, who is the Life of our life, and to worship Him direct.

The catholicity of Brahmoism shall also be preserved here. No book or man shall ever be acknowledged as infallible and the only way to salvation; but nevertheless due respect shall be paid to all scriptures and the good and great of all ages and all countries. In the sermons, discourses, and prayers used in this Hall, no scripture, or sect, or founder of a sect, shall ever be ridiculed, reviled, or spoken of contemptuously. With due respect, untruth shall be exposed and truth vindicated. No man or class of men shall be here regarded as the elect or favourite of God, and the rest of mankind as lost to that favour. Anything calculated to compromise this catholic spirit shall never be countenanced.

The spirituality of our doctrine shall be carefully maintained. Flowers, spices, burnt-offerings, candles, and other material accompaniments of worship shall never be used, and care shall be taken to avoid everything tending to reduce religion to mere parade and lifeless forms.

It shall be the object of all our preachings and discourses in this place to teach men and women to love God, to seek piety, to hate sin, to grow in devotion and spirituality, to promote purity amongst men and women, to uproot all social evils, and to encourage virtuous deeds. Anything that will directly or indirectly encourage idolatry, engender superstition, take away spiritual freedom, lower conscience, or corrupt morals, shall never be countenanced. May this Hall ever remain a refuge and resting-place for all the weary sojourners of this world! May the sinner find consolation and hope in this Hall; may the weak be strengthened, and may all who hunger and thirst find food and drink for their souls. With this hope and prayer we dedicate this Hall in the name of the One True God. May He help and guide us. Amen.*

The regular congregational services in the Prayer Hall are attended by an average congregation of 500 persons, and are held every Sunday evening, with the addition of a morning service on the first Sunday in every Bengali month. Besides these, other services are held at various times,

* *Fourth Annual Report of the Sádhárun Brahmo-Somaj*, pp. 2, 3. Calcutta. 1882.

and on some special occasions the church is crowded. Three festivals are held every year; the anniversary of the founding of the Brahmo Somaj by Rám Mohun Roy, on the 23rd of January; the Bengali New Year's-day, on the 13th of April; and the birthday of the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj, on the 15th of May. The first and greatest of these festivals usually extends over more than a week, and includes the annual gatherings of the various religious institutions of the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj in Calcutta. Of these there are several, and it is important to note that they are not the creation of any one master-mind, imposing its ordinances upon passive followers, but are the natural and spontaneous outcome of many hearts, seeking after God and yearning to know and serve Him.

(1.) The oldest of these institutions is the *Sangat Sabhá*, or United Society. This is a weekly conversational meeting for spiritual progress and mutual help, the subjects discussed being generally matters of individual spiritual experience. This Society does not at present contain a very large number of regular members, but it is said to be very helpful to the spiritual growth of those who take part in it. The original *Sangat Sabhá* was started by K. C. Sen before the first schism, and proved a very fruitful institution; and similar societies have since been introduced in most of the large Somajes. The following kindred institutions, however, are peculiar to the Sádháran Somaj.

(2.) The Students' Weekly Service, established in April, 1879, which soon attracted a large number of attendants, and has continued to be popular ever since. Its objects are "(1) to stimulate religious inquiry, (2) to induce thoughtfulness and earnestness of character, and (3) to create interest in questions of religious and social reform amongst young men"; and it appears to have made genuine progress in the realisation of these aims, one notable result being that a large number of young members have definitely joined the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj and publicly discarded caste and idolatry, manfully accepting the painful consequences which follow such renunciation.

(3.) The Students' Prayer-meeting, dating from 1880. This is for younger students, who meet every Wednesday evening for prayer and spiritual advancement. As a general rule, the members conduct the services themselves, and some of them issue a little fortnightly journal, which is said to be very useful—the *Dharma Bandhu*, or Friend of Religion.

(4.) The Theological Institution, for lectures followed by discussion, was opened near the close of 1881, with a number of students belonging to different schools and colleges in Calcutta. Its main object is "to ground its members in theology and practical piety."

(5.) The two-fold Society of Ladies known as the Brâhmicâ Somaj—which is exclusively for Brahmo ladies—and the Banga Mahilâ Somaj or Bengal Ladies' Association, in which the same ladies are joined by non-Brahmo members. The ladies meet every week, the first and third Saturdays in each month being allotted to prayer-meetings, and the intermediate Saturday to the reading of original papers, followed by discussion; while on the fourth Saturday popular lectures are delivered on scientific, historical, or biographical subjects, and a selection of interesting news on current events is read aloud. These lectures and selections are given by gentlemen, and the social gathering of the Society, which is held once in three months, is also open to guests of both sexes. But except on these occasions the Society's meetings are nearly always restricted to ladies, who usually conduct their own religious services, and always write the essays which are read and discussed. In short, this Somaj is not a mere benevolent institution managed by men for the improvement of women, but a genuine effort of self-development on the part of the women themselves. Established in August, 1879, it has continued steadily ever since, and has done much useful work in various ways.

In addition to these Societies for the religious and intellectual culture of adults, the Sádháran Brahmos have done much for general education in its earlier stages. In January, 1879, the City School for the higher education of boys was

opened in Calcutta, under the rectorship of Mr. Ananda M. Bose, B.A. Cantab., then President of the Sádháran Somaj. In January, 1881, it was converted into a College, and affiliated to the Calcutta University up to the standard of the First Arts examination: and in January, 1883, the affiliation was extended to the study of Law. The Annual Reports of this institution are most interesting, as recording the progress of a thoroughly sound experiment, and its increasing range, both intellectual and moral. The teaching staff consists of twenty-three gentlemen, and the managing committee consists of seven leading Brahmos. The maximum number of pupils on the rolls, including both the School and the College departments, has increased yearly, from 449 in 1880 to 866 in 1883. The institution has thriven from the first, and the proportion of students who have passed well at the University Examinations has always been high. Last December (1882), when the College sent up candidates for the first time to the First Arts examination, it passed 23 out of 51, the highest percentage of all the eight competing colleges of Calcutta on that occasion. And this year the success of the newly-opened Law classes is evidenced by the passing of the Tagore Law examination and the winning of the University's gold and silver medals on the part of two students of the College.

But this excellent institution is not content with intellectual and financial success. Special efforts are made to awaken and appeal to the moral nature of those under instruction and to strengthen their character, by making them familiar with noble examples and high moral lessons, and by the free discussion of important questions; and there is gratifying testimony to the good that has been done in this direction.

Thus far, the ethical teaching of the Sádháran Somaj did not go beyond the secular sphere. But in November, 1879, some of the young Sádháran Brahmos started a little Sunday-school for boys at the City School premises, in which moral instruction was regularly imparted; and in addition to this, a definitely Theological Class was opened

in 1882 for the benefit of more advanced students. "It ought to be added," says the Report for 1881, "that these two institutions, though held in the school premises and attended by many students of the school, are independent of any connection with the school itself." This is, of course, quite just, as the institution is avowedly open to pupils of all creeds. But both the official and the unofficial teaching really spring from the same spiritual root, and conduce to make the City College a valuable auxiliary to the Sádháran Brahmo movement.

Besides the Sunday-school just mentioned, Sunday gatherings of little children are regularly held in the Prayer-Hall every Sunday afternoon, when after a short brief service and hymn, discourses are delivered, suitable to the juvenile congregation. The present secretary of the Somaj, Babu Dwárkánáth Gánguli, and Babu Sasipada Bánerji, have the principal charge of these gatherings, in which, we hear, both the children and their parents take an increasing interest.

It should be added that the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj has a Theistic Library and Reading-room, which is said to be "silently promoting a habit of thoughtful study among the younger members of the Somaj." The Bengal Ladies' Association has also a Library and Reading-room, and the City College has a Library and a Reading Club.

Of representative periodicals there are several. The Bengal organ of the Somaj is the *Tattva Kaumudi* (or Moonlight of Knowledge), issued on the 1st and 16th of every Bengali month; the English organ is now the *Indian Messenger*, issued every Sunday morning. These two journals are devoted to religious subjects. The *Bámábodhiny Patriká* (or Teacher of Women) is a monthly magazine for ladies, which has long been deservedly popular. It is edited by the Secretary to the City College, Babu Umesh Chandra Datta, B.A. The *Sakhá*, or Companion, is a monthly magazine for children, started last January (1883), and edited by Babu Pramadá Charan Sen, one of the teachers of the Sunday-school, and is a very

hopeful attempt. The little fortnightly *Dharma Bandhu* (or Friend of Religion), edited by the Sádháran students, has already been mentioned.

Such are the most prominent features of the institutions which have been established in Calcutta by the members of the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj. The testimony which they bear to a genuine spirit of life, thirsting for "more life and fuller," cannot be mistaken; and the heart of it all is religion, blossoming forth in various directions. But the organisation of Brahmoism in Calcutta was only one part of the programme which (true to its name of *Sádháran*, or Universal) aimed at the diffusion of Brahmoism all over the country. Missionary tours began from the first year, and were very helpful in spreading a knowledge of the Sádháran revival among the provincial Somajes. In 1879, a Mission Committee was appointed to superintend the nomination of missionaries and the training of candidates for mission work. An interesting ceremony took place in January, 1880, when the first four missionaries were publicly ordained at the Anniversary Festival, or *Utsab*, in the (then half-completed) Prayer Hall, which was made available for the occasion.

The following taken from the Annual Report for that year is a translation of a portion of the charge addressed to the missionaries in the name of the Executive Committee of the Somaj.*

"Beloved and esteemed brethren!

"Neither by word of mouth nor by example should you ever encourage idolatry on the one hand or godlessness on the other. God alone being truth, never preach any man or any class of men as infallible or as the best or highest means of salvation. Directly or indirectly, never countenance any doctrine of mediation between God and man. Never engage yourselves in any undertaking which is calculated even remotely to loosen the bonds of morality or to lower the standard of purity of the relation of the sexes. Never encourage caste or priestly pride

* Both in this translation and in that of the previous Statement of Principles, I have corrected a few phrases in which the English rendering was at fault.

by precept or example. If, through excess of veneration, you find people paying you extraordinary and divine honours, never accept them. Never take part in social ceremonies involving sacrifice of conscience or purity. While preaching, never throw ridicule or contempt on other sects or scriptures. In whatever you do or say, let your aim and endeavour be to conquer untruth by truth, hatred by love, and sin by righteousness. Mix freely with all classes and all creeds in all social and philanthropic undertakings, taking care, of course, to keep the principles of Brahmoism uninjured. In your daily lives and in all your domestic and social relations, take care to maintain the high ideal of Brahmo life, unimpaired. Instances are not rare where preachers and spiritual teachers of mankind have made their calling a source of gain and personal aggrandisement; it need scarcely be said, you will scornfully shun such paths. The preaching and propagation of religion will ever remain your chief and primary occupation, but it will also be lawful for you to take part in all political, social, scientific, and literary movements. Whilst serving as our missionary, you may, if duty requires, earn money by any secular work, but you will have to wait for our sanction. You will have the liberty of leaving the mission work of the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj when you choose, but so long as you willingly agree to serve the Somaj you are to regard your brethren, the members of the Somaj, as the judges of your character and work.

"With these solemn requests and injunctions, we ordain you this day in the name of the most Holy God. Go and serve your brethren and sisters, placing your main reliance on His mercy and His aid, and always leaning upon His Holy will. May your humble efforts be crowned with success; your lives be examples of piety and purity in the land; your tongues be successful in carrying the glad tidings here and abroad, and your thoughts and aspirations be always directed to Heaven! This is our humble prayer. So help you God."

From the sketch we have given, the reader will be able to perceive what are the principles and purposes of the Sádháran Brahmos, and what sort of leaven they are endeavouring to introduce into the surrounding Hindu society; and the fulness to which the Sádháran organisation has extended is an unmistakable evidence of its having attained a considerable amount of sympathy and support. About thirty of the

provincial Somajes are definitely affiliated to it, and send their representatives to its General Committee. There are also many members of the Somaj who reside in the provinces, and act as its accredited agents for the sale of books and papers, or the collecting of subscriptions. The actual number of registered members is under 800; but it commands the sympathy and co-operation of many who are not its actual members; and its missionaries are cordially received wherever their travels have led them—from Assam to Sindh, and from Lahore to Madras. Nor is missionary work confined to a separate class; many Sádháran Brahmos whose occupations are secular, devote a large amount of their time to Theistic propagandism, either by preaching tours, religious class-teaching, or visitation. This zealous activity is especially to be noted among the Calcutta students, who often utilise their vacations in this manner.

Now it will be seen on a comparison of all these facts with the brief account already given of the early years of the "Brahmo Somaj of India," that the lines of progress then opened have simply been resumed by the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj, after the interlude of a contrary character which intervened between, and are now being carried on with extended range. Of course the provincial Somajes are on a small scale, and very few of them approach the metropolitan Somaj in maturity of development; but they usually contain some of the most intelligent and active residents in their several localities, and often owe to these their main support, if not their origin. The first germ, from which all the rest follows, is usually the idea of United Prayer. "They met and agreed to offer their prayers together" is the almost unfailing commencement of the history of any Brahmo Somaj. This first stage is called a Prayer-Meeting, and where the members are weak or timid, it is often a long time before they have the courage to raise it into a definite "Brahmo Somaj," which term is evidently understood to imply the adoption of a Theistic standard, more or less at variance with the surrounding Hinduism, and therefore

liable to excite opposition. The normal type of the Brahmo Churches, when fully developed, includes the three departments of Religion, Philanthropy, and Education; but these are developed with great variety of combination in the several Somajes. In Calcutta and Dacca, the predominance of the collegiate element gives a more decisively intellectual character to the local Brahmo institutions, while the larger number of adherents (the East Bengal Somaj at Dacca counting 90 registered members, including seven ladies), renders the Brahmos more strong to hold their own ground in various ways. Dacca is, however, an exceptional case, no other Brahmo Somaj in Bengal being so large, except Bágháchrá, which has 92 members, being in fact a Brahmo village, the history of whose conversion in 1863-64 is one of the notable episodes in Brahmo history. But good work is being done in several of the smaller Bengal Somajes, as may be seen by reference to the numerous Provincial Reports given in my *Brahmo Year-Books* for 1880 and 1882. These, of course, include Somajes which are not specially in harmony with the Sádháran Somaj. Berhampur, Midnapur, and some others adhere to the general views of the Adi Somaj; while Bhágalpur, Chittagong, and the actively propagandist "Branch Brahmo Somaj of India" at Dacca, are, with several more, attached to the leadership of Mr. Sen. Others again, are avowedly neutral on controversial questions. But speaking generally, it may safely be said that the majority of the Bengal Somajes adhere to the cause of Progressive Brahmoism, and that the more decided of these recognise that that cause has found its ablest advocacy and strongest defence in the Sádháran Brahmo Somaj.

We must now pass beyond Bengal, and take up the threads of Brahmic history in the sister presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The first episode in the history of Madras Brahmoism is a very noble one, which is scarcely known here at all, and is worth giving in detail, especially as the individuals chiefly concerned have now passed beyond the reach of earthly comment.

It must have been in the course of the year 1863 that a young man named K. Sridharalu Naidu, who appears to have been a native of Cuddalore in the Madras Presidency, heard of the existence of the (then undivided) Brahmo Somaj in Bengal, and was greatly stirred by the news—so much so that he felt it his duty to go to the centre of the Brahmo movement and make himself fully acquainted with it. Being very poor, he had to dispose of his small property in order to pay his passage thither. He had no recommendations or friends in Bengal, and could not speak either Bengali or Hindustani, and when he landed in Calcutta his whole vocabulary of what he came to seek consisted in the words "the Brahmo Somaj" and "Jorasanko" (the suburb in which the Somaj was then located). But he had sufficient knowledge of English to make himself understood by the English-speaking Brahmos, and "there was about his face and manners an earnestness, simplicity, and intelligence that could not be mistaken." He applied himself with energy and perseverance to the work for which he had come, and having acquired, within about eight months, a full knowledge of Brahmoism "in Bengali, Sanscrit, and English," he resolved to devote his life to its propagation in Southern India. One of the Brahmo missionaries wrote as follows (*Sunday Mirror*, Sept. 6th, 1874), in recollection of this time; "Those who have once seen him in Calcutta can, I dare say, never forget him. . . He lived with our missionary friends, slept and dined with them, and indeed was one of them. We well remember the solemn occasion when, in the small room of the late Calcutta College, with tears and supplication and with a solemn lifting of our eyes to God we gave him the heartiest farewell, and like the apostle of old, we saw him in a ship bound for the field of his labour (Madras)."

It must have been somewhat before this farewell scene that Mr. Sen paid his first visit to Madras in February, 1864, and delivered several lectures there which produced considerable effect. In consequence of this a Society was established in the following April under the name of the

Veda Somaj, which held weekly prayer-meetings, started a monthly journal, and otherwise displayed much religious activity. The leaders of this movement were Messrs. V. Rájágopál Charlu and P. Subrayalu Chetty, both well-known members of the Madras bar; and while they lived the movement thrived, and several other Somajes were founded,—in Tanjore, Coimbatore, Salem, Bangalore, and other towns in Southern India. But in the year 1868 these two leaders were both removed by death, and for some time the Somaj suffered greatly in consequence. Then the quiet worker who had hitherto passed unnoticed, came to the front, and after a while Sridharalu Naidu was appointed secretary to the Madras Somaj. He had not the advantages of position and education which had been possessed by his predecessors, but he appears to have had a much stronger grasp of Theistic principle, and not feeling satisfied with the half-measure of a "*Veda* Somaj," he at length succeeded in converting the Society into "The Brahmo Somaj of Southern India." This was finally settled at a meeting of the Somaj held on June 18, 1871. The rules of the Somaj were revised, and the old "Covenants of the Veda Somaj" were replaced by a confession of faith which was doubtless written by Sridharalu Naidu. The two declarations represent so typically the first and the second stages of Madras Brahmoism, and the striking contrast between them, that I give them here in full.

COVENANTS OF THE VEDA SOMAJ.

1. I shall worship, through love of Him and the performance of the work He loveth, the Supreme Being, the Creator, the Preserver, the Destroyer, the Giver of Salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent, the Blissful, the Good, the Formless, the One only without a second; and none of the created objects, subject to the following conditions.

2. I shall labour to compose and gradually bring into practice a Ritual agreeable to the spirit of pure Theism, and free from the superstitions and absurdities which at present characterise Hindu ceremonies.

3. In the mean time I shall observe the ceremonies now in

use, but only in cases where ceremonies are indispensable, as in marriages and funerals; or where their omission will do more violence to the feelings of the Hindu community than is consistent with the proper interests of the Veda Somaj, as in *Srâddhas*. And I shall go through such ceremonies, where they are not conformable to pure Theism, as mere matters of routine, destitute of all religious significance—as the lifeless remains of a superstition which has passed away.

4. This sacrifice, and this only, shall I make to existing prejudices. But I shall never endeavour to deceive any one as to my religious opinions, and never stoop to equivocation or hypocrisy, in order to avoid unpopularity.

5. I shall discard all sectarian views and animosities, and never offer any encouragement to them.

6. I shall, as a first step, gradually give up all distinctions, and amalgamate the different branches of the same caste.

7. Rigidly as I shall adhere to all these rules, I shall be perfectly tolerant to the views of strangers, and never intentionally give offence to their feelings.

8. I shall never violate the duties and virtues of humanity, justice, veracity, temperance, and chastity.

9. I shall never hold, or attend, or pay for nautches, or otherwise hold out encouragement for prostitution.

10. I shall encourage and promote to the best of my power the re-marriage of widows, and discourage early marriages.

11. I shall never be guilty of bigamy or polygamy.

12. I shall grant my aid towards the issue, in the vernaculars, of elementary prayer-books and religious tracts; and also of a monthly journal, whose chief object shall be to improve the social and moral condition of the community.

13. I shall advance the cause of general and female education and enlightenment, and particularly in my own family circle.

14. I shall study the Sanscrit language and its literature (especially theological), and promote the cultivation of it by means not calculated to promote superstition.

To-day, being the day of the month of of the Kályábdá , I hereby embrace the faith of the Veda Somaj, and in witness whereof set my hand to this.*

* *Six Months in India*, by Mary Carpenter. Vol. I., pp. 157-8. Miss Carpenter gives a very interesting account of her visit to the Veda Somaj in November, 1866, and of her conversations with the then Secretary, Mr. P. S. Chetty, and his intelligent young wife. It was from him that she obtained the above Covenants.

COVENANTS OF THE SOUTHERN INDIA BRAHMO SOMAJ.

1. I will worship, through love of Him and the performance of the works He loveth, the Supreme Being, the Creator, the Preserver, the Giver of Salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent, the Blissful, the Good, the Formless, the One only without a second, and none of the created objects.

2. I will look for Divine wisdom and instruction to the Book of Nature, and to that Intuition and Inspiration of God which give all men understanding. I do not consider any book or any man as the infallible guide in religion, but I do accept with respect and pleasure any truth contained in any book or uttered by any man without paying exclusive reverence to any.

3. I believe in the immortality and progressive state of the soul, and in a state of conscious existence succeeding life in this world and supplementary to it.

4. I will daily direct my mind in prayer with devotion and love unto the Supreme Being.

5. I will endeavour strictly to adhere to the duties and virtues of humanity, justice, veracity, temperance, and chastity.

6. Believing as I do in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, I will discard all sectarian views and animosities, and never offer any encouragement to them.

7. Should I through folly commit sin, I will endeavour to be atoned unto God by earnest repentance and reformation.

8. Every year, and on the occasion of every happy domestic event of mine, I will bestow gifts upon the Southern India Brahmo Somaj.

This day, being the day of the month of of the Brahmic Era ( ), I, by the grace of God, do hereby declare my faith in *Brahmism*, and in witness whereof, I set my hand to these covenants of my own free will and consent. So help me God. Om.*

Both of these documents are based upon the original Brahmic Covenant of Debendra Náth Tágore; but the Veda-Somaj version reproduces little beyond the first paragraph, and half paralyses that by the added clause—"subject to the following conditions." Sridharalu Naidu's version not only omits this clause and its melancholy

* *Indian Mirror*, July 22, 1871. *Om* "is the emblem of the Most High." *Laws of Manu*, II., 83.

amplifications, but simply ignores the surrounding beliefs and customs altogether, and instead of dating by the *Kályábdá*, i.e., the "black period" (or iron age) of Hindu history, he starts a new "Brahmic Era,"—a system which has latterly come into frequent use among the Bengali Brahmos,—dating, of course, from the original establishment of Rám Mohun Roy's Brahmo Somaj, in January, 1830. There is also a far deeper vein of spiritual faith in this second series of Covenants than in that of the Veda Somaj. Herein Sridharalu wisely went back to the Covenant of D. N. Tagore, from which, and from another well-known Adi Somaj statement of beliefs,* he has mainly taken his 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 7th paragraphs; but he has frequently altered the original materials, and has, in fact, recast the whole so as to make it a definite and consistent ideal of Progressive Brahmoism.

About the same time he gave a practical proof of the new policy adopted by the Southern India Brahmo Somaj by drawing up on its behalf a memorial to the Viceroy in favour of the Brahmo Marriage Bill then pending before the Indian Legislature; and shortly afterwards he officiated at the first Brahmo marriage which took place in Madras, September 29th, 1871.

Sridharalu also exerted himself to bring the best productions of Brahmo literature within the reach of his own countrymen. He translated Debendra Nath Tagore's standard work, the *Bráhma Dharma*, into Tamil and Telugu, and published a Tamil translation of Mr. Sen's excellent *Model Form of Divine Worship*. Besides writing these (and, I believe, other works), he revived the monthly (Madras) *Thathvabothini Patriká* (which had collapsed after the death of his predecessors), and conducted it as "the organ of all the Brahmists in Southern India."

Here, however, it should be noted that there was another active member of the late Veda Somaj, who took a prominent part in Brahmo affairs about this time. This was

* For this statement see *A Brief History of the Calcutta Brahmo Somaj*. Calcutta, 1868.

Cási Visvanátha Mudeliar, a retired judge, "of noble parentage," who conducted the services at one of the Brahmo prayer-rooms, and was the author of many Tamil books and of several popular plays which exposed the superstitions and vices prevalent in Southern India. He owned a little vernacular journal called the *Brahmo Dipiká*, which he edited himself, and which appears to have been the organ of his own views. What those views were it is not easy to discover from the enigmatical hints in the newspapers of the time (except that he appears to have been against the Brahmo Marriage Bill), nor is it worth while to revive the ashes of the dead controversies which for a time caused some dissensions in the Madras Somaj. Suffice to say that after having been regarded by his admirers as "the leader of the Madras Brahmos," Cási Visvanátha's Brahmoism came to an end, and he became a Pantheist, apparently not long before his death, which occurred in October, 1871.

Meanwhile Sridharalu Naidu continued to work unremittingly at his post. Occasional glimpses of his proceedings appear in the *Indian Mirror* of the time, especially in its issues of Feb. 2 and March 11, 1872, containing two letters of his concerning some projects for the benefit of the South Indian Brahmos. These letters (which are in very good English) bear witness alike to his enthusiastic faith and his practical good sense. We also find that he made divers missionary tours to various parts of the Presidency, —Bangalore, Mangalore, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, &c., "sowing quietly and perseveringly the seeds of Theism in the midst of the thick darkness of ignorance and superstition." All this time he suffered greatly from poverty. "He had a very old mother to take care of, and a wife, both of whom were against him in all his views and practices, and caused him no little pain. He was often at a loss how to support them, and was at times obliged to put up with hardships which it is not possible to describe. He never complained, he never asked, he never even acquainted his friends in Calcutta with his circumstances. Alone he suffered,

depended, prayed and worked, and God alone watched the deep trials and sorrows in the midst of which he lived."*

At last the end came. In January 1874, he went to visit some of his relatives at Pondicherry, near which town there was a temple—probably Chillambram—which he wished to see, in order to ascertain whether it would be suitable as a model for the "Brahmic Hall" which he wanted to erect in Madras. On this journey he was thrown out of a carriage, the horse having taken fright,—and terribly injured. He was taken to Pondicherry hospital, but no skill could save him, and after lingering for about twelve days he died, calm and faithful to the last. He left behind him a touching letter in English, headed, "Memo: to friends in the last hour," and signed "K. Sridharalu, Pondicherry, the 15th Jan. 1874." In this letter, addressed to twelve friends, he requested them to take care of his family, and gave his advice on the affairs of his Church, which evidently lay very near his heart. It may be noted that while the funerals of the previous Madras Secretaries were conducted in regular Hindu style, with those idolatrous funeral rites which, even in their Veda Somaj Covenant, they had not the courage to renounce, Sridharalu Naidu distinctly wrote with his own hand;—"My funeral should be simple, with only Brahmic prayers. . . . I die a devoted Brahmo." Thus closed one of the purest lives ever given to the service of God.

The next secretary of the Madras Somaj scarcely survived his predecessor by a year, and it was not until the end of 1878 that the Somaj really began to revive. Under fresh hands, three years of fair prosperity followed; after which, unhappily, a contention arose as to the soundness of the views preached respectively by the missionaries of Mr. Sen and those of the Sádháran Somaj. The result was a split, those who sided with the Sádháran Somaj forming a separate society as a branch of that body,—formally inaugurated as such on June 17, 1882. Its secretary is Mr. M. Butchiah Pantulu, who is a man of energy and resource, and is doing

* *Sunday Mirror*, Feb. 8, 1874.

his best to make Brahmoism successful in Madras. Regular Sunday evening services, with sermons in Tamil, Telugu, or English: a monthly journal in those three languages, entitled the *Brahma Prakasika*; pamphlets, original or translated, on the history and principles of Brahmoism; a Ragged School, a Theistic Library and three Brahmo marriages (none having taken place there between 1871 and 1882);—such are the results that have already accrued from Mr. Pantulu's labours. He is now endeavouring to collect funds for the purchase of a Prayer Hall, which would be a great assistance to the cause.

The South Indian members of the Sádháran Somaj number thirty-five, of whom seventeen reside in Madras; but there are seven other towns in the presidency at which Somajes exist, the members of which are all Brahmos, but are not, as a rule, connected with either of the three Calcutta centres,—while there are also many isolated Brahmos who do not belong to any of the local congregations. Thus it will be seen that Brahmoism has undoubtedly gained an independent foothold in Southern India; but has not as yet attained to mature local organisation.

Of the other Somajes, the oldest are those at Mangalore (1870) and Bangalore, at which latter station there are four prayer meetings in different parts of the town, dating respectively from 1867, 1871, 1878, and 1879. Here much excellent work has been done, the details of which will be found in my *Brahmo Year-Books* for 1876, 1877, 1880, and 1882. I can only refer here to the Girls' School, established in 1871, which has thriven ever since,—and to the good service rendered by the Bangalore Brahmos during the famine of 1877, by the opening of a relief kitchen, the funds for which were sent up by Brahmos and Brahmo Somajes in various parts of India to the Brahmo Mission Office at Calcutta, whence they were transmitted to Bangalore. The wide and ready response made by the general Brahmo community to the appeals of Mr. Sen for their starving countrymen in the South, and the systematic management and thoughtful kindness with which the relief was administered by the

Bangalore leaders (as was shown in detail by official correspondence) were most honourable to all parties concerned.

Many more episodes could be given of South Indian Brahmoism, but space forbids any further detail, except that six Brahmo periodicals are issued in the presidency, two of which are published at Bangalore. One of these is in Canarese; all the rest are in either Tamil or Telugu, combined with English.

The complete change of mental and social climate which we find in passing from Southern to Western India forcibly reminds us how various are the nationalities comprised in that great country to which we give the single name of India. The learned, sober-minded, and wealthy Marathi and Guzerati Theists of the Bombay Presidency are as different from their struggling co-religionists of Madras as those of Bengal are from both the other groups. The Bombay Theists first began to organise in March, 1867, when they established a Prárthaná Somaj in Bombay city, under the auspices of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, a respected and philanthropic physician, who still resides there and assists the movement. Since then, many other Prárthaná Somajes have been established in the presidency, most of which are still extant. The most efficient of these are at Puná (1870), Ahmedabád (1871), and Surát (1878). The only existing branch which has taken the name of *Brahmo* Somaj is the small one at Hyderabád, Sindh, which has always kept up a special, though not an official, relationship with the Brahmo Somaj of India at Calcutta. In my *Brahmo Year-Books* for 1880 and 1882 I have published a number of reports from all the above-mentioned Somajes, which cannot be condensed here. They contain no romantic episodes, no revolutionary changes; the annals of Bombay Theism flow on in an even tenor from the beginning to the present time, without a break. There is much to admire in the liberal philanthropy which has established orphanages at Pandharpur and Ahmedabád, night-schools for working people at Bombay, and prison-visiting at Hyderabád; and the high culture and literary ability of some of the Bombay

Theists bear witness to their position among the intellectual nobility of India. An instance of this may be seen in the fine address delivered by Professor Bhandarkar at the last anniversary of the Puná Prárthaná Somaj (reported on pp. 49-53 of my *Brahmo Year-Book* for 1882), which touches the high-water mark of Bombay Theism, and is an altogether noble utterance of religious thought.

It should be noted that some approach towards federal organisation is gradually taking place among the Theists of Western India, the parent Somaj in Bombay city having been for some time endeavouring to bring the provincial Somajes into closer relations with itself and with each other. Several of them send up their annual reports to be read at the Bombay anniversary festival; and some individual members are collecting a Mission Fund for collective propagandist and philanthropic work. Such approaches towards fuller organisation must be welcomed by all friends of the movement. The Theism of Western India has its own special characteristics, and a distinct organisation would be very helpful in promoting its development, so as to strengthen its weak points while giving increased scope to its strong ones. It has never detached itself so far from the Hindu elements of Brahmoism as the Progressive Brahmos of Bengal and Madras have done, and both in religious observances and social customs, it clings far more closely to the old models. There is a minority among the Bombay Theists who are anxious to go much farther than the rest in these matters, and some of them have even married with Brahmic rites; but it is a significant fact that during the sixteen years which have elapsed since the establishment of the Bombay Somaj, only *four* such marriages have been celebrated among its members (there was a fifth marriage at Bombay, but both parties were Bengali visitors),—while in the same period there have been seven Brahmo marriages among the small communities of Southern India, and fifty-six in the single city of Calcutta. And here it is necessary to say a few words on the general subject of *Amusthâns*, or domestic ceremonies, and their relation to Brahmoism.

It would appear at first sight that the renunciation of idolatry and polytheism must, as a matter of course, entail the cessation of all ceremonies in which idols or false gods are invoked. But such invocations are interwoven in all the domestic rites, or *Anusthán*s of Hindu life, from birth to death. A consistent Brahmo, therefore, must not only absent himself from Hindu temple-worship, or grand idolatrous festivals, but must also renounce the Hindu rites performed on occasions of birth, marriage, death, &c., and must have Brahmic Anusthán*s* performed in their place, and one who does this is called an *Anusthánic Brahmo*. It will be remembered how the "Covenants of the Veda Somaj" shrank from the pains and penalties of this course, and how simply Sridharalu Naidu ignored the "necessity" of such compliance. This is just the point at which the Prárthaná Somajists of Bombay (with some noble exceptions) fall short; and while such is the case, we must sorrowfully own that one essential element of their religion is conspicuous by its absence.

A census of the Anusthánic Brahmos of India was taken on November 15th, 1880, by order of the Executive Committee of the Sádháran Somaj, and although from various causes, all the returns were not sent in, and the register is consequently incomplete, it is a most valuable document so far as it goes. The list includes natives of most of the provinces of India, the preponderating majority being, of course, Bengalis. The Anusthánics are scattered very irregularly over the country,—some Brahmo villages containing many, while some far more cultivated Somajes contain but few. The organization which contains most is undoubtedly the Sádháran Somaj, whose rules require that all its preachers, office-bearers, Executive Committee, and at least fifteen members of its General Committee, should be Anusthánic.

These outlines and episodes are but fragmentary, and unavoidably omit much that is necessary to a comprehensive view of the Brahmo movement. But they may help to bring out a few essential features thereof, viz.:— That up to a certain point, Brahmoism is the natural,

spontaneous growth of the nobler Hindu mind; (2) that beyond that first growth, it demands an amount of resistance to established evils, entailing sacrifices from which many shrink back; but (3) that where individual moral principle has stood firm through the transition period, it has usually been accompanied by a power to recast the conditions of social and religious life in accordance with a high Brahmic ideal which affords a most hopeful prospect for the future of Indian Theism. Whether that ideal contains all the elements essential to permanency, or whether it will be seriously modified by either of the great religions which now surround it, is a question too vast to discuss here. But of this we may rest assured, that the men who have done so much to develop a National Church are not likely to relinquish it for anything less noble than itself. We who are Christians believe that there is a completer Church still; but if we are right, there is no cause for impatience; all true paths lead to the City of God. May we not be found unworthy to meet there those pure-hearted and faithful men who are giving their lives to build up the Theistic Church of India.

SOPHIA DOBSON COLLET.

THE NAMES OF THE FIRST THREE KINGS OF ISRAEL.

NOTHING in Jewish history seems at first sight to be more certain than that the first three kings of Israel were named Saul, David and Solomon. And yet the Bible itself states explicitly that the official name given to the last by the prophet Nathan was not Solomon but Jedidiah (2 Samuel xii. 24, 25), and Böttcher has long ago suggested on the strength of 2 Samuel xxi. 19, 22, that the real name of David was El-hanan.

The doubt whether the names by which these kings are known to us were not really popular designations, or "nicknames," is strengthened when we come to examine into their history and use. The doubt extends also to the name of the first king, though no passage exists, as in the case of David and Solomon, from which we might infer that he had another name than Saul. But the name Saul, when taken in connection with the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Israelitish monarchy, gives rise to suspicions.

No one can fail to be struck by the singular appropriateness of the names of the first three kings of Israel to the traditional history and character of the persons by whom they were borne. Saul means "the demanded one," and he was chosen king in consequence of the demand of the Israelites that they should have a leader to deliver them from the yoke of the Philistines. The capture of the ark, and the death of Eli and his sons, had shattered the ancient power of the priesthood of Shiloh. Samuel seems to have had no military capacities, and the Philistines had not only planted garrisons in the heart of the Israelitish country but had even extirpated the iron-smiths for which Canaan

had been famous since the days of the Egyptian Mohar, in the age of Ramses II. At the same time, the Ammonites were harrying the towns on the eastern border, Canaanite fortresses maintained their independence in the midst, the Israelitish tribes were still without union or organisation, and their very existence was being threatened. No wonder therefore that the reluctant Samuel was forced to yield to the demand of his countrymen and Saul, the leader that "was asked for," was given to them. The name, it is true, was borne by other persons in the Old Testament. One of the sons of Simeon was called Saul (Genesis, xlvi. 10; Numbers xxvi. 13); so also was a king of Edom (Genesis, xxxvi. 37). But this does not make the name as applied to the first Israelitish king the less appropriate or suspicious.

The case is still stronger when we come to the name of David. This is a name which is borne by no one else in ancient Jewish history. In place of it we find only Dodo or Dodai (Judges x. 1; 2 Samuel xxiii. 9, 24; 1 Chronicles xi. 26), "the beloved of the Lord," for which the full Dodavahu, transcribed Dodavah in the A.V., occurs in 2 Chronicles xx. 37. In fact, David, "the beloved one," was not a personal name at all. It was a divine title, applied to the youthful Sun-god who was worshipped under the manifold names of Tammuz, Adonai (Adonis), Hadad, and the like, and by the side of whom stood his female double and reflection Dido. Now, as is well known, the name of Dido, the title of the patron-goddess of Carthage, came in course of time to be transferred to Elissa, the Tyrian foundress of the city, and Dido and her sister Anna or "Grace," the Hebrew Hannah, were rationalised into personages of history. It is difficult not to conjecture that the same transference took place also among the Israelites, and that the familiar title of the Deity was given by his followers and people to the "beloved" founder of the Hebrew empire. What happened in Carthage may easily have happened elsewhere.

If, however, this conjecture is to be verified, we must show that the title of "the beloved" was one actually and

familiarly applied to the God of the Hebrews. And this, I think, can be done. In Isaiah v. 1, the prophet speaks of God as "my beloved," (*Dôd-i*, or, as it might be punctuated, *David-i*). Elsewhere the term seems to be avoided on account of the idolatrous associations with which it was connected, but it was used here by Isaiah with a special purpose. His "beloved" had a vineyard "in a very fruitful hill," in the midst whereof was a tower, and that vineyard was "the house of Israel," while its tower was the city of Jerusalem. Jerusalem was built on the hill or "horn" of Zion, where was the seat of "the house of David," and where too was the "city of David." Now, I am inclined to believe that the term "city of David," did not originally signify "the city which David captured,"—a signification for which I can find no real parallel*—but the city of the God who was worshipped on the spot, and whose title, "the beloved one," had become a sort of proper name. It was out of the city of David that the ark was removed into Solomon's temple, and the city of David is explained to be Zion (1 Kings viii. 1). Zion, it will be remembered, was "the city of the great King," (Psalm xlviii. 2), "the mount of Zion" which God "loved" (Psalm lxxviii. 68). No doubt, "the city of David" came subsequently to mean the city which David had conquered and made his capital, but I question whether this meaning was older than the time when the original name of David himself had been supplanted by the popular title of "the beloved."

We are supplied with plenty of information as to the origin of this nickname. David was a favourite with those about him from the beginning of his career. He had popular manners, was eloquent (1 Samuel xvi. 18), and brave, a good player on the harp, and above all red-haired and "of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to." He "found favour" with Saul at first (1 Samuel xvi. 22); Jonathan "loved him as he loved his own soul" (1 Samuel xx. 17), and "all Israel and Judah loved him"

* Of course a case like 2 Samuel xii. 28 is not in point.

(1 Samuel xviii. 16). He was the idol of the outlaws and desperadoes whom he gathered round him in the cave of Adullam, and though the wars and tyranny of the latter part of his reign caused discontent which broke out in two rebellions, this was all forgotten after his death, and the memory of the people dwelt fondly upon the king who had made his way to the throne "from the sheep-cote." In his predecessor, the prophetic annalists had seen the punishment of the refusal of the people to submit any longer to the rule of Samuel and the priests; the people had demanded a king and he that had been "demanded" had led them only to death and disaster. In his successor a future age saw the impersonation of a time of peace and prosperity only too much contradicted by the actual facts; David alone was the popular hero—not born in the purple, like Solomon, not a mere military captain, whose name was associated with national disaster, like Saul. David was emphatically the "beloved" king of Israel, and it was not surprising, therefore, if he received the title which the Deity had received before him from the affection of his worshippers. The woman of Tekoah declared that he was "as the angel of God" (2 Samuel xiv. 17).

A later generation found yet another reason for the name which had been given to David. Already Samuel had said that he was "a man after God's own heart" (1 Samuel xiii. 14; Acts xiii. 22), and he was regarded by his contemporaries as beloved by God as well as by man. No other explanation could be given of his marvellous rise and success in life.

If, therefore, no passage existed which implied that David was not the king of Israel's original name, we should still be justified in holding that such was the case. But, as Böttcher has pointed out, the only natural interpretation of 2 Samuel xxi. 19, is that the king's real name was El-hanan. Here we are told that in a battle at Gob—a place not otherwise mentioned—El-hanan, the son of Jaare-oregim, a Bethlehemite, slew Goliath, the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam. We know from the first

book of Samuel that the slayer of Goliath was really David, the Bethlehemite; and that it was David who is intended here is expressly stated at the end of the fragment (v. 22), where it is said that "these four—that is, Ishbi-benob, Saph, Goliath, and the un-named Gittite, with twenty-four fingers and toes—were born to the giant in Gath, and fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants." As David's "servants" were Abishai, Sibbechai, and Jonathan, David himself must be El-hanan, the slayer of Goliath.

The name, Jaare-oregim, given to El-hanan's father, is corrupt. It appears as Ya'ûr in the corresponding passage of the Chronicles (1 Chronicles xx. 5), which is read Ya'îr in the Keri, and the word *oregim*, "weavers," has clearly come from the following line, where it occurs in the phrase מנור ארגים, "a weaver's beam." The eye of the copyist must have mistaken the last two letters of *m'nûr* for those of Ya'ûr, which shows that the alteration of Ya'ûr into Ya'arê, "woods," was a consequence of the introduction of *'orêgim* into the text. Ya'arê itself is written, according to the Keri, with a small *resh*, which, however, looks more like a *waw*, and the Keri Ya'îr in the Chronicles seems to imply that there was originally a *yod* in the word. As it stands, however, the name is hopelessly corrupt, and the only thing about it of which we can be certain is that it began with a *yod*. So, also, does the name of Jesse, the father of David, which wants only one letter to make it as long as Ya'ûr.

The arguments brought against Böttcher's view, by Thenius and others, are none of them of much weight. The principal objection is, that the deaths of the four Philistine giants must be in chronological order, and all belong to the period after David's accession to the throne. But, as every one knows who has studied the historical books of the Old Testament, the position of a narrative is no indication of its right chronological place; the compiler, in arranging his materials, never scruples to subordinate chronological to other considerations. How little confidence can be placed in the chronological arrangement of the history may be judged of from 1 Samuel xvii. 54, where it is said that

David brought the head of Goliath to Jerusalem, which was not taken by him until after the death of Ishbosheth. As a matter of fact, the whole of the fragment which describes the overthrow of the Philistine giants is misplaced chronologically, since the Philistines were subdued at the very beginning of David's reign, shortly after the murder of Ishbosheth (2 Samuel v. 17, viii. 1), Gath more especially being reduced to servitude(1 Chronicles xviii. 1). We cannot even be certain that the events themselves recorded in the fragment are in strict chronological order. At any rate, there cannot have been more than one Goliath, a giant of Gath, "the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam," and the destruction of him is here ascribed, not to David, but to El-hanan, who must, therefore, be identical with David himself.

The name of El-hanan occurs again in another fragment, which gives a list of "the mighty men" of David (2 Samuel xxiii. 24). Here he is called "the son of Dodo, of Bethlehem," though elsewhere (2 Samuel xxiii. 9) Dodo is termed an Ahohite, and his son is called Eleazar. Now I cannot help thinking that there is a confusion here between "El-hanan, who is Dodo (David) of Bethlehem," and "Eleazar the son of Dodo, the Ahohite." Dodo is a contracted form of Dodavahu, "Beloved of the Lord," but it may also be an archaic spelling of David (Dod) with the termination of the nominative.

It is even possible that the relationship that existed in the mind of the Phœnicians between Anna and Dido may have existed also in some form or other among the Israelites of the age of David, and have had its influence in determining the "nickname" by which El-hanan should be known. However this may be, it is a curious fact that the three last kings of Edom, whose names are recounted in Genesis xxxvi., were Saul, Baal-hanan, and Hadar, who has been conjectured to be the Hadad of 1 Kings, xi. 14—22, the deliverer of Edom from the Israelitish yoke after the death of David. In Baal-hanan, "Baal has mercy," Baal takes the place of El, as elsewhere.

As I have already said, we learn from Samuel xii. 24 that the proper name of Solomon was Jedidiah, "the beloved of the Lord," which reminds us again of *David*. Solomon was merely the popular name of the prince—"his name was called Solomon," as it ought to be translated, the verb being impersonal—whereas the name given through Nathan, by the Lord himself, because He "loved him," was Jedidiah. Solomon (Sh'lomoh) "the peaceful" is a name which in this precise form is not borne by any other Old Testament character, though we find Sh'lomi, which varies but slightly from it, in Numbers xxxiv. 27, and Sh'lomith, as well as the compound Sh'lumi'el, and Shelem-yahu (Shelemiah). But a Solomon (Salamanu), king of Moab, is mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II. (B.C. 732; see Hos. x. 14), and Solomon (Sallimmanu) was also the name of an Assyrian divinity. It may, therefore, like David, have been a title of the Deity among the Phœnicians and Israelites, and on that account, also like David, not have been used as a personal name. Whether this were so or not, however, we have the authority of the Biblical writer himself for maintaining that the name of Solomon was a nickname, and not the true name of the king. After times looked back upon the reign of Solomon as a golden age of peace, and though the account preserved in 1 Kings xi. shows that this was not the case, nevertheless the period of aggressive warfare was past. Just as in Roman legend Romulus was followed by Numa Pompilius, so the warrior hero of Israel was succeeded by his unwarlike son. I need hardly add that the fact that Solomon was a nickname lends increased probability to my contention that Saul and David were nicknames too.

A point which arises out of the one I have been discussing is the length of the reigns of the three kings, whom we must still continue to call Saul, David, and Solomon. The length of David's reign may be regarded as fixed by 2 Samuel v. 5, (cp. 2 Samuel ii. 11, and 1 Kings ii. 11), and is borne out by his great age at the time of his death; but the forty years assigned to Saul and Solomon is merely the number which

expresses in the Bible, as well as on the Moabite Stone, an unknown and indefinite space of time. The forty years of 2 Samuel xv. 7, really represented little more than two (see 2 Samuel xiv. 28; Absalom had previously been in exile for three years, 2 Samuel xiii. 38); so that we need not suppose that the expression necessarily implies a period of any considerable length. Various reasons go to show that Saul's reign could not have lasted more than four or five years. Already in his second year Samuel declared that his kingdom should "not continue; the Lord hath sought him a man after His own heart, and the Lord hath commanded him to be captain over His people" (1 Samuel xiii. 14). The flight of David can hardly have happened more than a year afterwards, especially when we remember that he had not been married long enough to Michal to have any children by her, and the time spent by Saul in hunting him down could have been at most only a few months. After this he resided at the court of Achish of Gath a year and four months (1 Samuel xxvii. 7), at the end of which time the battle of Gilboa and the death of Saul took place. The length of Saul's reign, therefore, may be approximately placed at five years, though this is probably slightly over the mark. According to Eupolemos (Alex. Polyh. *Frg.* 18 ed. Müller) Saul reigned 21 years; according to Josephos, 20 (Antiq. 6, 14, 9. 10, 8, 4). Twenty is merely the half of the indefinite number forty, and the 21 of Eupolemos is due to adding to this the date contained in 1 Samuel xiii. 1.

For the length of Solomon's reign we have mainly to depend on 1 Kings xi. The temple was finished in his eleventh year (1 Kings vi. 38), and his own palace in his thirteenth or fourteenth year (1 Kings vii. 1, comp. iii. 1). At the same time, or immediately afterwards, he strengthened the Millo or rampart (1 Kings iii. 1, ix. 24), and it was while he was engaged in this work that Jeroboam was forced to fly from his jealousy into Egypt (1 Kings xi. 27). After his death Jeroboam returned, excited the Ten Tribes to revolt, and

ruled over them for twenty-two years (1 Kings xiv. 20). As, at the time of his flight, he was old enough to be made "ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph," it is difficult to believe that he could have been more than ten years in exile, when we consider the comparatively short reigns of most of the other Israelitish and Jewish kings.* He fled, we learn, to the court of Shishak I. (1 Kings xi. 40), who reigned twenty-one years, and captured Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv. 25). Supposing this campaign took place as late as Shishak's twentieth year, which is not very probable, and that he had been no more than one year on the throne when Jeroboam came to him, Jeroboam's exile would have lasted fourteen years. At the very beginning of Solomon's reign, moreover, just after the death of David and Joab, Hadad and Rezon stripped the Jewish sovereign of his possessions in Edom and Syria, and we are told of Rezon that "he was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon, beside the mischief Hadad did" (1 Kings xi. 25.) It is not likely that two contemporary Oriental kings should each have reigned and have carried on war with one another for a considerable number of years. Hiram, again, was still governing Tyre in the twentieth year of Solomon's reign according to 1 Kings ix. 10, 11, and Menander, as quoted by Josephos, made the length of Hiram's reign thirty-four years. Now, according to 2 Samuel v. 11, Hiram had sent architects to David shortly after his capture of Jerusalem, at the beginning of his reign, before Solomon was born (see 2 Samuel vii. 1), though, it is true, this is inconsistent with the statement of Josephos that the fourth year of Solomon was the 12th of Hiram. On the other hand, the Phœnician historian, Menander, made 143 years and 8 months elapse from the date of the building of Solomon's temple to that of

* The kings of Judah, who came after Solomon, lived to the following ages:—Rehoboam, 18 × *x* years; Jehoshaphat, 60; Jehoram, 40; Ahaziah, 23; Jehoash, 47; Amaziah, 54; Uzziah, 68; Jotham, 41; Ahaz, 36; Hezekiah, 54; Manasseh, 67; Amon, 24; Josiah, 39; Jehoiakim, 36.

the foundation of Carthage, which is variously given as B.C. 846, 826 and 816. The last date would fix the accession of Solomon at 963 B.C.

The number of twenty years given in 1 Kings ix. 10, as that within which the great buildings of Solomon were completed, cannot be pressed, partly because it is merely the half of the indefinite forty, partly because it is inconsistent with the precise number of thirteen years given in 1 Kings vii. 1. Solomon must have begun the erection of his palace very shortly after his accession, since it was already commenced when he married the daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh (1 Kings iii. 1). A comparison of 1 Kings iii. 1, with ix. 24, shows that the house which he made "for Pharaoh's daughter" (vii. 8) was a portion of the palace. The enlargement of the Millo, or rampart, and the wall of Jerusalem (1 Kings ix. 15, 24), probably took place before the completion of the royal palace. This, at least, would be the usual signification of the Hebrew *az* "then" (in ix. 24), and one of the king's first objects would naturally be the strengthening of his capital. Moreover, the enlargement of the city walls seems to have formed part of the architectural plan of the palace. In any case, however, the Millo cannot well have been finished later than the fifteenth year of Solomon's reign. By this time Jeroboam had already escaped to Shishak, the founder of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, who was now engaged in overcoming the rival dynasty of Tanis, and would, therefore, welcome the enemy of a prince who was connected by marriage with his antagonists. As Shishak's reign lasted only twenty-one years, and his capture of Jerusalem took place in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Jeroboam could not have been with him more than fifteen years at the most, or Solomon have reigned more than thirty-four. In order, however, to make Solomon's reign last so long, we must assume that Jeroboam did not leave Jerusalem till his nineteenth year, that the fugitive arrived at Bubastis in the first year of Shishak, and that Shishak's campaign against Judah was made only the year before his death. All these assumptions

are improbable. We have seen that Jeroboam's flight can hardly have happened so late as the nineteenth year of Solomon's reign, while he is not likely to have sought refuge with a prince who was but just beginning to establish his power, and might at any moment be crushed by his Tanite rivals. That the Jewish campaign took place at an earlier date than the year before Shishak's death is almost certain. In his twenty-first and last year he completed the building of a small temple, whose ruins are still admired by travellers at Karnak, and it must have been before this was begun that the southern wall of the great hall of Karnak was adorned with the names of the conquered Israelitish towns. It is probable, therefore, that the real length of Solomon's reign was more like twenty-five years than thirty-four.

No objection can be raised against this conclusion on the ground of the statement in 1 Kings xiv. 21, that Rehoboam was forty and one years old at the time of his accession. This merely denotes the indefinite number of years of Solomon's reign added to one, and means that Rehoboam was born before Solomon came to the throne. Hence it was that Solomon's successor was not a son of the Egyptian princess, but of Naamah, the Ammonitess. There had already been a close connection between David and the royal family of Ammon, due, as Professor Robertson Smith has shown, to the fact that the totem of the serpent (Nahash) was common to the two families. When the capital of Ammon was captured by Joab, the royal crown was carefully preserved, and placed over David's head.

It is now possible to give approximate dates for the reigns of the three first kings of Israel. Thanks to the decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions, the chronology of the Books of Kings, which has so long been the despair of chronologists, has at last been rectified, and proved to be more than forty years in excess. For the earlier portion of the history we now have a fixed date in the death of Ahab, B.C. 852, two years after the battle of Karkar. We may, therefore, place the death of Solomon in B.C. 937. If we reckon his reign at thirty years, which is probably over the

mark, the death of David will fall in B.C. 967, and his accession in B.C. 1007. It was precisely at this period that the empires of Egypt and Assyria were both alike in a condition of weakness and decline, the only power in Western Asia at all able to treat with the rising kingdom of David on equal terms being that of the newly-discovered people of the Hittites.

A. H. SAYCE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Dr. Edersheim's Life and Times of Jesus.*

ON receiving two more great volumes upon the Life of Christ, our first feeling was one of thankfulness that the evangelists did not live in the nineteenth century: then would the simplicity of our impression have been lost behind a multitude of trivialities affecting the outward man, and a Gospel of the spirit would have been impossible. However, there are those who like to see the Christ arrayed in a purple robe of rhetoric, and think there is no irreverence in filling up the imperfect portraiture of his external life with conjectural details; and all must welcome an account of the times in which he lived, enriched, as it is in Dr. Edersheim's volumes, with ample stores of Rabbinic and other learning, skilfully arranged, and presented in an attractive style. The historical framework which is erected around the narratives of the New Testament, and adorned with that wealth of knowledge and illustration which the writer's minute acquaintance with Rabbinical literature supplies, seems to us to constitute the great, and probably permanent, value of this most recent attempt to translate the Gospels into modern and western language. We are taken back into the ancient scenes of Jewish activity, till we feel as if we had wandered among "the dispersion" of Babylonia, strayed into the Synagogues of the Hellenists, and walked about Jerusalem, surveying the services of its Temple, and mixing with the "noisy sellers and bargaining buyers" of its bazaars and markets. We enter with a new vividness into the hopes, the merits, and the defects of Judaism, and see with fresh clearness the underlying principles of its various religious and political parties. The following sketch of the Rabbis (balanced, however, by other and fuller accounts), and of the relation between the natural and historical features of Judæa and the Rabbinical character, may serve to illustrate the author's style, and may probably remind our readers of some professing Christians whom it may have been their misfortune to encounter, and whose spiritual resemblance to the

* *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.* By Alfred Edersheim, M.A. Oxon., D.D., Ph. D., Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. In two volumes. London: Longmans. 1883.

Rabbis must be due to some deeper cause than the influence of scenery:—

> In Judæa all seemed to invite to retrospection and introspection; to favour habits of solitary thought and study, till it kindled into fanaticism. Mile by mile as you travelled southwards, memories of the past would crowd around, and thoughts of the future would rise within. Avoiding the great towns as the centres of hated heathenism, the traveller would meet few foreigners, but everywhere encounter those gaunt representatives of what was regarded as the superlative excellency of his religion. These were the embodiment of Jewish piety and asceticism, the possessors and expounders of the mysteries of his faith, the fountain-head of wisdom, who were not only sure of heaven themselves, but knew its secrets, and were its very aristocracy; men who could tell him all about his own religion, practised its most minute injunctions, and could interpret every stroke and letter of the Law—nay, whose it actually was to "loose and to bind," to pronounce an action lawful or unlawful, and to "remit or retain sins," by declaring a man liable to, or free from, expiatory sacrifices, or else punishment in this or the next world. . . . . And all around, even nature itself might seem to foster such tendencies. Even at that time Judæa was comparatively desolate, barren, grey. The decaying cities of ancient renown; the lone highland scenery; the bare, rugged hills; the rocky terraces from which only artificial culture could woo a return; the wide solitary plains, deep glens, limestone heights—with distant glorious Jerusalem ever in the far background, would all favour solitary thought and religious abstraction.*

In his description of the Jewish world Dr. Edersheim is not always equally satisfactory. His reliance upon the fragments ascribed to Aristobulus, and his belief, on their authority, in the existence of "very early Greek versions of at least parts of the Pentateuch,"† are open to serious question, Valkenaer notwithstanding. His sketch of the Alexandrian philosophy, necessarily very brief, hardly does justice to Philo's position in the world of thought, and some statements are dogmatically made which are not universally accepted by interpreters of Philo. In his account of the Messianic idea he seems to be under the influence of two tendencies. In accordance with his prevailing view (in which we entirely concur) that Christianity cannot be explained as a mere outgrowth of Judaism, he says that Jesus "was not the Messiah of Jewish conception,"‡ and yet afterwards he seems as if he had a grievance against those who carry that opinion too far, and declares that the Jews "appear to have regarded the Messiah as far above the ordinary human, royal, prophetic, and even Angelic type, to such extent, that the boundary-line separating it from Divine Personality is of the narrowest."§ It is impossible in the space at our disposal to examine this view; but the arguments adduced in its favour will not prove universally convincing. That the Jews expected the Messiah to be "elevated above the ordinary conditions of humanity" no one, probably, will dispute; but it seems strange to appeal, in proof of their belief in his premundane existence, to a passage which refers also to the premundane existence of the Thorah, Israel, and the Temple, and which therefore suggests an order, not in time, but in the Divine thought; and if it is said that he would be "*loftier*

* Vol. I. pp. 223 sq. † Vol. I. p. 24. ‡ Vol. I. p. 164. § Vol. I. p. 171.

*than the ministering Angels"** (the italics are Dr. Edersheim's), it ought to be remembered that the Jews also looked back to "a time when all Israel were not only free from death, but like the Angels, and even higher than they."† When we allow for Oriental language, and consider actual instances of its use, we must regard such passages as proving only that the Messiah was expected to be the impersonation of Israel's ideal.

If we pass to a consideration of the critical value of the work, we can only say a few words as to the principles on which it is based. The problem to be solved is justly conceived, and the statement of it at once excites the sympathetic attention of the reader. Dr. Edersheim says in his Preface :—

> I wish to disclaim having taken any predetermined dogmatic standpoint at the outset of my investigations. I wish to write, not for a definite purpose, be it even that of the defence of the faith—but rather to let that purpose grow out of the book, as would be pointed out by the course of independent study, in which arguments on both sides should be impartially weighed and facts ascertained. In this manner I hoped best to attain what must be the first object in all research, but especially in such as the present : to ascertain, so far as we can, the truth, irrespective of consequences. And thus also I hoped to help others, by going, as it were, before them, in the path which their inquiries must take, and removing the difficulties and entanglements which beset it.

Nevertheless we fear that those who are really conscious of difficulties will feel them all the more keenly after the perusal of the pages which are intended to allay them. For Dr. Edersheim hardly estimates correctly the present nature of the problem or the argument on which he mainly relies. The mythical theory of Strauss, to which he principally addresses himself, fails to represent the position of many who are unable to follow our author's rigid literalism. There is a growing number of those who are constrained to reject several details in the Gospel narratives, but are very far from wishing to appear as opponents of Christianity. They gladly accept the Gospels as substantially historical, and profoundly reverence their revelation of a unique spirit, or, if Dr. Edersheim would prefer the phrase, of a Divine humanity, and nevertheless recognise in them a commingling of unhistorical material. Such persons will feel the strange incongruity of the literal appearance of Angels, and the literal singing of Angelic hosts in the sky, more deeply than ever when they have just gone through a realistic description of Jerusalem, and are forced to ask themselves what they would think of it if some shepherds came and said that an Angel had talked to them on one of our English hills. The difficulty of accounting for the origin of stories of that kind does not in the least remove the difficulty of believing them. Of the latter difficulty Dr. Edersheim seems quite unconscious ; and we may say generally that he fails to appreciate the actual weight of difficulty in the minds of those from whose opinion he dissents, and consequently his arguments glance off at one side, and make not the slightest impression.

* P. 177. † P. 166.

Even as regards the extreme theory of Strauss himself the main argument of the book seems quite inconclusive. To prove "that Jesus Christ was, alike in the fundamental direction of His teaching and work, and in its details, antithetic to the Synagogue in its doctrine, practice, and expectancies,"* only shows that the Gospels were not the offspring of the Synagogue. But Strauss does not maintain that they were. The Messianic expectation is only one of his two sources of Evangelical myths; the other is, in Strauss's own words, "the particular impression which Jesus left by reason of his personal qualities, his action, and his fate, by which he modified the idea which his countrymen formed to themselves of the Messiah." To show, therefore, that a narrative cannot have sprung out of the known views and expectations of Judaism has no tendency to prove that it is not a *Christian* myth. The theory of Strauss must be refuted upon other grounds.

Notwithstanding Dr. Edersheim's rigid adherence to the literal accuracy of the Gospels, he is obliged to admit the presence of small errors, because the parallel accounts do not always agree. Of his mode of dealing with these errors two examples may be given. In the narrative of the temptation, which is accepted as matter-of-fact history, in which Jesus was really carried to Jerusalem by the spirit of the Devil, "St. Matthew places the Temple-temptation before that of the world-kingdom, while St. Luke inverts this order, probably because his narrative was primarily intended for Gentile readers, to whose mind this might present itself as to them the true gradation of temptation."† This means, in plain English, that Luke deliberately falsified known history, of the most solemn and momentous kind, in order to suit the prejudices of his readers. It is fortunate that this suggestion was not made by "opponents of Christianity." While referring to the temptation we may observe that rationalism also is not altogether inadmissible: "no rational interpretation would insist on the absolute literality" of the statement about the mountain from which all the kingdoms of the world were seen. The mountain was real, but not the view; Jesus saw enough to suggest the rest.‡ This almost deserves a note of admiration, of which Dr. Edersheim is fond when alluding to the opinions of other scholars. A second example of our author's treatment of error may be taken from his account of the healing of the blind man or blind men at Jericho: "In regard to the . . . . divergence, trifling as it is, that St. Luke places the incident at the arrival, the other two Evangelists at the departure of Jesus from Jericho, it is better to admit our inability to conciliate these differing notes of time, than to make clumsy attempts at harmonising them. We can readily believe that there may have been circumstances unknown to us, which might show these statements to be not really diverging."§ We cannot share the author's readiness of belief; but it in no way lowers our respect for the Evangelists to suppose that, like other historians, they were sometimes inaccurate.

Space forbids us to enter into any discussion of Dr. Edersheim's

* Preface, p. xiii † Vol. I. p. 299. ‡ Vol. I. p. 296. § Vol. II. p. 355.

theological position. Suffice it to say that Jesus is with him "the God-Man," and that the two elements of his being which are indicated by that very unscriptural term are so presented as to make it exceedingly difficult to blend them into any self-consistent picture. Here too the work will be more convincing to those who are already convinced than to those who occupy a different theological field. But though we cannot accept our author's principal theories, we desire to part from him with a warm expression of our thanks for such a learned and interesting work. Our own sympathies are wholly on the side of a constructive theology, and we never object to seeing the critics criticised; but we cannot believe that modern research and modern methods have been altogether nugatory, and we fear that exorbitant claims will only repel from Christianity many whom it would be desirable to attract. However, each man must be faithful to his own best light, and we probably diverge from one another far more in the letter than in the spirit.

J. D.

Mr. Ground on Mr. Herbert Spencer's Philosophy.

MR. GROUND'S "Examination of the Structural Principles of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Philosophy," * to which is appended a list of several hundred subscribers, including an archbishop, about a dozen bishops, and a host of clergymen, is a book of some significance as indicating the probable future attitude of the more reflective portion of orthodox Christianity towards the doctrine of Evolution. It evinces a fair acquaintance with Mr. Spencer's system of philosophy, and no small amount of logical and rhetorical power, but it is greatly disfigured by the writer's inordinate conceit, which renders him blind to the fact that his book is, in the main, only a popular presentation of views and criticisms which have already found more accurate and classical expression in the writings of Dr. Martineau, Dr. Ward, Professor Mivart, Dr. Elam, and others. The author is quite alive to the anti-theistic influence of recent speculation, and utters the prediction that "if the present state of thought in the higher intellectual ranges is allowed to continue in our nation for twenty years longer, the bulk of the largest and strongest intellects will have thrown off the Theistic faith." Nor does he think that the preachers are likely to prove equal to this serious emergency.

> Occasionally (he says), when listening to some of the ablest preachers of Christendom, I have clothed myself for a time in the armour of an Agnostic, and considered what such a one would say to the preacher's arguments, and how he would outflank the preacher's greatest statements by a larger generalisation. The conclusion I reach is, that at present there is no prominent divine throughout Christendom who has yet shown himself to possess that calibre, grasp, extent, and accuracy of information, which are needed to fashion a bolt that would pierce such an Agnostic's armour.

* *An Examination of the Structural Principles of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Philosophy*: Intended as a Proof that Theism is the only Theory of the Universe that can satisfy Reason. By the Rev. W. D. Ground, Curate of Newburn, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Parker and Co., Oxford and London, 1883.

The "at present" must refer to a date previous to the publication of Mr. Ground's book, for the reading of a few pages of that work will render it evident that the author of it no longer feels the slightest doubt that the dexterous David whose logical shafts are destined to floor the agnostic Goliath has at length entered the lists. Mr. Ground thinks that he has shown "that Dr. Martineau, who was purposely selected as distinctly the most formidable antagonist Christendom had sent against Mr. Spencer, is incompetent for such a task." The only basis alleged for this charge of incompetency is that Dr. Martineau, in his essay on "Modern Materialism," argues that the Evolutionist, in order to account for the evolution of the cosmos, must assume for his primitive atoms specific differences of constitution and collocation; whereas, argues Mr. Ground, he ought to have remembered that "the very essence of Mr. Spencer's system—that which differentiates it—is that it is the deduction of the world as we know it out of first principles. 'Give me Force and its Persistence,' says Mr. Spencer, 'and I will build up your universe even to the highest intellectual range.' That is the position which must be met, and I submit that Dr. Martineau has not met it." Mr. Ground himself forgets that what Dr. Martineau was dealing with was not the empty pretension that the cosmos can be deduced from indeterminate homogeneous atoms, *plus* the principle of the Persistence of Force, but with the actual mode of deduction as expounded by Evolutionists; and his position is that the "Evolutionist must, in spite of his contempt for final causes, himself proceed upon a preconceived world-plan, and guide his own intellect as, step by step, he fits it to the universe, by the very process which he declares to be absent from the universe itself." In this contention Dr. Martineau is in entire agreement with the conclusion reached by an eminent thinker, who was equally at home in science and in philosophy, the late Professor Jevons, who says in his *Principles of Science*, in reference to the evolution theory:—

> Every atom which existed in any point of space must have existed there previously, or must have been created there by a previously existing Power. When placed there it must have had a definite mass and a definite energy, kinetic or potential as regards other existing atoms. Now, as before remarked, an unlimited number of atoms can be placed in unlimited space in an entirely unlimited number of modes of distribution. Out of infinitely infinite choices which were open to the Creator, *that one choice must have been made which has yielded the universe as it now exists.*

It is the more surprising that Mr. Ground should have seen any incompetency in this, because, as the reader soon discovers, Mr. Ground himself holds a view that is not logically distinguishable from the above. His main object is to combine agreement with Mr. Spencer's doctrine, that the original homogeneity of substance and the persistence of force will explain everything, with a belief in an intelligent and moral Creator in the place of Mr. Spencer's "Unknowable." He seems satisfied that he has succeeded, but we think it will be clear to most readers of his book that his Theism is only established at the cost of surrendering nearly all that

Mr. Spencer thinks most distinctive and original in his philosophical system.

The ablest and most instructive part of the volume is the earlier half, in which the writer carefully analyses the *First Principles* and the *Principles of Psychology*, and shows that it is a fundamental principle in Mr. Spencer's philosophy that Matter and Mind are so intrinsically different that the transformation of one into the other is utterly inconceivable. That being the case, Mr. Ground justly argues that Mind must be inherent in the ultimate unity out of which the physical and mental cosmos proceeds, and that therefore as there is intelligence in the Cause of the universe, that Cause cannot justly be said to be Unknowable. He maintains that the infinity of the Divine Intellect does not render God absolutely unknowable, but simply unknowable in His entirety, and he does not seem to be aware that Dr. Martineau, in his articles on "Science, Nescience, and Faith," and on "Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought," has already shown in a far more clear and conclusive way that God may be "apprehended," though He cannot be "comprehended."

This book deserves credit for the vivid picture it gives of the inconsistencies which cling to Mr. Spencer's account of "Mind." In the first place, as Mr. Ground shows, he often represents consciousness as though it were only another mode of the correlated forces of heat, electricity, vitality, &c., though he has previously emphatically declared that it has no predicate in common with physical forces. There is, no doubt, an inconsistency in Mr. Spencer's teaching on this point, but Mr. Ground does not, we think, point out that Mr. Spencer indicates his own way of escape from the dilemma by the doctrine that the elementary factors of mind are probably only the mental aspect of the same substance of which the molecules of the cerebral structure are the other aspect. But even if we admit this theory, Mr. Spencer falls into another self-contradiction, for he teaches in one portion of his writings that "it is an illusion to suppose that at each moment the *ego* is something more than the aggregate of feelings and ideas, actual and nascent, which then exist," while in another passage he says, "the subject" (which must mean the *ego*) "is the unknown permanent *nexus* which continues to exist amid transitory ideas."

Mr. Spencer does not show how it is possible for this *permanent subject* to be fashioned out of the psychical stocks which constitute, in his view, the elements of Mind. Mr. Ground then discusses Free-will, which he accepts on the evidence of consciousness, and shows that Mr. Spencer's objections to it are rather unverified assertions than demonstrations. But Free-will cannot be evolved out of Necessity; so here, at all events, we have a decided breach of that boasted principle of continuity which is the essential feature of Spencerian evolution. We find, too, that in the evolution of rational self-consciousness out of animal sensation, and in the birth and progress of the moral sentiments, Mr. Ground virtually admits that we must recognise a fresh impulsion—a divine *vis*—to enable man to make these higher departures. He goes even further

than this, and contends for the reality of the Biblical miracles, and declares that Christ, "as a sinless man, introduced a factor never before known." He may be right in these views, but if so, it is evident that the main principle of Mr. Spencer's doctrine is utterly discredited, for it is only in so far as Mr. Spencer succeeds in explaining the later chapters in the book of evolution by the earlier that he attains the end that he has in view, and his conversion to Mr. Ground's Theism, with its successive phases of divine activity and its teleological principle of development, would not be, as Mr. Ground seems to think it would, a mere substitution of the Christian's for the Agnostic's Deity; it would virtually be the entire collapse of his whole system of thought, and a return to the old theological doctrine in a slightly modified form.

Mr. Ground's book is in many respects a sound and popularly-written critique of Mr. Spencer's main positions, but both his extravagant notion of his own importance and his extravagant laudation of Mr. Spencer's principle of continuity are sadly out of place; and if he would be content to sit for awhile at the feet of some of those thinkers whom he calls incompetent, he would better understand the true relation of Spencerian Evolution to Christian Theism.

C. B. U.

Mr. Abbott's Translation of Kant's Ethical Writings.*

AMONG the numerous works on Kant and his philosophy which have issued from the English press during the last few years Mr. Abbott's is one of the most opportune and serviceable. Prof. Calderwood's edition of Mr. Semple's work already furnishes the English reader with a translation of the *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, also of the *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Sittenlehre*, and of a portion of the celebrated *Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft*. Mr. Abbott's translation contains the first two of these treatises and the whole of the last-mentioned work, as well as the first half (*i.e.*, that pertaining to Ethics) of the treatise *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*. Thus the whole of the ethical views of Kant are now made as accessible to English-reading students by Mr. Abbott's translations as his views on the nature of knowledge are by the translations of Prof. Max Müller, Prof. Mahaffy, Prof. Meiklejohn, and Mr. Belfort Bax. We have compared Mr. Abbott's translations and also Mr. Semple's with the originals, and find that while they are both good translations Mr. Abbott's excels in closeness to the German, and is also, we think, rather more readily intelligible. This translation resembles the translation of the "Prolegomena" by Mr. Bax in that it is accompanied by an excellent memoir

* *Kant's Critique of Practical Reason and other works on the Theory of Ethics*, translated by Thomas Kingsmill Abbott, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. Third Edition. Revised and enlarged. With memoir and portrait. London: Longmans and Co. 1883.

and a portrait. The portraits in the two books come from the same source. The respective memoirs give prominence to different aspects of Kant's life and writing, so that neither is superfluous; nor indeed should we like to be without the third competing Memoir, namely, that by Dr. Wallace, in "Blackwood's Philosophical Classics." Mr. Abbott appends to his Memoir a brief but suggestive sketch of Kant's position as an ethical philosopher, and of his relation to some other moralists. He mentions the interesting fact that though Kant was influenced in his moral discussions by English moralists, Butler, who wrote half a century before him, was wholly unknown to him. This Mr. Abbott attributes to the circumstance that Butler's ethical views were presented under the form of *Fifteen Sermons*, a title which would not be likely to attract a foreign student of Ethics. We are glad to see that Mr. Abbott's book has already reached a third edition, and we hope that it will still attract many readers, for the importation of some of Kant's leading ideas on Ethics into English moral philosophy would, we think, be of great service to the cause of truth and religion.

C. B. U.

Mr. Lillie's Popular Life of Buddha. *

THIS book is designed as a reply to the well-known expositions of Buddhism by Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids, and its title page announces that it contains an answer to the Hibbert Lectures of 1881. The writer professes the greatest admiration for the person of Gotama Buddha, and regards him as the author of one of the most important religious revolutions, if not the most important, which the world has ever seen. He finds the current accounts of the original significance of Buddhism, especially that with which Mr. Davids's name is associated, unsatisfactory, and he propounds another solution in their stead. The theory is, in brief, that the Buddhist movement was the revolt of the higher Brahmanism against the lower (p. 127). The historical Buddha is accordingly presented as a theist of the most exalted type, who attempted to bring down the Kingdom of the Sky to this dull earth. The writer has great sympathy with the moral drift of Buddhist teaching; he has a quick eye for the picturesque and a facile pen for retelling some of the charming stories with which the Buddhist books abound. But he is unable to grasp the real conditions of the problem; he only gets his results by recklessly reading his own views into the materials provided by independent scholars, and picking out whatever suits him from all kinds of Buddhism in different countries and at different times. For example, Foucaux's translation of the Tibetan version of the Lalitavistara contains the following passage—"Après des kalpas écoulés par centaines de millions de kôtis, les Bouddhas Bhagavats apparaissent quelquefois dans le monde." This of course refers to the familiar belief in recurring cycles of the world's history in which

* *The Popular Life of Buddha;* by Arthur Lillie, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: Kegan Paul, 1883.

successive Buddhas arise: the title *Bhagavat* means 'venerable' or 'blessed.' Mr. Lillie, however, chooses to render Foucaux's French thus —"The God Almighty Buddha (Buddha Bhagavat) only visits the world after many kalpas" (p. 15). Here Mr. Lillie has blended all the series into one permanent being, and then designated him out of his own head 'God Almighty.' In this way it is possible to prove anything, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find Mr. Lillie, who professes great respect for Mr. Rhys Davids's Pali scholarship (of which he is himself quite ignorant), correcting him about the gender of a word, in spite of the warning given him in a note on the very passage whose meaning he thus perverts. The question relates to the union with Brahmâ delineated in the Tevijja Sutta. Mr. Lillie will have it (p. 184) that this masculine Brahmâ must be the neuter Brahma, 'the formless, pure, pervading, eternal, passionless God,' because that would suit his theory, whereas the modern Brahmâ, with whom he is acquainted through the pages of Ward's antiquated *Religion of the Hindoos*, is a very objectionable personage. We hardly know which is the more foolish, to try to force on Mr. Rhys Davids a mistake against which he specially cautions the reader, or to assume that the gross anthropomorphisms of the latest and lowest forms of Hindu theology must be read back into the controversy of Gotama Buddha with the Brahmans. Other examples might easily be given to show how unsafe a guide is the writer of this book. He explains the origin of the doctrine of transmigration by the crude notion that "it was invented by the priesthood to account for the caste system" (p. 219); he declares it "certain that Buddha was the first to proclaim that duty was to be sought in the eternal principles of morality and justice, and not in animal sacrifices and local formalities invented by the fancy of priests" (p. vi.), as though Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and their successors had contributed nothing similar to the religious history of mankind before the year 470 B.C.; he finds in the statement of the Lotus of the Good Law that "at the moment of death thousands of Buddhas show their faces to the virtuous man" something "very like the 'discerning of spirits' recorded by St. Paul" (p. 88). Whatever there may be here and there of shrewd suggestion or present-day observation is rendered worthless by the hopelessly uncritical character of the writer's method. Mr. Rhys Davids is perfectly capable of defending himself against the assault of his antagonist; but one misrepresentation of Mr. Lillie must not pass unnoticed. The introduction concludes as follows: "The Rev. Professor Beal, too, has uttered a protest against the 'lectures and articles' of Dr. Rhys Davids, which against all evidence announce that Buddhism 'teaches atheism, annihilation, and the non-existence of soul.'" Everyone would naturally suppose from this that the 'protest' of Mr. Beal (*Romantic History*, p. x.) specified Mr. Davids's writings. Readers will be surprised to learn that Mr. Davids had not then published one line upon the subject, and Mr. Lillie, in applying to him proleptically, as Biblical apologists have it, the language of Mr. Beal has contrived to convey an impression for which there is no justification whatever. J. E. C.

Mr. Percy Greg's 'Without God.'*

THE expectation aroused by Mr. Percy Greg's name will be fully answered by his latest book. With much literary skill, with large knowledge gathered from very various sources, and with an evident desire to deal fairly by conflicting views, Mr. Greg here conducts a series of discussions on the questions that are now exercising the minds of most thinking people. The discussions are thrown into the form of dialogue between friends occupying respectively the average Christian, the Theistic Christian, the Cynical Agnostic, the Positivist, and the Secularist positions. In an introductory chapter, Mr. Greg explains his own suspense of mind as the reason for adopting this form of writing.

> For more than one strong reason, I could not venture to offer to the many thousands of men who stand much in my own position any confident conclusion, any creed of my own. The form of conversation affords not merely the most convenient, but I think the most truthful, method of laying before my readers the various suggestions which, as the fruit of many years of reading and of thought, may be interesting to those whose minds have been turned in the same direction, but who may have had less time or inclination to work out the results to which, like myself, they feel themselves tending. That form is in some cases especially suited to represent the one conviction I have reached—that there is still a great deal to be said on both sides of the question; a fact too generally overlooked. In a still greater number of instances it affords the best way of putting objections, or of showing where I think that defects of proof or exaggerated inferences may be found in arguments whose general tendency it is impossible to controvert (p. 4).

So that this book has an autobiographical interest of the highest kind. If it is interesting to know the opinions of an able man, it is still more interesting, to those who have the necessary patience, to see the actual process of formation of such a man's opinions. Mr. Greg anticipates the objection that may be brought against him of evading the responsibility of his convictions by quoting the remark of a friend to whom he has been keenly opposed in politics for a quarter of a century, and who defined his (Mr. Greg's) course of life as that of a man who "always chose the side on which his bread was not buttered."

Mr. Greg avows himself a Pessimist. "I do believe that for the present all seems to be going to the worse in this worst of all intelligible worlds." He fears democracy, whose present temper is characterised by 'envy of wealth, jealousy of intelligence, antipathy to an intellectual even more than to an hereditary aristocracy, [which] seem to threaten property, leisure, and education with serious danger." If this were the place to discuss the question we would point out that by exaggerating one set of facts, and completely ignoring others, Mr. Greg appears to us seriously to misread the signs of the times. But fear even of the

* *Without God:* Negative Science and Natural Ethics. By Percy Greg. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1883.

democracy is not the greatest that haunts him; he sees also a great and real danger to morality.

> I believe firmly that there can be no general—national—universal morality without religion. Religion without a God—a God impersonal or unknowable—are to me contradictions in terms. I admit that many whom I should call Atheists, perhaps a majority of those who avow themselves Atheists, are eminently honest and virtuous men. But I hold, for reasons given hereafter, that their morality contradicts their Atheism; that they have no logical right to their virtues, and that, in the course of half a century at most, their logic will be too strong for their ethical instincts and their unconscious Christian traditions. If I am right in believing that no true morality can long survive Religion, and if they be right in believing that Religion cannot survive enlightenment, Pessimism is not the paradox it seems (p. 8).

Exactly; but how if only the first of these "ifs" is true? And does history warrant the fear that when men's logic comes into conflict with their "ethical instincts" it always wins the day? It seems to us that both actual experience and a true religious philosophy give exactly the opposite verdict.

The book contains 12 chapters on the following subjects:—The Cynic Cosmogony; New Lamps for Old; Chance or Creation; the Paradox of Positivism; Morals of Probability; Woman's Future without Faith; Despair; Inverted Moral Aspects; The Invented Deity; "By their Fruits;" Thin Ice and Snow Bridges; *Cæterum censeo*. But even this list does not exhaust all the subjects discussed or referred to.

Mr. Greg would have done well, we think, to avoid mere allusions to burning questions which do not advance his discussion, and only produce irritation in the minds of many, at least, of his readers. For example, one of the speakers contends that so far from its being true that in an atmosphere of doubt there is a corresponding relaxation of morality, there is, on the contrary, in the present day, an amount of moral enthusiasm such as was never witnessed in any previous age, and here is the reply of the cynical Lestrange:

> More whine and cant, certainly. The anti-vivisection agitation—half-a-dozen religious fanatics apart—is a fair specimen of "enthusiastic" morality. A lady who is passionately fond of pets, and cares as little for scientific truth as for fair play, represents the best half of it—that which consists of ignorant women and sentimental men. For the other side—anglers, sportsmen, fox-hunters, and fools at large—they merely
>
> "Make up for sins they are inclined to
> By damning those they have no mind to"—
>
> would atone the carnivorous cruelty of their favourite sports by reviling the philanthropic severity of experiments which in a whole year inflict less suffering than a single battue (p. 167).

Our author is not troubled with any suspense of mind with regard to politics. "Mr. Gladstone is in politics what certain favourites of society are called—a privileged man. He may steal the horse where a Radical or a Tory would be hanged for looking over the hedge." "Fifty years ago (he) would not merely have been hurled from office, but would have been hooted from society" (p. 174). "Between Bright's exultation in

the flight of Irish landlords, and Most's apology for tyrannicide, there is barely a difference of degree" (p. 261). This may be smart, but we submit that it is an offence against the canons of literary art and unworthy of the dignified style which we are happy to acknowledge Mr. Greg prevailingly maintains to drag such impotent remarks as these into the discussions contained in this book.

There is very little dramatic setting or description of character in the work; the characters are left to reveal themselves in the conversations. Lestrange, the cynic, interests us most; he and Cleveland the Theist take the lead in the conversation; Merton the Positivist has also a good deal to say, but the rest are little more than lay-figures. It would be easy to quote largely from the book, but after all this would give no idea of its value; we hope many of our readers will be induced to read it for themselves. Perhaps the ablest discussions are those on the bearings of the Evolution Theory on the Design Arguments and on the Positivist pretension to establish a religion by using old words, entirely emptied of their meaning. In the latter especially Lestrange exposes with relentless logic the moral and spiritual poverty of Positivist resources for realising the Positivist ideal. We only wish he had had for his opponent Mr. Frederic Harrison instead of Merton.

As a further edition of the book will probably be called for, we may mention a slip on p. 134, where Moses is confounded with Elijah. An index of subjects would be helpful for reference. J. H.

A Study of Contemporary Religious Evolution.*

THE Count Goblet d'Alviella is a liberal politician of Belgium, who presided at the first of the series of meetings of the Peace Conference in Brussels, held in October, 1882. It is a new pleasure to the writer of this notice, who heard his inaugural address on that occasion, to welcome in his person, as the author of the present volume, a liberal theologian also.

Count Goblet d'Alviella describes himself in the opening words of his introduction as "étranger à toute église, mais en communion de sentiment avec quiconque cherche à rapprocher la religion de la raison." Surely the *beau idéal* of an observer at once impartial and sympathetic! And this profession, we are bound to say, is carried out in practice to a very unusual extent.

In spite of some errors in detail, the volume before us is, on the whole, a painstaking, a faithful, and a graphic presentation of the state of religion in England, America, and India, in the nineteenth century, preceded by a summary of the evolution of theological opinion in this country, from

* *L'Évolution Religieuse Contemporaine, chez les Anglais, les Américains, et les Hindous.* Par le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, Membre de la Chambre des Représentants de Belgique. Bruxelles: Murquardt. 1883.

the times of Henry the Eighth. It is true that in the more general description of the superficial phenomena of religious life in England, contained in the first chapter, the writer appears to allow his love of the picturesque to get the better of his accuracy, as witness the following passage:—

> Préparez-vous pénétrer, à la suite d'une initié dans une sorte de cave, où règne une obscurité mystérieuse. Il est possible qu'entre deux hymnes mystiques vous y entendiez nier l'existence de Dieu. Mais vous aurez tout au moins l'occasion de converser avec l'esprit de Jésus et de Mahomet, sinon d'évoquer l'ombre de votre arrière-grand'mère.

We are quite aware that this phase of atheistic spiritualism found an adherent in Harriet Martineau; but we much doubt whether it could be met with in any *séance* nowadays.

The portions to which we naturally turn with most interest are those which relate to the impressions of the writer, derived from personal observation during two visits to England. The heart of the typical Unitarian must surely swell with pardonable pride to find how prominent a part Unitarianism, as such, according to Count Goblet d'Alviella, has played, and still plays, in the "Évolution Religieuse Contemporaine." "In general," we read at the close of the third chapter, after a review of the Broad Church movement, "of all Protestant communions, the Unitarian Church, as will be seen from the following chapter, is the only one which has fully and officially renounced every intellectual trammel." Count Goblet d'Alviella has plainly fallen into the hands of very liberal-minded Unitarians, and as plainly misinterpreted their declarations of personal conviction, as representative confessions of faith. In the first place, as the late W. J. Lamport was never weary of repeating, there is no such thing as a Unitarian Church. In the second place, the "Unitarian body," as some of its admirers love to call it, has no means of officially renouncing or officially pronouncing any opinion whatsoever. In the third place, there is a very large and influential section of Unitarians who are by no means disposed to countenance any such absolute freedom as that which the Count at once attributes to Unitarians *en masse*, and by implication eulogises as their exclusive possession.

In reference to Priestley's declaration, "The belief in these facts [*i. e.*, the miracles] constitutes what I call the faith of Christendom," our author makes an observation, which we especially commend to the attention of a recent critic of modern Unitarianism, Dr. Putnam. "It contributed," he says, "not a little to the reputation for religious dryness and coldness which weighed so long on English Unitarianism." And this is the very faith which our modern reactionaries would rehabilitate as the only hope of reviving religious ardour amongst Unitarians! In justice, however, even to these reactionaries, we feel compelled to add, that when Count Goblet d'Alviella cites the eloquent sermon of Mr. R. A. Armstrong, on the "Desolation of Jerusalem," as a proof that all "prévisions pessimistes" of a "relâchement et lassitude dans la ferveur religieuse," have been "complètement démenties par les faits," we do

not think that he has presented his readers with a full or fair statement of the case. All that Mr. Armstrong says in that sermon as a personal declaration and confession has our full sympathy, as far as it goes. But Mr. Armstrong himself admits, though our author does not quote this part of the sermon, that Unitarians, whether more or less zealous than of yore, are at all events not zealous enough to have any reasonable hope of converting the Church and the unchurched multitudes to their faith. And neither Mr. Armstrong nor the Count d'Alviella seems to us sufficiently to recognise the influence of that growing conviction of the essential relativity of truth, which is the really important outcome of the critical and historical movement, regarded as part and parcel of the entire intellectual ferment of our time, and which must, in exact proportion as it deepens and extends, paralyse the propagandist nerve.

We had marked for notice some of the errors in matters of detail, into which, as we have said, the author has fallen—errors which were, perhaps, inevitable, and which do not seriously affect the general trustworthiness of his representations. We cannot stay to enumerate and correct them here; and we have not left ourselves room to do even the scantest justice to our author's interesting survey of Conwayism, Comtism, Spencerism, American Transcendentalism, and last, but not least, his careful and eminently impartial account of the Brahmo Somâj, and its various developments and splits. In conclusion, we should like to cite a few of the closing sentences with which the Count Goblet d'Alviella sums up the results of his interesting investigation. Among these results is his prevision, in the Religion of the Future, of a growing secularisation of the Church in the best and noblest sense of these words. Knowing that our author was more or less associated in his peace projects and parliamentary liberalism with Emile de Laveleye, to whom he dedicates his work, we feared that, whatever was the breadth of his mind in other respects, he was irretrievably committed to that middle-class Mancunianism which never can and never will understand and lay to heart the socialistic aspirations of our age. But the last words of this valuable volume lead us to hope better things.

> Nos sciences positives concluent de plus en plus à l'écrasement du faible par le fort dans le combat pour l'existence; la foi prochaine aura à réagir contre cette apothéose de la force et asseoir sur une base religieuse les droits de l'individu. Notre régime économique n'a pas tenu les espérances dont s étaient un instant bercés nos pères; la foi prochaine aura non seulement à nous proposer sa solution du problème de la souffrance et du mal, mais encore à nous offrir un remède pour introduire plus de justice dans les relations des hommes.

Except as auguries such safe generalities as these do not indeed go far. But so far as they do go we are thankful for such auguries, coming from one who has thought it worth his while to give to Unitarianism so prominent a place in contemporary religious evolution—*Quod omen felix faustumque sit.*

E. M. G.

The Encyclopædia of Protestant Theology.*

THIS extensive cyclopædia of Protestant Theology is the successor of that which was begun and carried on to its close by the late Professor Herzog of Halle and Erlangen, with the co-operation of many scholars. It professes to be a second edition, improved throughout and enlarged. During the publication of its volumes Herzog died; and his co-editor Plitt soon followed him. Since then it has been conducted by Professor Hauck of Erlangen. The value of such a work can hardly be over-rated. We are glad to see that it is to be completed in fifteen volumes; whereas its predecessor reached to more than twenty. The theological standpoint of the writers is moderate orthodoxy, and therefore some of the ablest writers in Germany are excluded. The reader will look in vain for the names of Pfleiderer, Overbeck, Holtzmann, Hilgenfeld, Wellhausen, and others.

The last two volumes which have appeared are the eleventh and twelfth, including "Œtinger-Ring." In looking through them we find several excellent articles, especially those on "Prophetenthum," "Rationalismus," "Religionsphilosophie," "Origen," "Pantheismus," "Pentateuch," and "Palæstina." The last is very long, extending to upwards of eighty pages. That upon "Polycarp" is not altogether satisfactory; nor is the "Prediger Salomo" sufficient. "Psalmen" is by Professor Delitzsch, as before; but we cannot pronounce it excellent. "Pseudepigraphen," by Dillmann, is good. The articles "Paulus and Petrus" are indifferent; nor can that on "Philo" be called excellent. "Palæstina," by Schultz, is exhaustive and masterly. Long as it is, no reader will find fault on that account.

We looked for the name of Gloucester Ridley, but it is absent; as was that of Bishop Butler, from an early volume. Yet four pages are devoted to Archdeacon Paley, and upwards of four to Theodore Parker. The article "Puritaner," consisting of thirty pages, is from the pen of Dr. Schoell, of London.

The biographical, historical, and geographical articles are the best. Those on the various books of the Old and New Testaments hardly represent the present state of criticism. Here the reader must rather look to Schenkel's "Bibellexicon."

Each volume is in royal octavo, and contains eight hundred pages.

An English translation of this cyclopædia would be a great boon to students of the Bible; but we fear that no London publisher would undertake the expense. The taste of the day favours novels so much as to divert the public mind from higher and serious literature.

S. Davidson.

* *Real-Encyklopædie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche, u.s.w.* Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1883.

Professor Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament.

IN the fifth edition of the Hebrew New Testament, edited for the British and Foreign Bible Society, by Professor Delitzsch of Leipzig—a work carefully executed—there are several things still which need alteration and correction. We have dipped into the volume in several places, and have found words incorrect or unsuitable. Thus for ἄγγελοι θεοῦ in Hebrews i. 6, Elohim is put; a plural which never signifies *angels*. In Galatians vi. 18, אָחַי "my brethren," with a pause accent, is not the proper representative of ἀδελφοί alone. In Matthew xxii. 37, and Luke x. 27, מַדָּע is given for διάνοια, which is not the best word. The Septuagint has for it συνείδησις in Ecclesiastes x. 20. In John viii. 44, הַכָּזָב is introduced after אָבִי at the end of the verse, giving an interpretation more than doubtful. The uncertainty of the original Greek should have been retained.

In Acts iii. 16, הָאֲרוּכָה is not the best equivalent for ὁλοκληρία; the proper word is מְתֹם. In Romans ii. 4, for μακροθυμία there should be אֹרֶךְ אַפַּיִם not אֹרֶךְ רוּחוֹ. In Philippians ii. 6, the difficult word ἁρπαγμός is rendered by שָׁלָל, which fails to give the true sense. In Jude 19, the rendering הַפֹּרְשִׁים מִן־הַצִּבּוּר "who separate from the congregation," is too free, being an interpretation rather than a translation. And the interpretation is an incorrect one, for, according to the true reading, the meaning of the Greek is, "who create schisms." In Hebrews xi. 10, the word "foundations" is rendered, by a singular noun יְסוֹדָתָהּ "its foundation," whereas the plural of יְסֹד should be used.

In Revelation xiii. 2, גְּדוּפִים stands for βλασφημία, which is too mild a word, since it means "reproaches;" נְאָצָה is a better substitute. In Revelation xiii. 4, a better verb than שָׁמַם would be תָּמַהּ. The Hithpahel of שָׁמַם does not occur in the Bible with אַחֲרֵי after it. In Revelation xxi. 11 אוֹר is the wrong word for the Greek φωστήρ. it should be מָאוֹר. The text, taken as the basis, is the Elzevir of 1624; but several various and better readings are indicated in different parts. A critical text should have been adopted, such as Tischendorf's last, to which Delitzsch himself is favourable. But the Bible Society seems to stand in the way of such an innovation, however desirable at the present day.

S. D.

'THE FREEDOM OF FAITH.'

THIS is an American volume of sermons distinctly above the average, with a prefatory essay on "The New Theology," which gives the keynote of the volume. The representatives of the "New Theology," upon which these sermons are based, are Erskine, Maurice, Stanley, Robertson, Bushnell, &c.; and Mr. Munger himself appears to be one of those who is able to put a very real life (with most unorthodox explanations) into what is known as orthodox phraseology. It is a little difficult for readers, who have long been accustomed to drink the new wine from new bottles, to understand the precise advantage of retaining all the old bottles; but, at the same time, it is satisfactory to see a minister, whose lot has been cast among men who insist on using the old bottles, filling them with very excellent new wine. And so long as writers of this school deal with the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, Justification, and so forth, there is little difficulty in putting any meaning they like into these phrases. Some confusion may arise, but no great harm is done, by our using a word to-day in a different sense from that in which it was used some centuries ago. But what is to become of historical theology if this process is applied to the Bible and we are told that "it may mean to-morrow more than it means to-day"? And again, "when there is such an accumulation of knowledge and of evidence against the apparent meaning that the mind cannot tolerate the inconsistency, it must search the text to see if it will not bear a meaning—indeed, was intended to convey a meaning which we have failed to catch—consistent with ascertained facts. It is already a familiar process, as illustrated in the treatment of the first chapters of Genesis." Surely the application of this process to the first chapters of Genesis is its *reductio ad absurdum*. The sermons themselves are very much more satisfactory than this prefatory essay. In them as much of the orthodox phraseology as it is not natural to the preacher to use is quietly dropped, and such statements of the Bible as are inconsistent with facts are quietly left alone, which is the best thing to do with them, except when we are engaged in the historical and literary study of religion. The spirit of the discourses is the true Christian spirit; there is both breadth and depth, and a clear consciousness of the realities of human life, and the reality of Christ and of God which makes it possible truly to live. They may be read with profit by any one who will bear in mind that the writer is not, and does not claim to be, an authority on scriptural questions, confessing, for example, that he does not know whether the Song of Solomon is a song of human love or "of the yearning delight of God in His Church."

F. H. J.

The Freedom of Faith. By THEODORE T. MUNGER. London: James Clarke and Co. 1883.

William Ballantyne Hodgson.*

THOSE who had the privilege of reckoning themselves amongst the friends, or pupils, or occasional hearers of Dr. Hodgson, or even those who merely had the opportunity of meeting him once or twice in social intercourse, must have retained a clear impression of his striking personality, and they will turn with great interest to the Life and Letters which Mr. Meiklejohn has edited. No doubt the attractiveness of his character, and the very strong influence he possessed over those who came into close contact with him as fellow-workers, or as learners, was due in considerable measure to his personal presence, and the contagion of his energy and enthusiasm, and no memoir could give an adequate impression of this. It is this personal element of manner and temperament that is especially brought out and illustrated by Mr. Woodhead in his *Student Recollections*, which is an interesting supplement to the fuller representation of the man and his work. From both we see the intense interest and zeal which penetrated to every detail of any task he undertook, and drew out the best that was in all his fellow-workers, and which, in his lectures on Political Economy, made the hackneyed title of "the dismal science" seem ludicrously inappropriate.

Dr. Hodgson's labours in the cause of education and in the science which of all others he held to be most needful to the education of a good citizen—Political Economy—are recorded in detail in the Life, and amply illustrated in the Letters. Hodgson's early boyhood was not a happy one, but a few glimpses are given which make us wish to have been told more about it, and we should not unwillingly have sacrificed for this some of the many later pages in which are recorded at length his opinions on things in general. In spite of over-work, over-excitement, and a certain amount of self-torment, the true strength of his character developed itself under a somewhat hard discipline. He distinguished himself at school and at college, and went out into the world well equipped, and looking out with eagerness for his proper mission. His first important engagement was as Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute of Liverpool, which was (and is), in fact, a very large and successful school, in which, when Dr. Hodgson left it after some seven years of service, first as Secretary and then as Principal, between two and three thousand boys and girls were being educated. After this he was for four years Principal of an important High School in Manchester, remaining steadfast to what he felt to be his true vocation, and declining some tempting offers of more lucrative or more conspicuous posts. After a term of good service here

* *Life and Letters of William Ballantyne Hodgson*, LL.D., late Professor of Economic Science in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by J. M. D. Meiklejohn, M.A., Professor of the Theory, &c., of Education in the University of St. Andrews. Edinburgh: Douglas. 1883.

Student Recollections of Professor Hodgson. By Ernest Woodhead. Edinburgh: Pentland. 1883.

he spent a few years in comparative leisure for study and for seeing the world, and they furnish material for two or three interesting chapters, containing extracts from his letters from abroad,—some of them written in Paris at the time of the *coup d'état*. In another chapter some curious passages are given from his experience as a member of the Royal Commission of 1858, appointed to inquire into the state of Primary Education. His next settled home, after various wanderings, was in London, and he set himself to serve the cause of unsectarian education as a member of the Council of University College. The circumstance, however, of the rejection of the foremost candidate for the chair of philosophy, on the ground of his being a Unitarian minister, was regarded by him as a gross breach of the unsectarian constitution of the college,—and he shook off the dust of his feet against it, as Professor de Morgan had done, in disgust and disappointment. From London he presently removed to Edinburgh, and established himself in a picturesque home on the slopes of the Pentland Hills,—Bonaly Tower—of which both Mr. Meiklejohn and Mr. Woodhead give us a most fascinating picture. Here, with his wife and children, he "practically kept open house, for he used to say, 'All roads lead to Bonaly as well as to Mecca.'"

Dr. Hodgson was invited in 1871 to fill the newly founded chair of Economic Science in the University of Edinburgh, and though the professorship took him a great deal away from his home, and entailed much hard labour and many new cares, he did not long hesitate, but yielded to the call, and went heart and soul into the work. Mr. Woodhead's Recollections are chiefly of Professor Hodgson in the class-room, and they make us feel what the features were of his teaching and personal influence which so attracted his pupils and attached them to him with real affection. They are also well brought out in a letter which Mr. Eric Robertson contributes to the Memoir. Dr. Hodgson had a profound belief in the humane and beneficent character of the science which it was his vocation to expound, and we can imagine the indignation he would feel at Mr. Ruskin's invectives against Political Economy, or rather against the doctrines which he attributes to the Political Economists. Mr. Woodhead describes the Lectures on Ruskin, which must at any rate have been vigorous and racy; and we notice that he has taken care to report the generous and appreciative tone in which Dr. Hodgson spoke (as we felt sure he must have done) of that side of Mr. Ruskin's teaching, in morals as well as art, which he could not but recognise as high and true, and of his aims, always humane and lofty, however queer or impossible might be the schemes by which he seeks to attain them. Mr. Meiklejohn hardly does justice to Dr. Hodgson when he fails to set this off against the severity or ridicule with which he treated Mr. Ruskin's counterblasts to Political Economy. And the same thing strikes us in connection with the view he took of the American civil war. However firmly he stuck to his original partisanship for the Southern States, and however blind he continued to be to the real causes and issues of the war, we cannot believe that he never found occasion to say a generous word

for the North, or to recognise the devotion and self-sacrifice of its noblest sons.

The copious extracts from Dr. Hodgson's correspondence contain a very full expression of his opinions on all the subjects in which he was chiefly interested, in religion, politics, education, economic science, &c. A good deal that is printed cannot be said to be specially original or brilliant, and much that was new and even startling at the time, especially in the matter of education, has the disadvantage for readers to-day of having long been accepted and taken for granted amongst the common-places of public opinion. Dr. Hodgson's religious views would be classed under the conveniently general term Liberal Christianity; but he did not identify himself with any particular church or theological school, and was content to leave more questions open than the theologians will generally tolerate. He held that all true religion has its root in ethics; and his creed was of a very practical kind. His strong personal feeling of simple and earnest devotion is testified to in the prayers written for use in his family, several of which are printed in an appendix to the Memoir. Dr. Hodgson was only sixty-five years old when he died,—four years ago. His career had been as full as a life well could be of strongly-felt interests, of energetic work and diligent study, and generous self-devotion to the cause of education in the fullest sense of the word. He accomplished unfortunately very little connected literary work, and perhaps the most characteristic of his productions will be those lectures on Ruskin's *Unto this Last*, to which we have referred, and which it seems are not unlikely to be published as he had himself intended. His true "works" are in the impulses and the guidance to a high ideal of manly life, which went out from him through all his career; and the Memoir, the leading points of interest in which we have been able merely to touch upon, contains abundant material for those high thoughts of duty and devotedness, which it was his one aim to impart to his scholars as the inspiration and motive of their lives.

Mr. Edwin Arnold's 'Indian Idylls.'*

MR. EDWIN ARNOLD has a very distinct mission, as the skilled interpreter of a poetical literature which is all but a sealed book for us in England. He is a poet, and a Sanskrit scholar, and has a keen appreciation of the beauty and truth embodied in the legends belonging to the earlier and purer forms of the Hindu mythology, and a clear insight into their deeper meanings. We only lament that his fulfilment of his mission has to be confined to the too short intervals of business when he can escape from the atmosphere of Fleet-street into the realm of noble thought and high imaginings which is revealed in this new volume he has given us. The ordinary reader of the books that deal with the Hindoo literature, finds it hard to get anything more than a

* *Indian Idylls*, from the Sanskrit of the Mahâbhârata. By Edwin Arnold. London: Trübner. 1883.

confused and bewildering impression of the two extraordinary poems, as long as seven Iliads and Odysseys put together, which, Mr. Arnold says, "contain almost all the history of ancient India, so far as it can be recovered; together with such inexhaustible details of its political, social and religious life, that the antique Hindoo world really stands epitomised in them." We do not know to what extent the whole mass is penetrated by that pure vein of poetry which has furnished Mr. Arnold with the Idylls here presented to us: no doubt he has selected the most beautiful of the episodes, romantic, pathetic, or heroic, and it is the sweeter breath of the earliest days of Hindoo faith which is the inspiration of their poetry. Nor are we in a position to judge how much of the beauty of their expression is simply transferred from one language into another, and how much may be due to our English artist, judging his work, of course, according to our modern critical standards of literary excellence. All we can say is (and it is quite enough), that we are introduced into a world of beautiful romance in which we see how close together are the deepest springs of religion and of poetry; and, while the English verse is of the quality which we should expect from Mr. Arnold's practised hand, it has distinctly the tone and colouring of the land of its birth, and both in its passages of primitive simplicity and intensity of expression, and in its characteristic scenery and imagery, and mythology, it has a consistent unity of spirit and of form.

But after all, the intrinsic value of these Idylls is in the pure pleasure and refreshment of soul they give us, the power they have to carry us out of "this nineteenth century of ours" and bring us into fellowship for a few moments with the children of another world, a world of feeling and thought and faith strange to us both in its contrasts and its resemblances to our own. The depth and tenderness of human love and self-sacrifice and self-devotion have seldom been more touchingly portrayed;—the mysteries of life and death seldom shadowed forth in more impressive figures, than in some of these poems. There is the story of Sâvitrî and Satyavân which, as Mr. Monier Williams remarks, "for true poetic feeling and pathos, is not excelled by that of Admetus and Alcestis," and from which, we might add, the jarring note of the husband's selfishness is absent. There is that other story of a wife's fidelity and devotion in "Nala and Damayantî," which was made known to English readers some fifty years ago by Dean Milman in a metrical translation, but one that aimed at a literal rendering, line for line, and was certainly "better adapted to aid the student than adequately to reproduce the swift march of narrative and old-world charm of the Indian tale." There is the fine conception of the Birth of Death, Brahma discontented because his Creation being perfect was unchanging and wearying in its monotony; and from the power of his discontent unconsciously to himself, there went forth

> A flame, the spirit of His brooding thought,
> Which, filling all the regions, had consumed
> The heavens and earth and worlds . .
> So was that thought of Brahma terrible.

Then from his later thought of pity Death is born as a beautiful "Presence feminine," and she is bidden to go forth and slay all living things, each in his time, and for the good of all. She weeps and entreats to be spared such a dreadful duty,—

> Thereat there spread in heaven
> Silence a space, whilst Death, for love of men,
> Gazed on the face of God, and that dread face
> Waxed well contented: and great Brahma smiled
> Looking upon His creatures, who therewith
> Fared well throughout the three wide worlds, because
> The countenance of Him was glad again.
> So passed she forth from the Almighty Presence, mute,
> This tender angel sent to slay mankind,
> Refusing still to slay.

Then for countless ages she does penance and pilgrimage, and offers prayer and sacrifice for men, and at last obtains from Brahma that the stroke shall not be given by her hand, but men's sins shall slay them and die so with them.

> "Thus it shall be," spake Brahma. "Go, fair child,
> Fulfil My purpose, make death enter so;
> Thou shalt be blameless now and evermore.
> See! the bright tears that fell upon my hand
> From forth thine eyes, I turn to woes of flesh
> Which shall consume them—aches, diseases, griefs.
> Born of thy sorrow these will smite; but, born
> Of thy compassion, these shall heal with peace,
> When the day cometh that each one must die.
> Fear not; thou shalt be innocent; thou art
> The solace as the terror of all flesh,
> Righteous and rightful, doing Brahma's will."

Perhaps the finest and most impressive of all is the story of the Great Journey, and the Entry into Heaven, with its high lessons of fidelity and love and self-sacrifice, as when the saint and hero, Yudhishthira, arriving at the gate of Heaven, refuses to enter in unless the dog who has followed him faithfully through his journey may be admitted also, and afterwards when he does not find in Heaven the fellow travellers who had sunk, one after another, on the way, he will have none of its joys for himself, but sets forth to seek them and share their pains in Hell; and there, hearing the voices of his loved ones calling to him from amidst the darkness and horror,

> That soul fear could not shake, nor trials tire,
> Burned terrible with tenderness, the while
> His eyes searched all the gloom, his planted feet
> Stood fast in the mid horrors. Well-nigh, then,
> He cursed the gods: well-nigh that steadfast mind
> Broke from its faith in virtue. But he stayed
> Th' indignant passion, softly speaking this
> Unto the angel: "Go to those thou serv'st;
> Tell them I come not thither. Say I stand
> Here in the throat of hell, and here will bide—
> Nay, if I perish—while my well-belov'd
> Win ease and peace by any pains of mine."

How the dog proved to be Dharma's self who had assumed that shape to try Yudhishthira's fidelity to the meanest comrade; and how the souls, for whose sake he would have forfeited the special place of honour reserved for him in heaven nearest to the gods were only doomed to suffer a short while the pains of hell that should purify them from some lingering trace of earthly evil—all this must be read in the poem itself. We know nothing like it in the literature of any mythology for its deep and simple pathos and tender humanity, and for the peculiar intensity of its appeal to all that is best and holiest in human life, and there is a refined beauty and noble dignity of its poetical form which is altogether worthy of its spirit. One only of the Idyls which Mr. Arnold has included in his selection seems to us somewhat out of harmony with the rest; for, though it may help to give us an idea of the variety of the material which the Mahâbhârata contains, "The Saint's Temptation," with its lighter tone and a suggestion of the sensuous, jars a little upon the tender feeling or solemn religious beauty of the rest, and we should have liked the volume better without it. For the book, as a whole, we are profoundly grateful to Mr. Arnold. It will take its place amongst the most truly religious literature of any time, and amongst the freshest sources of intellectual pleasure and purifying and elevating thought and feeling.

The Poems of Jones Very. *

WE have delayed noticing this beautiful little book of religious poetry, because one who knew Mr. Very, and knowing him loved and reverenced him, desired to pay a tribute here to his memory. Unhappily, illness has prevented him from doing this, and we must ourselves undertake the pleasant duty of briefly calling attention to the clear and sweet voice that speaks in these delicate spiritual poems which have come to us from across the Atlantic. Mr. Andrews has furnished a very graceful and sympathetic sketch of Mr. Very's character. He belonged to that circle of choice spirits of which Mr. Emerson was the centre in the bright "Concord Days." Or rather we should say he was *in* it but not altogether *of* it. He lived apart, in a world of high spiritual communion, in which he believed (or, shall we say, he knew) that he received messages direct from God, to deliver to the world. In writing the poems, which came from his pen with wonderful fluency, he regarded himself as "but a reed through which the Spirit might breathe a music of its own." He startled, and, it appears, sometimes shocked people by his unhesitating confidence in the voice that spoke within him; and at one time he was under the influence of a certain over-strained mystical exaltation or exhilaration which made some of his friends anxious about his sanity. By kind counsel and sympathy he was restored to a calmer mood, while happily, he never lost his glad and inspiring faith in the word spoken to

* *Poems by Jones Very.* With an Introductory Memoir by William P. Andrews. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. 1883.

him in his communings with the unseen, his belief that "every man who made the complete sacrifice of self necessary to the identification with, the hiding in Christ, would become the voice of the Holy Ghost." Dr. Channing said of Mr. Very that "to hear him talk was like looking into the purely spiritual world, into truth itself. He had nothing of self-exaggeration, but seemed to have attained to self-annihilation, and to have become an oracle of God." Emerson wrote of him in his diary, "Jones Very is gone into the multitude as solitary as Jesus. In dismissing him I seem to have discharged an arrow into the heart of Society. Wherever that young enthusiast goes he will astonish and disconcert men, by dividing for them the cloud that covers the gulf in man." A brother minister said that to have walked with him was to have walked with God; and another, that he was "as good as goodness, and as true as truth. With his knowledge and wisdom he was simple as a child, transparent, artless." All that Mr. Andrews tells us of Mr. Very's comparatively uneventful life is in perfect harmony with these testimonies to the extreme beauty and simplicity of his character; and we see in it all the same spirit from above, the spirit of truth and love and rapt devotion, which is in all his poetry.

The poems, which are chiefly in the Sonnet form, though not following the strict rules of the Sonnet, have a delicate spiritual charm which consists essentially in the fact that they are the absolutely simple unstudied expression of their author's inmost being. The thought seems to take upon itself a rhythm and music that naturally belong to it; and not a few of the Sonnets are remarkable for a certain refined grace and transparent sincerity and intrinsic harmony, the secret of which many a student of literary art would be glad to learn.

Mr. Andrews has selected about a hundred Sonnets, arranging them in groups under the headings, The Call, The New Birth, The Message, Nature, and The Beginning and the End; and there is a section, of Song and Praise, containing thirty-three short poems, chiefly lyrical. All are written in the same devoutly meditative or receptive mood, the divine "message" reverently delivered in simple sincerity of heart; and they form a beautiful and welcome addition to the literature of spiritual religion. Their author would have utterly repudiated any claim for them as works of art; but they have a beauty of expression as well as of thought and feeling, the charm of which no one can fail to recognise who is in sympathy with the spirit of faith and love which breathes in every line.

Professor Knight's Edition of Wordsworth's Poems.*

WE had no room in our last number to mention the new volume (the fourth) which had appeared of the Library edition of Wordsworth's Poems, completing the first half of the work, the plan

* *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth.* Edited by William Knight, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, St. Andrew's. Vol. IV. Edinburgh: W. Paterson. 1883.

and execution of which we have described in detail in previous notices. The new instalment includes several of the poems in which Wordsworth's genius attained its highest artistic expression, such as the "Ode on Immortality," the "Character of the Happy Warrior," and the "Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle." These, and others to be classed with them or near them, were originally given to the world in their finished beauty which, as we see from the absence of various readings of any importance, no fastidious self-criticism has induced the author to attempt to improve upon. "The White Doe of Rylstone," on the contrary, was carefully worked over, after it had gone through four editions. The alterations made generally do something in the way of remedying the defects in style, which the author confessed himself conscious of in "the business parts" of the poem. But, with the critical faculty quickened by the sight of the numerous corrections, it is impossible not to notice the many flat and prosaic lines still remaining, which no amount of painstaking revision could have effectually reformed. They are chiefly in those passages, such as the description of the Rising of the North, where it is impossible to avoid thinking how differently Sir Walter Scott would have told the story; a comparison against which, however, Wordsworth put in a mild protest as "inconsiderate." We are guilty, no doubt, of heresy, but we have never been able to share all the poet's own intense interest in this poem, and his estimate of its importance amongst his works; though we fully appreciate the beauty of many parts of it, and the purity and nobleness of its teaching.

The pleasure of seeing in the beautiful type of this edition, the collected "Prefaces" and other prose matter that is associated with the poems, has suggested a hope that the Editor and Publisher may conspire, when their present undertaking is finished, to give us the Prose works in the same admirable form, and with the same careful and judicious editing. At present they are only to be had in Dr. Grosart's far from satisfactory edition, with much added miscellaneous matter, the best part of which, Mr. Aubrey de Vere's charming Recollections of the poet, we may hope to see reproduced in its natural connection with other of Mr. de Vere's valuable Wordsworthian studies. A complete collection of the Letters can probably not be made yet. Dr. Grosart's is much too imperfect to be considered even a fairly representative selection.

Mr. Chadwick's 'In Nazareth Town.' *

MR. CHADWICK'S new little book of verse is not one to criticise or to weigh against the works of the poets of established name and fame, but is one to be accepted and enjoyed in a quiet hour, and a mood for being simply pleased. It has the charm of graceful expression, with a constant undertone of tender religious feeling; and there is a

* *In Nazareth Town, a Christmas Fantasy;* and other Poems. By John W. Chadwick. Boston: Roberts. 1883.

fresh and sweet breath of poetry both in word and in spirit. In the poem which gives its name to the volume, we have a pretty picture of the village and the home that have just been made glad by the birth of Mary's son. Then there is the thought of the sorrows, happily unforeseen, and the unimagined glory and exaltation; and again of the true human glory, yet to be restored,—the breaking of the "dawn of better things."

But all of this to thee is strange
As, safe from every harm
Thou liest, soft and warm and sweet,
Upon thy mother's arm.

There are some graceful little poems, touched with a gentle pathos or kindly humour, about little ones in our own homes, as "The Unknown Tongue," "Little Hannah," "Under the Snow;" and there are greetings to friends, commemorative verses, &c., half-a-dozen sonnets, and a ballad or two. They might almost all be classed as "poems of the affections"—affections human and divine inseparably associated. We must content ourselves with giving one of the briefer poems in illustration of what we have said of Mr. Chadwick's muse.

A Dedication.

My darling boy, kissed but a moment since,
And laid away all rosy in the dark,
Is talking to himself. What does he say?
Not much, in truth that I can understand;
But now and then, among the pretty sounds
That he is making, falls upon my ear
My name. And then the sand-man softly comes
Upon him, and he sleeps,
And what am I,
Here in my book, but as a little child
Trying to cheer the big and silent dark
With foolish words? But listen, O my God,
My Father, and among them thou shalt hear
Thy name. And soon I too shall sleep.
When I awake I shall be still with thee.

Christianity the Science of Manhood.*

IT is not quite clear why Christianity should be called the "Science" of manhood, or of anything else. As treated of by Mr. Savage it might, perhaps, be more appropriately called the "Art" of manhood; for the object of his very clear and reasonable argument is to show that Christianity presents, as no other religion does, the ideal of the manly life, and also supplies the motive power for the realisation of that ideal in character and conduct. Taking the "religious faculty" as the distinguishing

* Modern Handbooks of Religion *Christianity the Science of Manhood.* By Minot J. Savage. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

characteristic of man, he shows how Christianity, the essence of which he defines as "love to God and love to man," ensures the due working and true harmony of the faculties which man shares with the brute creation, the physical, the intellectual and the affectional. A review is given, too brief to be quite satisfactory and judicial in all respects, though sufficient, perhaps, for the immediate occasion, of the great world-religions; Christianity alone, reduced to its simplest elements, being considered to contain the essentials of a universal religion. Mr. Savage intimates that if he were writing the book to-day he might in some respects modify this part of his argument; and there seems to be no reason why before sanctioning its re-publication here he should not have put it into more exact accord with his present thought. However it is only fair to say that while admitting that it does not express *all* his thoughts even on the subject of which it treats, he believes it to be "in the main, not only true but grandly true." We agree, also "in the main," with this estimate of it. It appeals thoughtfully and earnestly to the conscience and moral experience of men, and what we might call their religious common sense; and it is well calculated to guide and help perplexed minds, tossed between an unspiritual dogmatism on the one hand and an entire negation of belief on the other. We heartily wish success to the series of "Handbooks of Modern Religion," of which the present is the opening volume.

Mr. Baldwin Brown's New Book on The Home.*

SEVENTEEN years after the publication of his popular book, *Home Life in the Light of its Divine Idea*, Mr. Baldwin Brown returns to the theme, endeavouring, he says, to adapt his argument "to the new state of things that is establishing itself for the time among us, under the influence of a philosophy which we may fairly describe as 'falsely so-called,' if we are to rate it according to its own claim as the system of the future." His aim is "to show how the home is the key to the life of man as a citizen of a yet wider world; and to trace the method by which, in the counsel and purpose of God, this sin-tormented earth may be made homelike once more." In dealing, as he does, with so much that is most real and most deeply felt in life, Mr. Brown has a great deal to say which must command the assent of all religious minds, whatever their theology may be. No doubt some of his arguments and illustrations will be wanting in point to the reader who does not hold the author's view of the authority of Scripture, and certain doctrines are put forth or implied which will receive by no means a unanimous assent. But we have learnt to think more of the truth taught than of the theological dialect in which it is uttered, and Mr. Baldwin Brown has so much that is true and

* *The Home: in its Relations to Man and to Society.* By James Baldwin Brown, B.A. London: James Clarke. 1883.

excellent to say that we have no inclination to stop to take exception, as we might sometimes do, to the way in which he puts it, or to single out for criticism the points (chiefly theological) in which we do not agree with him. There is an admirable discourse on the Dependents of the Home, which neither masters and mistresses nor servants could read without profit; and amongst others which contain much wise counsel in household duties and comfort in household sorrows, we may mention especially those on the Children of the Home, the Discipline of the Home, the Sacred Sorrow, and the Sacred Burden of the Home.

A Commentary on the Revised Version of the New Testament

IT is rather late to notice Prebendary Humphry's Commentary; but there may be some of our readers who do not happen to know of it, and will be glad to hear of a book in which they will find a concise statement of the grounds for every new rendering of importance in the revised version. Mr. Humphry, who speaks with authority, as one of the N. T. Company, though his work is done on his own responsibility, does not necessarily pronounce his own opinion as to the character of the changes he marks, nor does he undertake to defend the revision against all objectors; but it is evident that he is generally satisfied with the reasons which he reports. We would not venture to say how far his statement of the case as a whole is likely to satisfy the severer critics of the revision, or to reconcile the uncritical adherents of the authorised version to the changes which have so much disturbed them; but it will be of real service in providing both classes of readers with the materials for forming a reasonable judgment. An interesting feature of the Commentary is the very frequent reference to the renderings given in the earlier English versions, as well as in the Vulgate, showing often that the change that has been made is not really an innovation, but a reversion to the language of the older translation. Mr. Humphry has not kept his own theological opinions altogether out of sight, and he lets us see how, in certain cases, the doctrinal assumptions of the majority of the revisers were allowed to influence their decision, as, for instance, in the distinction between "Holy Ghost" and "Holy Spirit." The occasional comments which he makes from a dogmatic point of view, or with an eye to edification generally, can be taken by the reader for what they are worth, as also may the judgments pronounced on questions of literary taste. In almost all cases where the reader wants information it is given succinctly and fairly, and for those especially who have not the necessary scholarship or the necessary leisure for working out the matter at first hand, no more useful and convenient critical apparatus could well be provided.

* *A Commentary on the Revised Version of the New Testament.* By W. G. Humphry, B.D., Vicar of St. Martin in the Fields, Prebendary of St. Paul's. London: Cassell, 1882.

Mr. Kirby on Evolution and Natural Theology. *

We find in Mr. Kirby's interesting book, a clear and intelligible statement of the doctrines of Evolution in the realms of physical life, and many well-conceived illustrations of them, drawn chiefly from Zoology, which is his own special department of science. The points Mr. Kirby has endeavoured specially to establish are (1) the worthlessness of the opinions of antiquity on matters of natural science; (2) the great superiority from a scientific point of view, as well as in physical and moral evidence, of the theory of Evolution over that of Special Creation; (3) that Evolution is perfectly consistent with an enlightened theism. The first of these points is necessarily dealt with in rather a summary way, and the author ventures now and then into regions where he is not so much at home as when he is concerned with the discoveries and theories of modern science. He thinks, for instance, that the Hindu Trimurti may point to the triple powers of the sun's rays—the heat, the light, and the chemical rays; and there is great virtue in the word "if," when he says, "If Higgins is correct in his ingenious interpretation of the exoteric meaning of the first verse in Genesis, 'By wisdom the Trimurti regenerated the planets and the earth.'" Biblical criticism is not Mr. Kirby's strong point; but the two or three notes which betray this have nothing to do with the main argument. In the chapters on Darwin and his Critics, Use and Disuse, Homology, Geographical Distribution, Variation under Domestication, Course of Development on the Earth, and other special topics illustrating the objections to the theory of Special Creations and the arguments in favour of the methods of Evolution, the reader will find the fruit of much careful observation and reflection. A chapter that might with advantage have been expanded beyond its three short pages, just touches on the harmony of Nature, and the author concludes that "the theory of Evolution accounts for both the harmonies and the discords of Nature, and while reconciling both with the infinite beneficence of the Almighty, involves us in hardly any real moral difficulties."

Mr. W. L. Carpenter's 'Energy in Nature.'†

We do not know of any book which deserves to be more strongly recommended than this to those who, without having necessarily had any special training in physical science, are intelligently interested in the great discoveries which have revealed the mutual relations of the Forces of Nature, and which illustrate in so many striking and impressive ways the unity in variety and variety in unity which exist throughout the natural universe. Mr. Carpenter has

* *Evolution and Natural Theology.* By W. F. Kirby, of the British Museum. London: Sonnenschein. 1888.

† *Energy in Nature;* being, with some additions, the substance of a Course of Six Lectures upon the Forces of Nature and their Relations. By Wm. Lant Carpenter, B.A., B.Sc. London: Cassell. 1888.

had a large experience in explaining these things to popular audiences, and for the special method of the book before us it is an advantage that it should have grown out of the unwritten addresses and public demonstrations which had been found by experience to be the most effective. Mr. Carpenter has avoided technical scientific terms as far as possible, and has given the preference to the most simple and direct illustrations; and he has skilfully made all the interesting details of each branch of his subject lead up to the grand generalisations of science, and a wide outlook over the whole field that comes within the range of observation and theory. The book is brought well up to date, and we may note especially some of the latest practical applications of electricity, which so strikingly illustrate the transformation of force and the conservation of energy, and reveal the unity of law throughout nature. The book is admirably got up and is illustrated with more than eighty woodcuts of experiments, apparatus, &c. It ought to prove very popular in its present form, and we hope it will not be long before it reappears in a still cheaper edition, for the special benefit of the working men, in whose interest the lectures were originally devised, but whose privilege we are now allowed to share.

An Indictment of the Lunacy Laws. *

MRS. LOWE has penned an unsparing, and, as some will judge, an undiscriminating indictment of our whole system of dealing with lunatics. She has been deeply impressed by the cases of cruelty and injustice with which she herself is acquainted, and she believes that the facilities for arbitrarily shutting up any person, however sane he may be, are fearfully great. It needs, perhaps, in some cases, an extreme and sensational statement in order to arouse attention to a real danger; and we do not doubt that for much of what Mrs. Lowe alleges to have been done, or to be possible, she may have good and verifiable evidence. We cannot, however, help feeling that her horror of the whole system, and her remembrance of injuries which, it would appear, she has herself either sustained or witnessed, predisposes her to believe the worst in every case she hears of. She hardly writes in a judicial spirit, and though the evidence, whatever it may be, in each case has been sufficient to convince her of the fact of all the injustice and cruelty she reports, she certainly does not inspire us with implicit confidence in all her statements. It is enough, perhaps, that she should rouse and startle the easy-going optimists into a sense of the dangers which undoubtedly exist under the present law in spite of the immense reforms which have been effected; and she proves the physical impossibility that the existing machinery of administration can ever adequately provide against unjust incarceration, or can speedily remedy one of the most terrible of wrongs. A certificate of lunacy is obtainable with fatal facility, and though an

* *The Bastilles of England; or, the Lunacy Laws at Work.* By Louisa Lowe. Vol. I. London: Crookenden. 1883.

elaborate and apparently thorough-going and far-reaching system has been contrived for the regulation and inspection of asylums, and the Lunacy Commission and Visitors of Lunatics have ample powers, it is easy to show the impossibility of their difficult and delicate duties being adequately performed, even if, as appears not to be the case, the Commissioners and other officials were required to give the whole of their professional time to the duties of their post. On these points, and on many others relating to the management and inspection of asylums, Mrs. Lowe has a good deal to say that requires the most serious consideration. She only prejudices her cause when she makes wild and incredible charges of corruption against individual Commissioners. She quotes with approval the remark of an American lady on the English lunacy system, that "the Commissioners in Lunacy drive a profitable trade with the superintendents and madness-mongers, by allowing them to incarcerate sane persons or detain patients after recovery." And she thinks that when she cannot account in any other way for what she considers their sins of omission or commission, she is justified in concluding that they have acted from a corrupt motive, and have connived at a crime either to oblige a friend or patron, or to put money in their purse. There are other things in the book, partly wrong and partly foolish, which will prevent its more serious and authentic statements from being attended to as they deserve. The whole subject requires treating more dispassionately and with more sober judgment. A reviewer, not long ago, said that there was now absolutely no danger of any one being unjustly consigned to a lunatic asylum. The truth, we think, lies somewhere between the complacent optimism of such a belief, and the pessimism of Mrs. Lowe, who is convinced that no one is safe under the lunacy laws as at present administered if it is to the interest of any sufficiently wicked person that he should be put out of the way.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts.*

THIS portly volume, containing 3,129 "thoughts," is to be followed, it appears, by five more of the same proportions, a gigantic undertaking, on which an enormous amount of time, labour, and ingenuity of arrangement and classification will be spent, and, so far as we may judge from this opening instalment, a good deal of it will be spent to very little useful purpose, and some of it to positively mischievous ends. The extracts, we are told on the title-page, are "gathered from the best available sources, of all ages and all schools of thought, with suggestive and seminal headings and homiletical and illuminative framework; the whole arranged upon a scientific basis. With classified and thought-multiplying (!) lists, comparative tables, and elaborate indices, alphabetical,

* *Thirty Thousand Thoughts*, being extracts covering a comprehensive circle of allied topics. Edited by Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence, Rev. J. S. Exell, Rev. C. Neil. With introduction by the Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. London: Kegan Paul. 1884.

topical, textual, and scriptural." All this amassed material and elaborate apparatus is to form a "homiletical cyclopædia on a truly comprehensive basis," providing "readier modes to arrive at knowledge in departments necessary for occasional and immediate use, or for popular embellishment." It is possible that a comprehensive collection of well-chosen passages, arranged and edited with adequate knowledge and breadth of view and literary skill and judgment, might be of use to preachers as suggesting new and fruitful lines of reflection, and giving some idea of the phases of thought and faith which have appeared in the teachings of the best representatives of different schools of religious and philosophical thought; and it might have furnished occasionally some grateful variety in the spiritual diet dispensed from the pulpit. But we feel bound to say, after carefully going through every section in this pretentious volume, our feeling is mainly one of astonishment that the combined labours of three editors, with a large company of workers gathering material for them in all directions, should have resulted in a work which contains so little real "light and leading" on the subjects of most pressing moment in the controversies which concern the social and religious life to-day. It would hardly be possible for any compiler, however dull, to miss a large number of true and suggestive passages, bearing especially on practical religion and the conduct of life, which will bear quotation, and may come in conveniently in a sermon. Such "homiletic" extracts here presented from the elder divines or from later preachers and writers are numerous; and if they are apt to degenerate into the common-place or the merely rhetorical, they are, at any rate, not below the average level of pulpit oratory, and are often a good way above it. But when we come to the representations which have been deliberately singled out for approval by the editors, of some of the questions of doctrine, religious, philosophical, social, which most agitate to-day the mind of the churches, and to which the Dean of Chester in his commendatory Preface specially calls attention—questions which have a direct relation to the most urgent problems of faith and life, and concerning some of which the traditions of orthodoxy and current ways of thinking and believing have of late been especially put on their defence, there is a lamentable want of insight and comprehension, an evasion (or ignorance) of the real points at issue, and a miserably contracted range of thought, which are truly surprising. The subject of "The Christian Evidences," which occupies more than half the volume, is treated from the most antiquated point of view. A strict and formal dogmatic scheme is set up and hedged in with all the defences of external evidence of Prophecy, Miracle, and the testimony of History, and this is followed up by a review of the "Forces opposed to Christianity," viz., Infidelity, Non-Christian Systems, and Heresies. Among the forces under the first of these heads are Theism, Monotheism, Unitarianism, Intuitionalism, Evolutionism, Socialism. The extracts by which they are "illustrated" are some of them almost incredibly empty of sense, while others are full of the most flagrantly unfair and ignorant misrepresentation. Mr. Brewin Grant, whose numerous contributions with the signature

B. G. will perhaps bear off the palm for absolute dulness or utter incapacity to deal seriously with a single serious problem of thought, gives in a few sentences the most foolish caricature of the doctrine of *Evolution* that we have ever come across. *Unitarianism* is dismissed with one "thought," also by *B. G.*, the chief point of which is that "as to the word" it is Monotheism; that it ranges from rationalism, neology, deism to the very verge of orthodox evangelical religion, and includes Dr. Priestly [*sic*] and James Martineau; and that "it is not opposed to Trinitarianism in its etymological force," "Tri-unity being the etymology of Trinity." On *Socialism* (concerning which a preacher in these latest days might certainly look for some guidance in a homiletic cyclopædia) there are five short articles, occupying just one single column—two by *B. G.* and three from the *Christian Examiner*. Mr. Grant contents himself mainly with holding up Robert Owen to obloquy, remarking that his lectures on marriage "set up animals as our true models, and perhaps he sunk below them in some of his teachings;" and the *Christian Examiner* is adduced as testifying that "Socialism is not favourable to the true life of man," for it says "The whole doctrine of the desirableness of luxury which lies at the basis of the 'phalanstery' seems to us very questionable. . . . While in this world we cannot so entirely repudiate the self-denial of the cross, nor do we think it well to tell men striving for their daily bread, and cheered by hopes of reasonable success, that they ought to feast better than kings and revel in every indulgence, and with less should not be content." It is fairly open to discussion how far the theories and the different schemes of Socialism in its many phases, are in accord with the Christian idea, are opposed to it, or are independent of it; but when the momentous questions connected with the whole subject are being taken so deeply to heart, and are discussed far and wide by statesmen, philanthropists, and religious teachers, and the spirit of reform, if not of revolution, is evoked under the name of Socialism, Christian or extra-Christian, it is simply monstrous to dismiss the subject in these few false and stupid sentences. Again, if there is one theological controversy which more than any other has of late stirred up the deep and earnest feeling of religious men in different churches, it is the controversy about the nature and duration of future punishment; and the doctrines which go generally under the name of *Universalism* have in more or less modified forms received the suffrage of the mind and conscience of the Churches liberated from the bondage to a hard and cruel creed. We soon see that it is natural for the editors to reckon Universalism amongst the hostile forces arrayed against the dogmatic system here labelled "Christianity," which their contributors are all retained to defend. But few readers with any acquaintance, however slight, with the literature of the subject, would be prepared for the section devoted to it in this collection of laboriously-collected and thrice-sifted "thoughts." Eight columns are filled almost entirely with extracts taken or condensed from the *Biblical Repository*, the whole drift of which is to represent the Universalists as teaching that the consequences

of sin are confined entirely to this life, and that a man steeped in vice and dying in the heyday of his wickedness, is straightway transferred to a heaven of absolute blessedness, which would be "a serious miscarriage of justice." This world, we are informed on the same authority, is represented by Universalism as "one vast prison-house or hell," and the next as "a universal paradise," and we are called upon to note the inconsistency of men who hold this view and yet "evince no eagerness to leave a world where the sins of men are rigorously punished." Is it possible that three clergymen, presumably acquainted at least with the elements of modern Christian dogmatics, can have deliberately selected and passed such stuff as this in their search for "first-class illustrations and really superior extracts"? It would require far more space than we can afford to give but a small proportion of the instances we have noted of the editor's incompetence to give a fair representation, or one that is not ludicrously inadequate, of any subject that lies outside the range of their own narrow dogmatic schemes. "*Atheism*," we are told, in an extract from Dr. Le Jeune, "is less base than pantheism;" "it is better to deny than to degrade God;" to which *B. G.* adds the remark, *à propos* of Positivism, "that it may be doubted whether ignoring is not meaner than denying, and if not in itself more offensive, it is at least 'without the courage of its convictions.'" Under the head of *Transcendentalism* are some long extracts from the *Church Review* and the *Christian Examiner*, the latter undertaking to show its effects on Sociology, viz. (1) "It destroys the finer and friendly feelings between rival schools of speculative thought," and (2) "It alienates practical men by arrogantly ignoring their intelligence;" and from the same source is drawn an argument that "the system leads inevitably to atheism." When engaged on illustrations of *Scepticism*, the editors give us a whole column from "that powerful and eloquent lecturer, the Rev. Joseph Cook," who tells his Boston audience, amongst other things, "Theodore Parker is the best sceptic you ever had; but to me he is honeycombed through and through with disloyalty to the very nature of things—his supreme authority." *Speculative Philosophy* is disposed of mainly under the head of Failure under Crucial Tests. Feuerbach, we are told, "expired in utter bewilderment and confusion, saying: 'Truth! O truth! where is it?' and with this confession of despair on his lips passed into eternity." "Goethe's last words were: 'Light! oh for more light!' Of what avail was it now that he had been the idol of the literary world. Instead of light there was the blackness of darkness." "Richard Brinsley Sheridan [a curious type of a speculative philosopher!] shrieked: 'O, I am absolutely undone!'" We should hope few preachers, however bent on edification at all hazards, will accept these "homiletic illustrations," or will imitate the vulgar attempt at smartness with which *B. G.* winds up the subject: "Speculative philosophy, like a 'speculative' business, affords more blanks than prizes, and abounds in risks, but not in satisfactory results." Concerning *Heresy* (generally) we learn that "Self-will, obstinacy, dogmatism, enter into the radical idea of a heretic, and help to give him that character." "Modern heresy

consists not in refusing to believe what has been believed, but in daring to believe more than has been believed." With regard to the special heresies that are described and criticised, we should have thought the editors might have been satisfied with directing their readers to some standard ecclesiastical history. At any rate they might have gone to one themselves for information instead of searching for it in the *Boston Review*, the *Church Review*, the *Baptist Quarterly*, and other anonymous sources; nor need they have availed themselves so often of "B. G.'s" readiness to rush in anywhere with a "thought" at a moment's notice.

The Dean of Chester in his introduction, while he does not of course pledge himself to agreement with all that is in the book, cannot doubt, he says, "that the gathering together of a large number of various utterances on this serious subject (the Evidences of Christianity) will be helpful to many doubting minds." He also says that Christianity, as the ages pass on, "must enter into new modes of conflict with the world, and must adopt new modes of persuasion." This is very true; but we can only say that we have found, in those subjects illustrated in this book, which required the most scrupulously careful consideration, and the most candid and intelligent exposition, an entire incapacity on the part of the compilers to give any help or throw any new light except a misleading one on the problems they have undertaken to deal with. As to their profession of having taken their extracts from "all schools of thought," it is in a certain sense justified. We find, for instance, besides the usual array of orthodox names of various note, or of no note at all, those of Channing and Martineau, Miss Cobbe, Carlyle, J. S. Mill, and other representatives of some of the "forces opposed to Christianity." But we doubt whether the heretics and latitudinarians all put together would have more than half a dozen pages for their share; and they are never called in, to give an authentic representation of their own characteristic views, which it suits the plan of the editors to slur over or to caricature in some other part of the book. Dr. Martineau is allowed to testify, in two or three detached sentences, against the materialistic philosophy, and Miss Cobbe against the possibility of an atheistic morality. The one solitary passage we have discovered from Dr. Channing, on the individuality and indestructibility of the mind of man, is placed in the section on "The Distinctive Doctrines of Christianity," and ingeniously classed under the heading "The Personal Agency of the Holy Ghost." We have to search carefully to find the name of any pronounced Broad-Church writer, and Roman Catholic divines are chiefly conspicuous by their absence. But we cannot go into any further criticism of the book. It would not have been worth while saying as much as we have done about it if it had been put forth with less extensive claims, or had been planned on a more modest scale. But a "Homiletical Cyclopædia," in six huge volumes, is, we may suppose, intended to be used as a perennial source of information and illustration; and whatever may be its use to the maker of sermons when it does not go beyond the common ground of practical religion and morals, we are sorry to say that in the case of almost all the subjects which required the most careful treatment and in which an earnest

preacher might look most anxiously for help from other thinkers, there is little to be found but "a darkening of counsel by words without knowledge."

Professor Upton on the Natural Evolution of Mind.*

AN adequate statement and examination of Mr. Upton's argument would require at least as long a treatise as the address itself, and we cannot do more than commend it to our readers as a very clear and powerful exposition, from the point of view of a spiritual philosophy, of the objections to the doctrine that the mind of man is a product of the same evolutionary processes which are discovered in physical nature. There is so much loose thinking and vague feeling on this subject, and such a tendency to submit to the dictation of anything that arrogates to itself the name of "science," that a distinct presentation of the real issues of the doctrine of the physical genesis of mind, cannot but be of great service; and those who may not be persuaded to accept Mr. Upton's will at least be helped by him to realise better what their own is.

Pulpit Commentary on I. Corinthians.†

THE primary and all-inclusive fault of the Pulpit Commentary is its existence at all. We have no belief in any good results to be obtained by the process of sermon manufacture for which it is intended to provide the method and the material. Here is one of St. Paul's pastoral letters which would fill about ten pages of the book. It is first expounded, with commendable conciseness and with the knowledge and sympathy which we should expect of Archdeacon Farrar; and then it is all worked up for the benefit of the sermon maker. "Homiletics" and "Homilies," expand, amplify, improve and apply it chapter by chapter and verse by verse, each of the seven homilists in turn giving a condensed sermon, or the skeleton of one, on every verse or series of verses, till nothing else can be further extracted from it, or put into it. If the work was to be done at all the various writers have fulfilled their task in an exemplary manner: and we should be sorry to say that such earnest, religious men and good preachers, as we know some of the editors are, and doubt not that all are, have not much that is true and wise and helpful to say in the 575 large, closely printed pages that they have filled. But we feel very strongly that a minister who takes St. Paul's words for

* *An Examination of the Doctrine of the Natural Evolution of Mind; or, the Distinctive Features of Scientific and Spiritual Knowledge.* An address delivered in Manchester New College, London. By Charles B. Upton, B A., B.Sc. Prof. of Mental and Moral Philosophy. London: Williams and Norgate. 1883.

† The Pulpit Commentary. *I. Corinthians.* Exposition by the Ven. Archdeacon Farrar, D.D.; Homiletics, Rev. David Thomas, D.D.; Homilies by Rev. D. Fraser, D.D., Rev. Ex-Chancellor Lipscomb, LL.D., Rev. E. Hurndall, Rev. J. R. Thomson, Rev. R. Tuck, Rev. J. Waite, Rev. H. Bremner. London: Kegan Paul. 1883.

his text would fare much better if he went direct to the apostle for his inspiration, and did not expect to find his sermon more than half made for him, at a good many removes from the original source. Some good exegetical commentaries, by competent scholars, on the different books of the Bible; and, for study both of style and matter, a few choice volumes of sermons by the classic divines, or by the leaders of religious thought in the churches to-day, would be better worth a place on the shelves of a minister's library, and would be a far better guide and help to him in his pulpit duties, than would this great storehouse of raw material for sermons. If we may calculate from what has already been published, the Pulpit Commentary on the whole Bible will fill not less than fifty volumes, containing some twenty-five thousand pages, or twenty million words, and even if every word were a word of wisdom we should feel that there were millions too many.

In Troubled Times.*

THE Dutch literature with which this Review has been most concerned is the literature of Dutch theology; and a novel, even by the daughter of a professor at Amsterdam, may be considered to lie somewhat outside our ordinary range. We cannot, however, deny ourselves the satisfaction of saying in a few word with what pleasure and interest we have read *In Troubled Times*, and adding one more to the many expressions of critical approval with which "Wallis's" book has been already received by the English readers to whom Miss Irving has introduced it by her translation. *In Troubled Times* is a historical novel, the scene of which is laid in the Netherlands, in the earlier years of the great revolt, with the tragic events of which the principal personages in the story are more or less directly connected. The characters are drawn with sympathy and insight; and the tragedy of their lives is in artistic keeping with the mightier drama that was being acted, both the history and the fiction being so presented as to give a vivid impression of the religious and political forces which were at work in that determined and heroic struggle for freedom. The style of the book is dignified and serious. It would have been improved sometimes by a little condensation, the descriptions and analysis of character, &c., being apt occasionally to extend to a length, unnecessarily delaying the movement of the story. Of course, the literary quality of the original loses something in its transference to another language. The translation, however, gives us the impression of being a faithful rendering, and with the exception of an occasional stiffness of phrase, it is in good readable English. We hope that the success of *In Dagen von Stryd*, in its English dress, will have been such as to encourage the publishers to give us a translation of "Wallis's" more recent *Vorstengunst*, a story belonging to the later years of Gustavus Vasa and the reign of Eric XIV. of Sweden.

* *In Troubled Times.* By A. S. C. Wallis. Translated from the Dutch by E. J. Irving. 3 vols. London: Sonnenschein. 1883.

Mr. Tyler on The Mystery of Being.*

MR TYLER thinks that "there is in this age a too general tendency to regard the question of life, and the nature and attributes of man, as also the insoluble problems relating to the universe generally, with a cool indifference." We should have said on the contrary, that the tendency was to take a great deal of more or less intelligent interest in these questions, and the attempts to answer them, or to decide whether the problems are soluble or insoluble form a noticeable feature in the theological and philosophical literature of the day. Mr. Tyler's own contribution to this literature has no marked features of originality, but it is often suggestive, and his arguments are clearly and sincerely put though we cannot say they are very forcible in their application. A chief point is that we can observe *how* an event happens, how a law prevails what qualities a thing possesses—but while we know the "how" we do not know the "why," and beyond all observed phenomena there is the mystery of the great first cause.

Heroes of Israel.†

MR. BARTRAM in his third series of "Bible Stories" tells of Joshua and of Samson, of Samuel and Saul and David, and he includes in it also the beautiful idyll of Ruth. While showing that he is acquainted with the results of modern criticism, and profiting by its constructive work, he does not assume an over-critical attitude; and he takes care not to translate the old-world ideas into the modern idiom either of language or of thought, and so to spoil the picturesqueness and poetry of the ancient stories. At the same time he does not slur over the things which would trouble the conscience of his young readers, and while helping them to enjoy the story for its own sake, helps them also to point the moral.

The following books are reserved for later notice:—*The Book of Job.* A new translation, &c. By G. H. B. Wright. (Williams and Norgate.) *Hus und Wiclif.* By Prof. Loserth. (Leipzig: Freytag.) *Christian History. Modern Phases.* By J. H. Allen. (Boston: Roberts.) *Ten Great Religions.* By J. Freeman Clarke. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co.) *Creeds of the Day.* By Henry Coke. (Trübner.) *Sermons preached in Clifton College Chapel.* By Rev. J. M. Wilson. (Macmillan.)

* *The Mystery of Being; or, What do we Know?* By J. Tyler, M.L.L.S. London: Kegan Paul. 1883.

† *Heroes of Israel.* By Richard Bartram. London: Sunday School Association, 37, Norfolk-street, Strand. 1883.

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JEREMIAH AND THE FALL OF JUDAH.

JEREMIAH, "the last great prophet, the evening star of the declining day of prophecy, occupies the dividing line between two ages, and without intending it closes the species of entirely pure prophecy."* The "burden of the Lord" had been more gladly, but not more faithfully, borne by many of his predecessors; but in him that "joy that champions feel," which peals out in the words of Amos and of Micah, yields to the solemnity of constraint and self-restriction, and the victory of prophetic loyalty is won only within the domain of thought and character. Upon the ruins of patriotic ambition he lays the foundations of spiritual faith and hope. Familiar not only with the strength and the weakness of Judaism, but with the rites and practices of foul idolatry, he based the religion of the future upon the insight of obedience, and the immediate knowledge of God which is the treasure of the pure heart and the single mind. The path of Jeremiah's life, which we propose for awhile to follow, leads from the Old Covenant to the new.

The reaction which set in, upon the death of Hezekiah (696 B.C.), swept away nearly every trace of the reformation he had effected. Manasseh "bowed down to the

* Ewald. *Prophets.* Tr. by J. F. Smith. Vol. III., p. 73.

host of heaven," introduced foreign worships, "caused his son to pass through fire" to Molech, and placed the symbol of Ashêra in the temple of Jerusalem. The prospects of the establishment of the national religion on a pure and single Yahvistic basis, which had opened before the eyes of the prophetic party, were rudely closed. Remonstrant voices were either abruptly silenced by persecution (which, according to tradition, brought a terrible death to the venerable Isaiah), or sank into such muttered forebodings of woe as find place in the narrative of 2 Kings xxi. 10—15. Manasseh reigned forty-five years, and was succeeded by his son Amon, whose Egyptian name may be due to that alliance, extending to the introduction of Egyptian rites into Jerusalem, which the prophetic school persistently condemned.* Amon "walked in all the way that his father walked in," and the consequent exasperation of some adherents of the prophetic party may have led to that conspiracy in which he lost his life. But there was no Yahvistic revolution, no Jehu to show "his zeal for Yahveh." "The people of the land" were content with things as they were; and Amon's son, Josiah, a boy of eight, was placed on the throne.

The times were not ripe for any aggressive measures; the party of reform gathered strength in quietness. Many men of position, members of the royal household and even of the royal family ("the princes") identified themselves with it, and the young king was shielded from hostile influences, and taught to do that which was "right in the sight of Yahveh." Prophet and priest waited patiently for the development of his youth into manly power, when he should be ready for fuller counsels and consequent action. The temple was allowed to fall into disrepair, and the idolatrous practices, of which it had been the seat, into at least comparative desuetude. But the objects connected with them were not disturbed; it was well that they should produce some shock of surprise and horror when the day of revival should come. Hilkiah the high priest, Shaphan the

* Jer. ii.. 16, 18, 36.

royal scribe, Zephaniah the prophet, apparently of the blood royal, Huldah the prophetess, were conspicuous in the party of reform. And soon a younger contemporary, Jeremiah, began to be associated with them. His family connections were apparently such as would gain him an early admission to the inner circle : his uncle was the husband of Huldah, and the sons of Shaphan remained his life-long friends. His father was Hilkiah, in whom many Jewish commentators and Christian writers see none other than the high priest. If this had been the case, however, it is hard to imagine that he would have been described merely as "of the priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin."* We cannot guess how far Jeremiah was engaged in the composition of that great work (Deuteronomy) which was to be the manifesto and programme of the reformation. How long beforehand the work had been prepared, and the device of its discovery by Hilkiah and Shaphan conceived, it is also impossible to determine. The quiet labours of the prophetic circle were interrupted, and their hopes deferred, by strange and unforeseen calamity. It seemed that the judgment of Yahveh must light upon his recreant people, before it could be reconsecrated to his service. The prophet's eye was turned from the vision of the religious future to mark the signs of impending national disaster ; and Jeremiah's first utterance strikes that note of woe which was destined to be thenceforward dominant in all his speech.

A new and foreign element had appeared among the populations of Western Asia. The first irruption of the "northern barbarian" into the realms of ancient civilisation was made by a vast horde of Scythians, "uncouth, fur-clad forms, hardly to be distinguished from their horses and their waggons" ; † in or about the year 634 they broke out from the passes of the Caucasus, and descended to the plains of Media. Cyaxares, who following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Phraortes, had commenced his reign by a campaign against Assyria, was compelled to turn back from

* Jer. i. 1. † Stanley, *Jewish Church*. II., 504.

the siege of Nineveh to rescue his own kingdom from the invaders.* The fall of Assyria was postponed for a brief term of years; but every kingdom of Western Asia was convulsed by the inroads of the Scythians, or of the Cimmerians whom they had displaced. While the latter attacked the wealthy cities of Lydia, a large body of Scythians directed its course towards Egypt. "When they were in Palestine," says Herodotus, "Psammetichus, the King of Egypt, met them with gifts and prayers, and prevailed upon them to advance no further." We know no particulars of the Scythian raid, save that the city and temple of Ascalon were sacked. The main body came and went by the way of the coast, and Jerusalem does not appear to have been touched. The storm passed, leaving scarcely a trace behind it.

But from the moment when the first indications of a southward march of the barbarians were apparent, the wildest alarm spread throughout Palestine. The prophets, quailing before the new "scourge of God," were inclined to blame themselves for having held their peace so long. Now, they lifted up their voices to testify that the penalty was just. Zephaniah, in that dirge-like wail which has been protracted in the *Dies irae* of the Christian Church, proclaims the advent of the day of Yahveh's wrath.† He denounces judgment not only upon those who still practise the rites of Baal and Moloch, and worship the host of heaven, but on those also who in the recent days had lapsed into mere indifference.‡ While there were no divine judgments to "cry aloud," and even the voice of the prophet was silent, they had found that Yahveh was no longer "a jealous God," and had comfortably settled that he "will not do good, neither will he do evil."

Whether the crisis of the Scythian invasion marks the actual commencement of Jeremiah's prophetic ministry, it is impossible to say. His earlier prophecies appear to have

* Herod. I., 103-5. On the chronological difficulties, see Canon Rawlinson's appended Essay III.

† Zeph. i. 7, 14—18.

‡ Zeph. i. 4—6, 12.

been re-written more than once during his long life, and in each case to have been subjected to some re-arrangement, as well as combination with later utterances having special reference to contemporary events. Thus, at the very outset, between chapter i., which predicts woe from the North, and chapters iii.—vi., which carry this prediction into detail, we find inserted (chapter ii.) a warning against alliance with Egypt, which must belong to the days of Jehoiakim, containing, moreover, as Ewald must be right in alleging, an interpolation (vv. 14—17) belonging to the latest years of the prophet's life. It is in the thirteenth year of Josiah (626) that the divine call to speak comes to the youthful prophet. The words in which he describes the moment of his first clear apprehension of the "vision and the faculty divine," are much simpler, but no less solemn, than those in which Isaiah commemorates his like experience. He pleads, as he will often do again in the after years, that the burden of the Lord is too heavy for him: "Ah, Lord Yahveh, indeed I know not how to speak, for I am too young! But Yahveh said unto me, Say not 'I am too young,' but to whomsoever I send thee thou wilt go, and whatsoever I command thee thou wilt speak. Fear not before them, for I am with thee to deliver thee.'" And then follow the words, long remembered as typical of Jeremiah's special character and function: "Behold, I put my words in thy mouth: see, I set thee now over the nations and over the kingdoms, to pluck up and pull up, to destroy and throw down, to build and to plant!"* The faithfully recorded impressions which were the first to strike upon the eyes of the young seer, the similitudes of the sudden blossom of the almond-tree, and of the pot boiling over amid flames from the North, bear witness alike to the youth's training in all that constituted as yet the lore of prophecy, and to the forcible impact which his own consciousness had received from the dangers of the time. But it appears impossible to resist the conclusion that the incorporation of these earliest utterances in a book which was produced nearly thirty years after,†

* Jer. i. 6—10. Cp. Ecclus. xlix., 7. † Jer. xxv. 1—3.

at a time when a second northern invasion was imminent, and the testimonies of bygone years were adduced as a kind of cumulative warning, may have caused a good many special references to the Scythian inroad, such as we find in the solitary oracle of Zephaniah, to be smoothed away, while all that may haply apply to the coming of the Chaldæans is retained. The solemn background of the prophet's thought remained unchanged and unrelieved from first to last,—his people's disloyalty to Yahveh, felt as a stain upon the honour of his own soul, the dark shadow which had fallen like a blight upon his youth; and as the fate of the northern kingdom was traced back by the prophetic interpretation of history to the apostasy of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, "who caused Israel to sin," so Jeremiah sees the merited vengeance of Yahveh approaching "because of Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, King of Judah, for that which he did in Jerusalem." * That the utmost penalty was about to light upon Judah at the moment of the Scythian raid, Jeremiah did not doubt. The first warning he is commissioned to utter is to this effect:—

'Behold I call all the tribes of the kingdoms of the north, saith Yahveh, that they may come and set every one his throne over against the gates of Jerusalem, and against its walls round about, and against all the cities of Judah. And I will plead my cause against them (the cities) concerning all their wickedness, in that they forsook me, to burn incense to other gods, and bowed themselves before the works of their own hands.†

Proclaim it in Judah, make it known in Jerusalem, say, Sound the trumpet in the land! Cry with full voice and say, Gather ye together, Let us go into the fortified cities. Uplift a banner (? signal flag) towards Zion. Flee, tarry not; for I am bringing evil from the north and great ruin. The lion rises from his thicket, a destroyer of nations; he is on his way, he comes forth from his hiding-place, to make thy land a desert, that thy cities be laid waste without an inhabitant.'‡ . . . 'Behold he rains upon us like clouds, like the storm are his chariots, swifter than eagles his horses; woe unto us for we are destroyed!'§

Already far-off Dan, next Mount Ephraim, is attacked; the cities of Judah are in an agony of expectation. Now the prophet's emotion runs into clear and rapid lyrical utterance:—

I looked upon the earth, and behold—it was desert and void.
And unto the heavens, and there were no stars.

* Jer. xv. 4. † Ibid. i. 15, 16. ‡ Ibid. iv. 5—7. § Ibid. 13.

I looked upon the mountains, and behold—they quaked,
And all the hills were shaken.
I looked, and lo, there was not a man,
And all the birds of the heaven were fled.
I looked, and lo, the fruitful plain was a desert
And all its cities destroyed
Before Yahveh, before the heat of his anger.*

Whether there was any real connection between the terror produced by the Scythian invasion, followed naturally by an intense feeling of relief and gratitude when the barbarian hordes unexpectedly withdrew, and the great reform which was to follow within five years, there is no evidence before us to show. It may be that Ewald is right in his suggestion that the lessons of the time, pointed and driven home by the prophetic word, roused the Kingdom of Judah from its moral slumber; and that both the turning of the people's heart towards their God, and the ripening of Josiah's youthful piety into manly faith, marked the period when the silent work of preparation must be finished, and a policy of action developed, by those who desired to turn the solemn impressions of the hour into a permanent and national loyalty to Yahveh.† But if this was the case, we can only wonder why there was so long a pause. The Book of Jeremiah furnishes us with no information: the personality of the prophet is reabsorbed in the life of his circle, and though we may well doubt whether, as Bishop Colenso thought, the actual writing of the manifesto of Reform, the book of Deuteronomy, is his work, the similarities of language between it and the prophecies of Jeremiah are sufficient to show that both were produced from one school and under the same prevailing influences. The story of the reformation itself has already been told in these pages;‡ the sending to Josiah of the 'book of the law' which Hilkiah 'found in the house of Yahveh;' the effect produced by the threats of vengeance upon unfaithfulness

* Jer. iv., 23—26.

† Ewald, *History* Eng. Tr. IV., 231—2. He conjectures that Psalms x. and xxviii. are of this time, and from the hand of Josiah. *Commentary on Psalms*, E. T., I., 292, 300.

‡ Prof. J. E. Carpenter, Art.: "The Book of Deuteronomy."—*Modern Review*, April, 1883, p. 276.

with which the book closed (Deut. xxviii.); and the commission sent by Josiah to inquire of Yahveh through Huldah the prophetess,—all lead up to a solemn acceptance on the part of King and people of their part in a 'covenant before Yahveh,' in which they pledge themselves 'to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all their heart and with all their soul, to perform the words of the covenant which was found in the house of Yahveh.'* The prophets of the preceding century had appealed to history to prove that Yahveh ('thy God from the land of Egypt') had wrought deliverance for Israel, and, at the time of the Exodus, and by the hand of Moses his servant, had entered into a special relation with his people,—a relation typified by the various kinds of family tie, as between husband and wife, father and son.† But the surviving literary testimony to this relation, the original 'Book of the Covenant,' or First Code, which had been linked with the 'Ten Words,' and connected with a prophetic narrative, probably in the middle of the eighth century B.C., contained no secret of power, no energy of new life, whereby a people now fallen more hopelessly than ever below the old ideal, 'a kingdom of priests and a holy nation,' could be arrested, uplifted, and reformed.‡ The prophet feels himself to be the legitimate continuator of Moses' work,§ and it is his function to be the 'messenger of the covenant' for his age, and in face of the moral and religious declension of his people. Hence that new 'book of the law,' in which the glow of a zealous faith gives a new spirit to the dead letter of the ancient covenant, and prophetism is 'applied to the actual circumstances and existing requirements of religion.'‖

Was the Reformation under Josiah really thoroughgoing and effectual? The purging of Jerusalem, no doubt, was drastic enough. The temple was cleared of the symbols of

* 2 Kings xxii., xxiii. † See Hosea ii. 16, 19; xi. 1—4.

‡ See Prof. J. E. Carpenter, "Through the Prophets to the Law," *Modern Review*, Jan., 1884, pp. 8 *seq.*

§ Hos. xii. 13. Deut. xviii. 15, 18.

‖ See J. E. Carpenter, *ut supra*, pp. 14, 15.

Baal and Ashêra, and the other strange things of which one reads with wonder in 2 Kings xxiii. The Tophet was defiled, and the sanctuaries of Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Milcom were destroyed. That the prophetic party, when their opportunity was at last come, should wage war to the knife against foreign worships, and give effect to their teaching as to the sole claim of Yahveh to Israel's allegiance, could excite no surprise. But when it appeared that the reform involved the absolute centralisation of the national worship, and the King proceeded to treat the high places and local sanctuaries of Yahveh himself as he had treated the altars of Baal, and degraded the (Levitical) priests who had ministered at them, it became evident that popular feeling was not sound on this matter; the demand of the reformer now, as in the days of Hezekiah, was too far in advance of the contemporary conscience. No prophet before Hosea had attacked the rude and material Yahveh-worship of the northern sanctuaries as wrong in itself, or had even protested against the calves of Dan and Bethel. However good some of Hezekiah's predecessors on the throne of David may have been, 'howbeit the high places were not taken away;' and when this was for the first time effected, we learn from the words of the Assyrian envoy how deep and widespread was the misgiving to which he appeals:—'If ye say unto me, We trust in Yahveh our God: is not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and Jerusalem, *Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?*'*

Chapters xi.—xiii. of Jeremiah—a retrospective passage dating from the reign of Jehoiachin—preserves to us a notice of the prophetic crusade which accompanied the active measures of Josiah, and of the bitter disappointment by which it was succeeded. It was the mission of Jeremiah and others to preach the necessity of obedience to 'the words of this covenant':—

'Speak unto the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and say unto them, Thus saith Yahveh Israel's God, Cursed be the man who

* 2 Kings xviii. 22.

heareth not the words of this covenant, which I commanded your fathers when I led them out of Egypt, the iron furnace, saying, Hear ye my voice and—do them, according to all that I command you, so shall ye be to me a people, and I be to you a God!' . . . Proclaim all these words in Judah's cities and in Jerusalem's streets, saying, Hear ye the words of this covenant, and—do them . . yet they obeyed not nor inclined their ear . . . and Yahveh said unto me, Treachery is found among the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem; they are turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers who refused to hear my words . . .*

Jeremiah's mission certainly gained him no honour in his own country and among his own people. He recalls with bitterness of heart that the men of Anathoth had threatened him with the words, 'Thou shalt not prophesy in Yahveh's name, that thou die not by our hand.'† No voice of confident rejoicing in the day of Judah's new betrothal to Yahveh has reached us. The time of true renewal was again deferred: the righteousness of Josiah could not cancel all the evil which Manasseh had wrought, and the anger of Yahveh was still hot against Judah. Such is the interpretation which the prophetic historian puts upon the disappointments of the time.‡

This disappointment reached its climax in the death of Josiah. Not merely the religious, but the political, future of Judah seemed closed by his death. The power of Assyria, though the recall of Cyaxares had granted it a respite, had been meanwhile steadily declining; its hold over Israel was relaxed, and Josiah had met with no opposition in carrying his religious reforms, and, no doubt, his political supremacy, into the northern kingdom.§ When the Medes renewed their attack, in conjunction with the Babylonians, and again besieged Nineveh (610), it was no longer doubtful what the end would be; and Josiah may well have dreamed of a united Israel, bound once more to David's house and Yahveh's law. At the same moment Necho, the new king of Egypt, determined to turn the opportunity to account, and to be first in possession of the Syrian provinces that were slipping out of the hand of

* Jer xi. 1—10: the curse and the *Amen* (vv. 3 and 5) must refer to Deut. xxvii. 15—26.

† Jer. xi. 21. ‡ 2 Kings xxiii. 25—7. § Ibid, 15, 19. Cf. 1 Kings xiii. 2.

Assyria. Josiah, relying perhaps too boldly upon the divine plan which seemed to unfold itself before his eyes, met the Egyptian army at Megiddo, on the plain of Jezreel, was defeated and slain. The hope of Judah melted away; to the prophet it was plain that he had expected too much from Yahveh's favour, while as yet the day of his wrath was not past; to the ordinary man, it was merely obvious that Josiah's reformation had not done any good to himself or to his people. 'In all Jewry they mourned for Josias, yea, Jeremy the prophet lamented for Josias'; and his lamentation, now unfortunately lost, was long remembered in connection with 'the mourning of Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon.'*

While Necho was engaged in Syria, a son of Josiah, Shallum, mounted the throne, and took the name of Jehoahaz, an elder brother Eliakim being set aside; probably the Yahvistic party at Jerusalem was strong enough to prevent the accession of one whom they knew to be indifferent to the independence of Judah and the purity of national worship. But if so, its members had the mortification of seeing their action immediately reversed. Within three months Necho had turned southward, had seized Jehoahaz, and sent him off a prisoner to Egypt, while he appointed Eliakim King indeed, but a vassal and a tributary. Jehoiakim, as he was now called, became conspicuous for injustice and rapacity; a son of David's house, he had not only become a tax-gatherer for Egypt, but laid heavy exactions and forced labour upon his people for the purpose of gratifying his own inappropriate passion for splendid palaces. Jeremiah contrasts the fate of the exiled prince with the death, and the character of the vassal-King with the character, of Josiah their father:—

> Weep not for the dead nor bemoan him, but rather weep for him that is gone away to return no more nor see his native land. . . . there whither they have led him captive will he die, and see this land no more. Woe unto him that buildeth his house with unrighteousness, and his upper chambers with wrong, that taketh his neighbour's service for nought, and giveth him not his wage; that saith, 'I will build me a spacious house

* Zech. xii. 11—14. 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. 1 Esdr. i. 32.

and airy rooms,' and cutteth out for himself windows, maketh wainscot with cedar, and painteth with vermilion. Art thou a King, because thou viest (with others) in cedar? * Did not thy father eat and drink? But he did justice and judgment: so it was well with him. He judged the cause of the poor and needy, so it was well. Is not this to know me? saith Yahveh. But thine eyes and thine heart are set upon naught, save thine own advantage—and upon innocent blood, to shed it, and upon oppression and aggression, to practise it.'†

We need not pause to discuss the question whether the words immediately following, which threaten Jehoiakim with "the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem" represent an actual prediction actually fulfilled. It is sufficient to note that from the outset of this reign, Jeremiah was ceasing to hold a representative position, was becoming more and more individual, less and less the mouthpiece of a party and a school; that his consciousness of a special mission and testimony was moving him away from all companionship into solitude and sadness, and moreover bringing him into what appeared to be overt opposition to the court and all the powers that were.

The stages of the prophet's development are not easy to trace; for any effort to bring into chronological order the prophecies of this period must be largely tentative. But at this point portions of the narrative appendix come to our aid (chaps. xxv.—vi., xxxv.—vi.), and enable us to connect some of the undated oracles with the incidents they relate. Thus if we compare chapters vii. and xxvi., it is hard to resist the conclusion that we have just what we want in this instance. It is Jeremiah's preaching in the temple, to which, he says, Yahveh will do as he had done to Shiloh, that provokes the hostility recorded in the latter passage. We are therefore justified in referring the section, chaps. vii.—x., to the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim; and this serves as a valuable starting point for our estimate of Jeremiah's distinctive character as a prophet, and for our endeavour to

* So, in effect, Maurer, Graf, and Reuss; Ewald, emending the text after LXX., 'when thou rivallest Ahaz,' while some LXX. texts read 'Ahab.' Hitzig (regarding the doubtful word as intrusive) 'thou goest contrary to thy father.'

† Jer. xxii. 10—17.

sketch the lines of his subsequent teaching. That the occasion marked a new departure, at least in the opinion of his contemporaries, is clear; and probably it was not in itself an ordinary one. It seems to have been a day of special solemnity, for 'all the cities of Judah' had come to worship in Yahveh's house;* probably, as in another instance a little later, a fast proclaimed for the purpose of deprecating Yahveh's wrath. Nineveh, we may suppose, has already fallen, and the Chaldæans or Babylonians are proceeding to overrun the provinces of the old Assyrian Empire west of the Tigris. Necho, hoping to do more than hold his recent accessions of territory, pushes on to secure the line of the Euphrates, and occupies Carchemish. Jeremiah, from the first, believed that the Chaldæan invader was an instrument in Yahveh's hand, not only for the further correction of Judah, but for vengeance upon the Egyptians and other traditional enemies of his people.† An apprehension of coming danger roused the population of Jerusalem into a semblance of religious zeal: an attempt was made to appease Yahveh by a solemn assembly, but at the same time recourse was had to the rival worships which Josiah had banished, and the fires of the Tophet blazed once more. Jeremiah appeared in the court of the Temple: he has been a prophet for more than twenty years, but never has his vision been so clear, his words so trenchant, as this day. That men, who, so short a time before, had been awakened to the knowledge of that covenant of holiness which was their birthright, should have fallen back into every abomination of idolatry, or worse, into such dull indifference that they can suppose that sacrifices to Yahveh, keeping a fast, or treading his courts, may be, in conjunction with offerings to Moloch and Astarte, efficacious preventives of calamity, without any reformation of life, social and personal, this is a declension, or an hypocrisy, that stirs his inmost soul.

'Hear Yahveh's word, ye of all Judah, ye who come into these gates to do homage unto Yahveh! Thus saith Yahveh of Hosts, Israel's God:

* Jer. xxvi.; Cf. xxxvi. 6, 9. † Ibid. xlvi.—xlix. 33.

make good your ways and deeds; then I cause you to dwell in this place! Trust not yourselves to the lying words, "The temple of Yahveh, the temple of Yahveh, the temple of Yahveh, is this!" rather if ye really make good your ways and deeds, if ye really execute justice between each other, oppress not the sojourner, the fatherless and widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, and go not after strange gods to your own hurt; then I cause you to dwell in this place and in the land that I gave to your fathers for ever and ever. Behold, ye trust yourselves to the lying words, to gain nothing! What! steal and murder and commit adultery and swear falsely and burn incense to the Baal, and go after other gods which ye know not; and ye come then and stand before me in this house, whereupon my name is called, and say "save us!"—to do all these abominations? a den of thieves hath this house, whereupon my name is called, become in your eyes.*

As for their false trust in the place, the local habitation of Yahveh, he continues, let them look at the ancient sanctuary of Shiloh in the northern kingdom, and see what desolation came upon it through the wickedness of Israel. So may this shrine of Jerusalem be desolate, and moreover the people of Judah cast forth like that of Ephraim. As for sacrifices and fasts, they may as well break their fast, and eat their offerings; these form no part of Yahveh's covenant with their fathers or with them; not ceremonial, but obedience and loyalty, has been the demand of Yahveh by his prophets unto this day. But now, as of old, they will not hearken: 'they refuse to know me, saith Yahveh,' . . . 'therefore I scatter them amongst nations which neither they nor their fathers knew.' But the prophet was not a mere messenger of wrath. No one of his predecessors had been able to maintain throughout his utterances the unbroken sternness of a righteous indignation; sympathy with the threatened was no less true an element of the prophetic soul than keen apprehension of the divine justice; and this broke his firmness into tears, and through his tears he caught some faint gleam of dawning promise—'yet there is hope in thine end.' Jeremiah, at this period, reaches only the second stage; for him, as yet, there is no hope, no prospect of renewal in Judah; but he falls from the height of his upbraiding scorn into a bitterness of grief, in which each pang seems to wring from him a sharp ejaculation, as

* Jer. vii. 2—11, tr. J. F. Smith, after Ewald.

he realises the meaning of his own words, and sees before his mind's eye the desolation he has foretold, *e.g.* :—

"The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved. For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt; I mourn, horror hath seized me. . . . O that mine head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night over the slain of the daughter of my people. O that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my people and go from them." *

In the prophecy we have been considering, Jeremiah took up a position which was only to be more clearly defined in his own thought and speech throughout the remainder of his life. The feelings of priest and prophet alike were outraged by his threats against the Temple and against the city. They demanded that he should die. The princes, however, refused to yield to the clamour with which the people supported this demand. They recalled the precedent of Micah, who, in the days of Hezekiah, had prophesied that "Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the Lord's house as the high places of the forest," and had been suffered to go unscathed. Especially the powerful hand of Ahikam the son of Shaphan protected Jeremiah. The only other prophet who "prophesied according to all the words of Jeremiah," Urijah, the son of Shemaiah, was less fortunate; he fled into Egypt, was arrested by Jehoiakim's messengers, brought back, and slain. Jeremiah continued to testify by word and by symbolical action, in the streets of the city and in the places of idolatrous worship; † once more he appeared in the temple, ‡ and repeated his solemn warning. He was arrested by Pashur, a priest and superintendent of the Temple, and placed in the stocks.

Events had proved that Jeremiah was right in his prediction that the Egyptian power would be unable to cope successfully with the Babylonians. Necho, defeated at Carchemish (605), could only hope to bar the conquerors' way to Egypt by seizing and holding the fortress of Gaza.§ But the death of his father, Nabopolassar, recalled Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon. Judah was untouched; the prophets

* Jer. viii. 20, 21; ix. 1, 2. † Ibid. xviii., xix. ‡ Ibid. xix. 14.
§ Ibid. xlvii.

of peace and security were justified, and the prophet of wrath was, for the time, confounded. He still held his conviction: Nebuchadnezzar is, in his belief, Yahveh's servant; he wears the yoke about his neck,* which he had assumed as an external symbol of his unwelcome message. But the curse of Cassandra is upon him; he is greeted everywhere with derision; he will appear no more in public, and sits alone in bitterness of soul. He has staked everything upon the cause of unpalatable truth; he thought that amid the woes he foresaw he had been able to trace the certain steps of a divine purpose, not merely of wrath, but of regeneration. For this he has overcome the weakness of his nature, and braced to a paroxysm of energy his shrinking will, to find, after all, that Yahveh does not make good his word, and that fact is on the side of them that prophesy smooth things. No prophet lets us know so much of his inner life and his personal relation to his God as Jeremiah. It seems as if, in his loneliness, he records for us what there is no friend at hand to hear. In face of coming woe, he has foregone even the comforts of a home: he has no wife nor child.† He has lost everything that a Jew held most dear; he has done violence to his own feelings and those of his countrymen. He cannot doubt the purity of his own motives, of his devotion and self-sacrifice; but Yahveh has stultified his word, and let his spokesman become a by-word and a reproach.

'Cursed be the day wherein I was born; let not the day wherein my mother bare me be blessed! Cursed be the man who brought the tidings to my father, saying, A man child is born unto thee; making him very glad. . . . Wherefore came I forth out of the womb, to see labour and sorrow, and that my days should be consumed in shame? . . . O Yahveh, thou didst entice me, and I let myself be enticed; thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed; I become a laughing-stock all the day long, every one mocketh me. For whenever I speak, I must shout; I must cry, Violence and wrong; for Yahveh's word is made a reproach and a derision unto me daily. But when I say, I will not call it to mind, nor speak any more in his name, then it is in my heart as a burning fire smouldering in my bones; I weary myself to hold it in, and I cannot.'‡

* Jer. xxvii. 2. † Ibid. xvi. 1.

‡ Ibid. xx. 14—18, 7—9. I have followed Ewald in inverting the order of these sections.

Job cursed the day of his birth, but he 'sinned not, nor charged God foolishly;' and Jeremiah has often been compared with the man of Uz, to his disadvantage, as regards both language and feeling. But then, Jeremiah was a real person; and the very wail of his despondency stamps the genuineness of his prophetic character. The passage, however, which comes between the two just quoted, suggests a subject of graver animadversion, namely, his imprecations of woe upon his opponents. There are those who see in Jeremiah not merely that emotional sensitiveness which we call feminine, but that lack of self-control which we call womanish; and generally, no doubt, the invocation of divine judgment upon rival religionists or personal foes indicates a total abandonment of the dignity of righteous indignation. Jeremiah prays in his bitterness that his persecutors may be confounded: 'Thou, Yahveh of Hosts, that triest the righteous and seest the reins and the heart, let me see thy vengeance on them, for unto thee have I committed my cause.' He threatened Pashur, the Temple superintendent, that he and his family should go into captivity and die in Babylon;* and later, he threatened Hananiah, an opposing prophet, that he should die within a year, "so Hananiah the prophet died the same year, in the seventh month." † These passages recall at once the denunciation of Amaziah the priest of Bethel by Amos, and of Shebna the treasurer by Isaiah; ‡ and it is hard to see that comparison with his predecessors reduces Jeremiah's threats to the mere scolding of impotent rage. To all the prophets, the earth was the 'theatre of God's judgments;' to see the wicked cut off was by no means a discredited expectation, and it is one which has revived in every period of religious persecution, and sought historical justification, not only from Scripture, but from a literature which includes Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, and Palmer's "Nonconformist's Memorial." What a blot upon the writing of George Fox is his perpetual objurgation of hisopponents, especially in his prison letters, and the

* Jer. xx. 6. † Ibid. xxviii. 17.

‡ Amos vii. 17; Isa. xxii. 17

unquestioning satisfaction with which he records the wholesale outpouring of retribution upon them all, from Justice Sawrey and Priest Tatham to "Rice Jones, a ranter:" 'he was afterwards drowned:' 'the Lord hath blasted them:' 'most of them are dead, or else ruined in their estates!' Yet the reader of Fox's diary will be well prepared to understand Jeremiah, and will find him natural, pathetic, and modest.

The prophet's term of seclusion, whether enforced or voluntary, was not fruitless. His belief that a Babylonian invasion was imminent, revived; he prepared to give a second, perhaps a final, warning, and resolved to address it not only to the people, but to the king. The effect which, sixteen years before, had been produced by the reading of the Book of the Covenant, when Josiah rent his clothes and humbled himself before Yahveh, recurs to his mind; and he determines to try again the experiment of a prophetical Book. Baruch, who appears for the first time as his coadjutor, wrote from his dictation; the roll, which occupied at least nine months in preparation,* must have contained a full recital of Jeremiah's previous warnings, together with additions, of which we have a kind of *précis* in chap. xxv., while chaps. xlvi.—xlix. 33, preserve, in an amplified form (from Baruch's second, or a later, edition) some of the sections which deal with the impending fate of neighbouring peoples. This Baruch read 'in the ears of all the people' assembled in the Temple on the occasion of a solemn fast. The friendly 'princes,' or courtiers, sent for him, and to them he repeated his reading. They resolved that the king must certainly hear the prophetic message, but first, that both prophet and scribe must be placed beyond the reach of his probable resentment. They were concealed, while one of the courtiers, Jehudi, read the roll in the presence of the king and his friends. The experiment failed; the words in which the disappointment is recorded show us what the hope had been—'they were not afraid, nor rent their garments, neither the king nor any of

* Jer. xxxvi. 1, 9.

his servants that heard all these words.' Moreover, the king emphasized his contempt by cutting strips from the roll, column after column, as it was being read, and in spite of all remonstrance, tossing them into the fire.*

But the false security of Jehoiakim was short-lived. In 602, the Babylonian forces appeared before Jerusalem, and her king became a tributary. How long Jeremiah remained in silence and concealment we do not know; but one interesting passage in the book is generally referred to this time. The sons of Rechab, a nomadic tribe descended from the ancient Kenite stock, which had seemed to the prophets of old to have preserved a pure and simple service of Yahveh, such as Israel's had been in the days of Moses, were driven into Jerusalem by the advance of the Chaldæan forces.† They represent to Jeremiah a constancy which, if only his people had shared it, would have saved them from corruption of morals and disloyalty to Yahveh; and the blessing they inherit is one which Judah must forego. For the lowest depth of her degradation was not yet reached. Jehoiakim, leniently treated by the Babylonians, was still a tool in the hands of Necho; at his instigation he revolted, apparently acting in concert with an Egyptian effort to recover supremacy in Palestine and Syria. Nebuchadnezzar swept down upon the southern kingdom once more, defeated the Egyptians, and at his leisure invested Jerusalem. Jehoiakim's miserable end, in whatever way he came by it, seemed to be a punishment for his callous indifference to prophetic warning.‡ His son Coniah, or Jehoiachin, was made king, with the queen-mother as 'commandress;' and for three months resistance was maintained. But Jeremiah has no belief in its success. Political independence has ceased to be an element of his thought of Judah's future; and the sooner the way is cleared for moral and religious reforms, by the collapse of foolish national ambitions, the better. What can 'this man Coniah' do against Nebuchadnezzar? He is a 'despicable

* Jer. xxxvi. 22—26 † Ibid xxxv. 11.
‡ Ibid xxxvi. 29—31; xxii. 18, 19

brittle piece of work.'* When the Babylonian king, victorious over the Egyptians in the south, appeared in person before Jerusalem, Jehoiachin surrendered, and with his principal courtiers and a large body of the most respectable people of every class, from the priest to the soldier and the artisan, were deported to Babylon (597). The uncle of the exiled king, a surviving son of Josiah, Mattaniah, was raised to the throne, and took the name of Zedekiah.

Where, at this crisis, did Jeremiah look for the hope of Israel? The dream of national triumph had been dissipated; Israel would never make a third with Egypt and with Assyria;† nay, the hostages carried into Babylon seemed to be a sufficient guarantee against any attempt to regain independence. But if, as the prophet believed, it was Yahveh's will and design to preserve a 'remnant,'‡ to purify for himself, through humiliation and suffering, 'a holy seed,' to lay the foundations of a kingdom of true righteousness, where,—among the exiles in a strange land, or in the city of David—is the divine intent to be worked out? It is not easy to say what was his first thought: probably it was hopeful with regard to Zedekiah. Jeremiah had reason, probably, to prefer the son of Josiah to the son of Jehoiakim; the 'princes' who had befriended the prophet may well have been his friends, and several of them at least were not exiled. Through Zedekiah, not through Jehoiachin, will 'a righteous branch' spring from the root of David;§ his change of name, which may have been intended to signify his adhesion to the old Yahvistic party, is accepted by the prophet as a happy omen; and 'Zedekiah' (Yahveh is righteousness) suggests to him a symbolical name which he applies first to the re-united nation, Israel and Judah dwelling together with their exiles recovered, and afterwards to their purified and reconsecrated capital 'Yahveh Zidkenu,' Yahveh is *our* righteousness.‖ For a moment, there is a warmth of Messianic hopefulness in Jeremiah's heart. But the king never got beyond good

* Jer. xxii. 28. † Isa. xix. 24. ‡ Cf. Isa. x. 20—23; xi. 10, 11[1]
§ Jer. xxii. 30; xxiii. 5. ‖ Ibid. xxiii. 6—8; xxxiii. 16; cf. Ezek. xlviii. 35.

intentions; he led them to no practical reform; he became the dupe of prophets who did their utmost to revive every confidence and hope which Jeremiah branded as blind and foolish; and it seems now as if all the best men had been taken away and only the worst left. Perhaps they are being weaned from national ambitions and local associations, which had so often been snares and stumbling-blocks, in order to become the heirs of the better future: this is the interpretation which Yahveh gives his spokesman in the similitude of the good and bad figs:—

"Like these good figs, so will I regard the captives of Judah, whom I have sent out of this place into the land of the Chaldæans for their good. For I set mine eye upon them for good, and bring them again to this land; and I will build them and not pull them down, and I will plant them and not pluck them up; and I will give them a heart to know me that I am Yahveh, that they may be to me a people, and I may be to them a God, when they turn to me with their whole heart."

At the same time, Zedekiah and the princes and 'the remnant of Jerusalem,' are like the bad figs which cannot be eaten for badness: 'I will make them a play-ball for all the kingdoms of the earth, a scorn and a proverb, a taunt and a curse in all places whither I drive them.'*

The march of events, while it relieved Jeremiah from all doubt and dilemma, imposed upon him once more the duty of testimony, amid suffering, indignity, and obloquy. The neighbouring nations were contemplating a revolt against Babylon: Edon, Ammon and Moab, Tyre and Sidon, sent to seek the alliance of Judah.† The popular prophets in Jerusalem, like Hananiah, promised success, and a return of the exiles within two years,‡ while in Babylon their professional brethren were fostering the same delusive hope among the captives,§ and probably suggesting that they should make an effort, simultaneous with the rising in the West, to cut their way homewards. Jeremiah opposes this vain and mischievous oratory with all his might. When Hananiah breaks the yoke which he wears (and has apparently worn for nine years!) to typify his belief that Babylonian dominion is inevitable, his wrath is terrible;

* Jer. xxiv. 4—9. † Ibid. xxvii. 3. ‡ Ibid. xxviii. 3. § Ibid. xxix. 8, 15.

and it falls no less upon the prophets in Babylon, Ahab, Zedekiah, and Shemaiah.* He endeavours to persuade the exiles, by letter, to be happy where they are: it is Yahveh's will, he says, that they should build houses, and plant gardens, surround themselves with family and social life—'and seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives. . . . for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace;' and after seventy years they shall return.†

For four years, the project of revolt was entertained; the time of its outbreak (in 589) appears to have been determined by two circumstances,—the fact of Nebuchadnezzar's being engaged in war with the Elamites on his eastern frontier,‡ and the accession of a new Pharaoh, Hophra, to the throne of Egypt, whose support was necessary to the success of the Palestinian league. But such was the promptness of Nebuchadnezzar's action, and the tardiness or cowardice of Zedekiah's allies, that the whole brunt of the struggle fell upon Judah. Ezekiel, in Babylon, sees the sword leap from its scabbard against Ammon and against Jerusalem; but Ammon seems to have offered no resistance, and the Egyptians succeeded only in causing a temporary suspension of the blockade of Jerusalem after it had been closely invested.§ The siege lasted a year and a-half; after the defenders had endured the most frightful extremities of suffering and starvation, the city was captured by a night attack, in July, 586. A month later, the Temple and all the principal buildings were deliberately burned; a number of the priests, officers, and principal citizens were executed as ringleaders of rebellion; the rest were sent (with Zedekiah, who had been captured while attempting flight, and blinded),‖ to Babylon.

We need not dwell upon the details, which are not wanting, of Jeremiah's thought and conduct during the siege. Convinced from the first of the futility of resistance, he could not move at large among the defenders without

* Jer. xxix. 20—32. † Ibid. 6, 7, 10. ‡ Ibid. xlix. 34.
§ Ezek. xxi. 9, 20, &c.; Jer. xxxvii. 5. ‖ Jer. xxxix. 5, &c.

saying words that 'weakened their hands.' He was even charged with an intention to desert to the enemy. Imprisoned, on one occasion let down with ropes into a filthy *oubliette*, he holds but one and the same language. Zedekiah comes secretly to him more than once, to inquire if there be any word of hope from Yahveh; but there is none.* The rest of his personal story is soon told. Gedaliah, son of Jeremiah's friend Ahikam, was made ruler of the people left in the land, having his residence at Mizpeh; there Jeremiah lived until the ruler fell a victim to a conspiracy fomented by the King of the Ammonites. Those who avenged his death were afraid to remain in Judah, and though the prophet strongly deprecated any desertion of the land,† they determined to flee into Egypt; and thither they obliged him to accompany them, sorely against his will. It was a mistake, he said, not to trust the King of Babylon: in the direction of Egypt lay no promise of good. And his latest utterance,‡ a testimony against the idolatrous practices into which his countrymen, and especially their wives and daughters, were falling, through contact with their Egyptian neighbours, thus reproducing the sin of Manasseh's days, gloomily closes the record of a ministry on the whole profoundly sad. According to a tradition which meets us first in Tertullian,§ he was stoned to death at Tahpanhes, or Daphne.

But Jeremiah 'left a blessing behind him.' We must revert for a moment to the days of the siege, when, largely owing to the opposition of the 'prophets,' his own thought of Yahveh's plan rose to greatest clearness and certainty.‖ The point at which Jeremiah seems to have ceased to have a common cause with the other prophets has been noted. In his early life, they belonged to the same party and were at one: in the days of Manasseh, the only policy of the Yahvistic party in Judah had been one of uncompromising hostility to foreign worships, such as had been shown by

* Jer. xxxvii. 14, 15, 17, 21; xxxviii. 6, 14.

† Ibid. xlii. 7, &c. ‡ Ibid. xliv. § Scorpiace 8.

‖ See Prof. J. E. Carpenter, *Modern Review*, January, 1884, p. 18.

the prophets of the northern kingdom, together with a protest against the 'high places' and local sanctuaries which the example of the north had shown to be such a fruitful source of religious corruption. The penalty of disloyalty, which had fallen upon Israel, might extend to Judah; hence the solemn forebodings of national calamity, which occur, *e.g.*, in the summary of prophetical testimony in Manasseh's reign, II. Kings xxi. 10, &c. A majority of the party would have been satisfied by a popular monolatry; a smaller number consisting largely of priests were no doubt in earnest in supporting such centralisation of worship as Josiah's reformation attempted to enforce; but very few were those who, like Jeremiah, distinguished moral and spiritual considerations from such as we may call theological and political, and maintained the supreme importance of the former. It was the perception of a true analogy which made the princes compare the address of Jeremiah in the temple with the words of Micah the Morasthite; while the prophet-class, from which Jeremiah from that time forth was separate, found its great exemplar in Isaiah, and its standing text in his motto—*Immanuel*. To Isaiah, trust in Yahveh represents the true secret of national security and well-being: to Micah, it stands for an energy of righteousness, personal and social. Jeremiah follows Micah closely in protest against false comfort and false hope.* And when, after the first deportation, the prophet-class threw its influence on the side of revolt, repeated far and wide such delusive promises as those of Hananiah, and argued that at least Yahveh would not desert the temple and the city which he had chosen 'to put his name there for ever,' Jeremiah can find no words strong enough to express his contempt. The prophets, like dervishes or mollahs preaching a holy war, are all repeating the same thing; words and phrases which used to be significative of the solemn duty of personal testimony and the deepest sincerity of speech, sound like

* Micah iii. 5, 11; Jeremiah v. 12; vi. 14; viii. 11; xiv. 13, &c., and the whole section "concerning the prophets," xxiii. 9–40.

mere cuckoo-cries in Jeremiah's ear.* The very points on which they insisted, the necessary continuity of the national life, the eternal guarantee afforded by the Temple and its worship, melted away from his thought of the divine plan. The very idea of stability conduced to a conservation of evil; as Micah had foreseen,† the discipline of the foreign land and the desert pilgrimage which had been the preparation for the Old Covenant, must be re-introduced as preparation for the New. So he grasps the thought that the fate of those deported with Jehoiachim is but a premonition of that which awaits those who remained behind with Zedekiah. The more completely the nation is severed from its old home, the more certain he is of its return to commence a new national life under a new promise. Then, not only shall Israel's characteristic 'holiness' cease to be matter of time and place, as is proclaimed by the only prophetic voice of the time which is in accord with Jeremiah's,‡ but the national religion which was at best one of rite, and form, and traditional observance, and collective loyalty to Yahveh, shall be exchanged for that of personal conviction and individual devoutness:—

"This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Yahveh. I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be to them a God, as they will be to me a people: so that they shall no more teach every man his neighbour and every man his brother, saying, 'Know Yahveh!' but they shall all know me from the least unto the greatest."§

We must not disregard the fact that doubt has been thrown by distinguished scholars (Movers and Hitzig) upon Jeremiah's authorship of the section (ch. xxx., xxxi.) in which these words occur; they have been attributed to a prophet of the captivity, or, if a portion be originally Jeremiah's, it is suggested that it has been re-worked by no less a prophet than 'the second Isaiah,' chiefly on the ground that these chapters exhibit 'an elevation of

* Jer. xxiii. 17, 25, 28, 30—38. As evidence of the contempt into which professional prophecy was falling, see his contemporary, "Zechariah" xiii. 2—5.

† Micah iii. 10. ‡ "Zechariah" xiv. 20, 21. § Jer. xxxi. 33, 34.

thought and an expansion of horizon for which in Jeremiah we have little precedent.'* Putting aside considerations of language, on which we must not enter, the following remarks may give us ground for attributing to Jeremiah, at least in its foundation and main outline, the promise of the New Covenant: (1) In his view, Judah and Ephraim are first re-united in fellowship of the same penalty; hence he begins with the hope of the return of the exiles of the North, which he has already expressed in ch. xvi. 15. (2) His promise for the new Israel is really that which, as we have seen, he had already given to the exiles who left with Jehoiachin, xxiv. 6, 7, and the very expressions which strike us as highly spiritual are but the unfolding of what is implicitly contained in the earlier passage. (3) Unless we have entirely failed to understand Jeremiah's character, the conception of a purely spiritual religion is the haven into which he has been driven by his progressive revolt against rites and forms, at least ever since his preaching in the Temple in the days of Jehoiakim. Bit by bit he lets go all (save Sabbath observance) that had formed the indispensable externals of national cultus: sacrifices†—they formed no part of Yahveh's law! the ark‡—the covenant is not bound up with that, and nobody wants it any more! circumcision§—the true circumcision is not of the flesh, but of the heart! the Temple ‖—in an argument that is the prototype of Stephen's speech, he testifies that the most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands! 'The knowledge of God,' not by another's word, but by contact of the heart with him, is to the prophet, more and more clearly as years go on, the sole foundation of the religion of the future.

So Jeremiah stands between things new and old. Representing most completely, for us, the essential nature of Hebrew prophecy, and its limitations too, he points from the falling shrines of the old Jerusalem to that 'which is the mother of us all,' from the old covenant to that which

* Dr. Rowland Williams: *The Hebrew Prophets*. II. 60.
† Jer. vii. 21, &c. ‡ Ibid. iii. 16. § Ibid. ix. 25-6.
‖ Ibid. vii. 4, 11-14.

is "not of the letter, but of the spirit." There is no boldness of conscious innovation about him; no rapture of strength and song; no sustained sublimity of vision or of diction. He begins as a timid young academic, trained in the correctest school; he forms himself upon the best models; invents a symbol, and explains it with a *jeu de mots*, both in the manner of Amos; his early pages are studded with reminiscences of Hosea. Those painful conceits called *paronomasiæ*,* which cannot, by all the ingenuity of translators, be often reproduced in English, and a profusion of similes, rapidly introduced and rapidly discarded, give an impression at once of turgidity and meagreness. 'In a quieter age,' says Mr. Cheyne,† 'he might (for his talent is chiefly lyrical) have developed into a great lyric poet. Even as it is, he may fairly claim to have written some of the most sympathetic pages of the Old Testament; and yet—his greatest poem is his life.'

And doubtless, to the sorrows and disappointments of his life, his suffering and his loneliness, are due the refinement of soul, the quickening of spiritual insight, the discrimination of the essentials from the accidents of religion, which mark his highest utterances.

It is not to Egypt, where he died, that we must look for a perpetuation of Jeremiah's influence. Both before his death, probably, and after, his prophecies were collected and rearranged;‡ and it may be that a company of younger contemporaries commemorated the sadness of their exile in the "Lamentations," which are called by his name. But in Babylon his spirit was at work; his hope helped to keep his countrymen a nation still. He became *the* prophet *par excellence:* he was the man who, despised and rejected

* To take the first and perhaps the simplest example, Jer. i. 11, 12:—"An *evergreen* tree . . . I will *ever guard* my word. (J. F. Smith.) '*Wach*holderbaum . . . *wachen* werde ich über mein Wort' (Ewald) 'une branche *à yeux ouverts* . . . j'ai *les yeux ouverts* sur ma parole" (Reuss).

† *Pulpit Commentary:* Jeremiah. Introd. p. 15.

‡ On the difference between the recension given in the Septuagint, and that contained in the Hebrew canon, see Prof. Robertson Smith: *O.T. in the Jewish Church*, pp. 112, &c.

during his life, had spoken the word which Yahveh fulfilled; surely, then, his word of promise would not fail. Hence the expectation of deliverance as the 'seventy years' wore on. In the great prophet of the captivity ('Isa.' xl.—lxvi.) the influence of Jeremiah is distinctly visible; his is the image that must have risen before his mind as he drew the picture of the suffering 'servant of Yahveh'; * and some critics think they recognise the impress of his thought and speech in the book of Job, and in certain Psalms. But it is not in the post-exilian literature, canonical and apocryphal,† which commemorates Jeremiah as the foreteller of the Return, that the truest record of his influence is to be found; it is in that manner of dealing with the past,—the reading of history in the light of prophecy, the selection of a canonical literature wherein history and prophecy justify each other—which was the special work of the schools of the Captivity. We read the story of Israel and of Judah with the shame of a broken covenant and the woe of an impending judgment everywhere expressed or understood.‡ We make our acquaintance with Hebrew prophecy in the pages of a Yahvistic minority; what a flood of light would have been thrown upon many a dark passage of Jewish history if the manifesto of an opposition prophet had been preserved to us! §

Under the reign of the scribe, the influence of Jeremiah naturally waned. Ezekiel was the prophet of the rebuilt Jerusalem and the restored Temple. Yet popular belief, with a ludicrous perverseness, pitched upon Jeremiah as the man who should bring back to that Temple the one thing which it lacked ‖—that ark of which he had said, 'It shall not come to mind, neither shall they remember it.' Sometimes he is a 'messenger of the covenant,' whose coming,

* 'Isa.' liii. 7. Cf. Jer. xi. 19.

† Dan. ix. 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21-2; 2 Macc. ii. 1-7; xv. 14; Baruch; Epistle of Jeremy.

‡ Some of the Rabbis maintained that Jeremiah himself was the author of the books of Kings.

§ The nearest approach to a Nationalist prophet in our canon is Habakkuk, according to Dr. Kuenen.

‖ 2 Macc. ii. 4, &c.; Rev. xi. 19.

like that of Elijah, shall herald the Messiah's kingdom. To a later age he is only a voice of lamentation and woe; to dream of the book of Jeremiah, said the Rabbis, is an intimation of coming vengeance.* To us he is a living interpreter of both the transient and the permanent elements in Judaism; his mission from the outset was 'to pull down and to destroy' the one, 'to build and to plant' the other. He occupies a distinctive place in the goodly fellowship of the prophets. But his testimony has to be repeated by him who, standing in Herod's Temple as Jeremiah in Solomon's, proclaimed that 'one stone should not be left upon another,' and sealed the New Covenant in his blood.

J. EDWIN ODGERS.

* Tr. Beracoth, 57b.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE AND SUNDAY RECREATION.

Diem solis laetitiae indulgemus.—*Tertullian.*

SINCE the time when John Knox, according to a local tradition of Geneva, called, on a certain Sunday, upon John Calvin, and found him enjoying a game at bowls—the disciples who extol the names, and magnify the fame of those two redoubtable divines have gone dismally backward from the footsteps of their masters. That game at bowls marks an epoch of Christian liberty, the traditions of which those disciples in our own country have since done their utmost to discredit and extinguish. Those great Reformers "symbolized" rather with the "Book of Sports" than with the Westminster Confession or the Pilgrim Fathers and their famous "Blue Laws," in Massachusetts. Calvin, in his "Institutes," is especially severe on those who retained the Jewish idea of a divinely-commanded weekly rest; but arrogated to themselves the liberty to change the day—in short, who applied the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue to the observance of the Christian Lord's Day. To such he reserves, in their fullest measure, the denunciations of Isaiah (*Instit.* II., cap. viii. s. 28—34). He also had thoughts at one time of changing the Church's accustomed day from the first to the fourth of the week; but, influenced by views of general expediency, retained the tradition unbroken. As an historical fact, Calvin well knew that the Sabbatarian idea was first imported into the Christian Lord's Day by the influence of the schoolmen, from Alcuin in the eighth century, to Aquinas in the fourteenth,* backed by the Church of

* Heylin, in his *History of the Sabbath*, Part II. c. 5, p. 457, ascribes the first use of the phrase "Christian Sabbath" to Petrus Alphonsus, in

Rome. The later Puritans, from the last quarter of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, adopted this "rag of Romanism" fully into their own system. From England it crept to Scotland, and found there its most congenial home. But in no English divine, outside the circle of influence mentioned above, will you find, down to about 1560, any sympathy with that later school of thought and practice, in which Puritanism appears as the residuary legatee of mediævalism.

All religious festivals have ever included two accessory ideas, that of rest from whatever burdens the otherwise unbroken routine of human occupation imposes, and that of religious worship—something to call man's thoughts out of himself in honour of a higher Being, with whom he seeks communion. These are the negative and positive poles of the conception, and will be found—perhaps, with a few insignificant and unnatural exceptions—to prevail and blend in different degrees in it everywhere. No religion which we need consider has ever succeeded in dispensing with such days of celebration; and the necessity of such, including the two elements above mentioned, may be taken as axiomatic. Religion creates a vacuum of care and toil, in order to fill it with other sentiments and aspirations. To the Jew his law merely secured the negative element. It blanked the day for all secular purposes; but outside the circle of the sanctuary itself provided nothing positive to fill the void, until the post-Babylonian arrangements of Ezra and the "Great Synagogue." How and why this suited the peculiar genius of Judaism it would be foreign to my present purpose to inquire. But its peculiarity was that it made that negative element an end in itself, and made the neglect of it a public crime and a personal sin against the Divine Author of the Law. There was an idea of *laesa majestas* in the Sabbath-breaker's offence, which mediævalism carried over into the Christian Lord's Day. Rest, to the Jew, was

the twelfth century. But I rather think that Heylin is inaccurate in this, and that the phrase, or its equivalent, may be found in some of the less cautious of the Fathers.

an end in itself, as being divinely commanded. The negative element put on a positive aspect. I believe this to be no part of the Christian idea, and will give some further reasons for that view towards the close of this paper. The beneficence of the Divine injunction, however, even in its purely negative aspect, has been recognized by the experience of civilized humanity. How much of the wonderful qualities which, as a race, the Jews certainly evince, may be due to the effect of the law of the Sabbath, and the economy which it imposed on the waste of human powers, it is impossible to say. I incline to rate the effect of this "truce of God," regularly controlling human toil, arresting the machine's motion, and pouring on it a weekly restorative, as a very large factor in Judaic development of character. The Jew seems to me to inherit a large reserve of vital forces, accumulated in the weekly savings bank of their national Sabbaths. The vast complexity of modern civilization, and the multiplicity of its demands, seem to make it a paramount necessity to retain this "truce." I feel convinced that if Sunday, and the protection which it receives from human law were abolished, insanity, to say nothing of other evils, would show a manifold increase. The community, to secure this boon, requires protection against the selfishness of individuals. Further, if it thinks Christianity worth any public recognition whatever, it cannot dispense with the margin of an entire day, neutralized to the great avenues of competitive industry, in order to keep the religious life from being squeezed out of it by the crush of that competition. There are, therefore, Sunday restrictions which it is necessary to maintain. But we inherit the practice of restriction too much in the lump. We faggot and label things with too little discrimination. There are Sunday restrictions, notably, those which check free access to the public stores of science, art, and archæology, which I am trying now to show were better removed. At present these objects stand "tabooed" together with theatres, music halls, *bals masqués*, and the like, and all labelled "Continental Sunday." You

might as well class under one head all beverages, alcoholic and non-alcoholic, and label them "Drink."

I have dwelt on the boon of weekly rest, and the advantage which presumably has thereby accrued to the Hebrew race. It was ensured by making that respite a ceremonial end in itself. To the Jew it assumed that aspect. To us it does not, unless we adopt the Sabbatarian theory; but (taking into view, for the moment, the higher or spiritual man only) is a mere means of edification, the power of using which to his own best advantage must always differ with the spiritual calibre of the man. The rule in such things always is "to him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundance." The question is, how much edification is he prepared to take up? We are, in respect to things temporal and spiritual, all of us amphibious. Some amphibia can take a longer spell under water than others. Our Sunday regulations seem to force the same period of respiration upon all. We differ as widely in this respect as if we were diverse organisms, and we need elasticity of regulation as much. Where free play is given to that diversity, self-adjustment will be possible; and, even if imperfectly realized, will be more wholesome than restraint. No restraint should be imposed on human faculties and instincts which the laws of Christian liberty and charity do not justify. If a man be largely neutral as regards the religious instinct, give him a neutral zone in which to disport himself. Remember that your rules can only enforce negations, and to the individual incapable of positive results, restraints begin by being a burden, and end by being a mischief. Religion will always gain more by treating human beings as moral agents, at once free and responsible for the use they make of their freedom, than by barring them that status, and regarding them as children, as minors, as suspects, or as criminals. It is of no use forcing the means of edification on the unwilling and the unworthy, and we *do* virtually so force them when we seek to exclude all alternative resources for the occupation of any portion of the Sacred Day. Where that

spiritual capacity is large the *summum bonum* of spiritual blessing will be received. But, passing to a wider standpoint, and viewing man as a compound of body, intellect, and spirit, each element of his nature has its share in the recreation of the weekly festival. To the body mere respite from exertion is a boon which all partake. But in our age the number of business dealings which tend to overtax and overstrain the mind increases in every decade. To the mind also, therefore, thus taxed and strained, simple rest may be in many cases intensely welcome. But the minds of many find their best recreation, not in absolute vacuity of thought, but in a change of occupation, and in the mere sense of relief from work against time, which forms the sharpest sting of mental effort. There are, of course, religious processes of the intellect; and to minds so happily constituted as to find in them the variety of mental occupation which brings relief, the Lord's day offers a balm and a solace which they alone can fully appreciate; a restorative which elevates, purifies, and harmonizes the intellectual with the higher or spiritual man, in seeking which they can never exhaust either the subject or themselves.

The man whose "life is" really "hid with Christ in God," and who gives to that spiritual communion every hour on a week day which he can snatch from unavoidable cares and duties, will devote the Lord's-day in its integrity to the same dominant idea, will pay it, without taking out any change, whole and unbroken into the heavenly treasury, and will feel that in so doing he receives more than he gives. To such the Sunday merely crowns with its fulness the aspirations of every day's life. It is the planet emerging from partial eclipse or occultation in the full radiance which is its proper nature. But to most, it hardly has struggled out of the *penumbra* of Saturday before it is caught again in that of Monday. Partial and fitful glimpses of the illuminated disc are the most that can be expected from any but a small minority of shining souls. The Sunday will needs be a function of the life and character on the average. You may dam up a limited portion of the stream in the

deep narrow groove of positive ordinance, which habit accepts; but its great volume will run in the broad, shallow current as usual.

Thus the majority are not up to the mark of spirituality, which enables them to maintain, for several hours together, the collective or the individual exercises of the spiritual life and its kindred intellectual processes; and the attempt to force such upon them only provokes either rebellion against or evasion of a strain which to them is unnatural. In either case the cause of spirituality suffers from the attempt, and shepherds of souls score a loss rather than a gain by making it. For that majority there remains, therefore, a large margin of a day of rest to be filled up. It is better not to leave them to vacuity, or utter desultoriness, to the aimless driftwork of wandering thoughts, or the vapid talk without pith or point, matter or form, which is merely such thinking aloud. If left to this, they may easily be tempted to their own bane to resume the thread of mental occupation of the week, simply from the lack of any other equally ready to hand which can put a backbone into their thoughts. Some may be tempted to charm *ennui* away by a baser spell, by heaping what sensual gratifications they can on the lower man, even as "Sabbath whisky" is or used to be a favourite form of private reaction from the stern ideal imposed by public feeling in Scotland. It is easy, through either of these trap-doors, to fall down to a lower level than that of the Sunday Museum or Art Gallery. But, independently of such perils, it is wholesome for the mind to have, as a refuge from vacuity, some pursuit which will engage, without absorbing or monopolizing, something to organise and vertebrate its thoughts, and so to prevent the slatternly mental disorder which wearies the mind as an untidy room wearies the eye. And it is, further, wholesome to be able to look forward to this, as regularly as the weekly breach of business routine occurs, and to have a hopeful escape from the prospect of living through twelve hours like a chained-up dog.

Thus there is need of charity to the mind as well as to

the body. The feeling of a vast number of lives on Sunday is best expressed by the words "No man hath hired us." Living with a definite aim on other days, though it be but to provide for each day's wants, on Sunday they are aimless. They cannot rise with a rush of fifty degrees up the spiritual thermometer. They cannot "strike twelve all at once." It may be their fault, or that of their education and surroundings; but it is the fact. We have also to consider the great number of homes not physically destitute, but resourceless for all mental stimulants or *pabulum;* where on Sunday all the members of a rather large family may be crowded together, especially in wet or inclement weather, and cannot get out of one another's way. For such persons intellectual effort feels a lack of atmosphere and elbow-room. Gentlemen who can enjoy the snug margin and free range of their club, with its news-room and library, or have analogous resources for their families at home, including music and some rudiments of art, can but imperfectly sympathize with the Sunday squeeze of a humbler domicile. I wish to bespeak, however, their sympathy, and especially that of the clergy, for such mental destitution; and to beg them not to allow the London mechanic to continue *magnas inter opes inops*—poor with a wealth of museums and art galleries around him, so far as their influence can prevent it. We all remember the Noah's Ark Sunday toy of our nursery days. It is only an extension of the same resource to "children of a larger growth," to allow them to trace, not in wooden dummies, but in the best specimens known to collectors, nature's ever varied but never tangled web of creature-life. As regards the clergy themselves, their sacred occupations leave them no Sunday leisure to take a leading part, but I would beg them to consider the whole question in the light of John Calvin's example; and would urge those of them who follow him in other things not to drop beneath him in this, and *a fortiori* those who in other things rise above him. Are they really afraid of having their Sunday-schools pumped dry by the rival attraction? I venture to think that the drain upon the public-houses would be far the

greater of the two. I believe that in Dublin now for about twenty years analogous institutions have been open on Sunday, as well as occasionally in Manchester and other big places, without any such effects as the London clergy, or some of them, I believe, apprehend. Some Sunday-school teachers might possibly be drawn occasionally from their allegiance; but the hours of church and school are not the only ones at their disposal, and some cultivation of their own intelligence beyond what their week-day working life allows would do these amiable young people no harm, while their general self-denial surely deserves occasional relaxation of such a modest kind as this. Of course to those who view such an aspect of Sunday pastime simply with pious horror such arguments will be addressed in vain. I will suggest a few thoughts to them further on.

But extra Sunday labour of custodians and doorkeepers troubles some calculators. Supposing one were to advertise, "Wanted a hundred young men of steady character for these duties on Sunday afternoons, with reasonable remuneration," wouldn't there be at once a rush of some thousands of eager office seekers? I believe the heads of departments would find their offices blocked by ambitious supernumeraries. Surely then the difficulty must be regarded as an artificial one—as one which, in familiar phrase, "won't wash." When these extras were duly selected—which would be the only real difficulty—the existing officials might be retained for a few afternoons to initiate them in their duties, and the needful equipment would be ready. Nay, I myself believe that from the steadier members of the mechanic and artisan class themselves a corps of volunteers of a high order of intelligence and trustworthiness might be easily enlisted gratis, or for so slight a fee as to be inappreciable. But the best way, no doubt, would be, to make an addition to the numbers and pay of the existing staff in sufficient proportions to prevent the duty from being onerous. All this could as easily be adjusted as the needful Sunday duties at railways and post-offices. As regards vagrants and mendicants there would probably be no greater difficulty on

Sundays than on other days. The occasional sight of a policeman's helmet would have the usual sedative and dispersive effect on such suspicious elements of the miscellaneous public. Of course, as all sorts of persons might be expected to come, all sorts of motives might be expected amongst the comers. But no afternoon service, or service at any time, of a religious character is exempt from such alloy. For those who carry levity or sensuality wherever they go, there would be no talisman to expose them; but the silent protest of nobler objects of regard would, perhaps, have a gradual effect on some such. But, taking the British public as it is all round, the influence, I cannot doubt, would be wholesome and elevating: although natural history, archæology, and art are no more spiritual elements on a Sunday than on any other day.

Another thought to be taken with us is the spread of knowledge by the special subjects now taught in the Public Elementary Schools, and by the general expansion of intelligence through their agency in the higher standards. There will be in the metropolitan area hundreds, perhaps thousands, capable, in ten years' time, of taking an intelligent interest in the classified accumulations of nature or the treasures of art, where ten years ago there were barely tens. There is a positive danger in arming these minds with a little knowledge, whilst on the only day on which they can usually choose their own time to pursue it, the opportunity is barred to them. Their minds, so treated, wrinkle up into discontent and class animosity, and subside into the columns of the Sunday newspaper, which takes care to fan those incendiary feelings, for which obstructive regulations carefully accumulate the fuel. By maintaining such obstructiveness, we also sour permanently the minds which by superior intelligence are the natural leaders of their class; and each becomes a centre from which the sullen leaven of insulted intellect swells fermenting in the mass around him. How a Parliament which has passed two Education Acts, and seems to shrink from no stringency of requirements which the Education Department likes to make, can maintain for a single

session such restraints on the use of the intelligence which they are thus stimulating, would be utterly inconceivable to a foreigner, who does not see why a legislative body should stickle at the corollary of its own acts.

It was a famous smart saying of a great Frenchman, although tinged no doubt with the levity of his nation, that "If there had been no God, it would have been necessary to invent one," *i.e.*, in the interests of humanity. This, transferred to the Sabbath, seems not to overstate the Puritan view. There being no "Christian Sabbath," they found it "necessary to invent" one, or rather, the invention being originally that of the mediæval doctors against whom they so largely protested, they took out a new patent for it and built it into their own system. In the prevalency which the notion attained we may trace the high-water-mark of Puritan influence in Great Britain. Instead of taking the moral element which undoubtedly is embedded in the Fourth Commandment and recognizing the authority of the Church, guided by the living voice of the Apostles, to mould it in positive detail and give it practical development, their tendency to depreciate that authority and to exalt the letter of Scripture led them to fall back upon the Old Testament for what they could not find in the New. But then they ought consistently to have taken the Fourth Commandment exactly as they found it, only tempering by the teaching of the New Testament the spirit of its observance. That is, they ought to have reverted to the Seventh-day Sabbath; for divine authority having stamped the recurrence of the Seventh-day with sanctity, and assigned a special ground for preferring that recurrence, divine authority ought to have been as clearly shown for the transfer from the Seventh to the First-day, and for the abrogation of the institutional ground and the substitution of another. Clearly if the Sabbatical ordinance was of perpetual obligation it must be taken as a whole; and only the same authority which had first promulgated could subsequently modify. But on the contrary, finding a definite Sabbath on a fixed day with a definite institutional ground assigned in the Old Testament,

and finding the beginnings of First-day or Lord's-day observances on a totally different ground in the New, they preferred to mutilate the one and falsify the other by forcing them into an unnatural identity; mounting, as it were, the head of Christ on the broken torso of Moses.

They could quote strong things said of the Sabbath by Moses and the prophets, they could quote Apostolic practice and precept in favour of the Christian *cultus* of the First-day; but the most important point for them to prove, the transfer, viz., of the sanctities of the former to the latter, they took upon assumption merely. On this undue assumption rests the whole notion of a "Christian Sabbath" as a binding ordinance; and on that notion, built into the traditional reverence of centuries, mainly rests the repugnance to shock that traditional reverence by any new departure in quest of liberty. But Christian liberty in such matters is, as I shall further show, expressly asserted by St. Paul as the guiding principle by the light of which all such questions should be discussed. And this at once forbids us to build conclusions on such wide sayings as that "it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one jot or tittle of the Law to fail." Indeed, supposing "the Law" in this passage to mean or include the Decalogue, it would prove too much, for it would prove that the Seventh-day was to retain its sanction; since the expression "jot or tittle" must be held to include all details, and not merely general principles like the observance of one day in the week. But beyond such sweeping expressions as prove too much, nothing would be found on which to rest the observance in question. Individual commandments of the Decalogue are cited in Rom. xiii. 9, Ephes. vi. 2, S. James ii. 11, but they are always the commandments relating to the duty towards our neighbour. Such is notably the tenor of the teaching which, beginning with the broad and general statement, "if thou wilt enter into life *keep the Commandments*," then descends into the detail which gives precision to the lesson by enumerating all or nearly all the precepts of the *Second* Table only (S. Matt. xix. 17—19). And whenever in the Saviour's ministry any practical

question relating to the Sabbatical observances of the Jews is raised, the teaching always combats the rigour of traditional practice, and tends to reduce its excesses, as for instance S. Mark ii. 23 foll. Some indeed have sought to educe the sense of perpetual Sabbatical obligation from the general principle occurring towards the end of that context, "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." But the Sabbath is evidently there taken as an existing concrete institution, to be tempered in observance by the consideration that it is relative not absolute, and is limited by some higher end which it contemplates. But if any Sabbath, whether on the first or seventh or any other day, be of perpetual obligation on the entire human race, the distinction which the words draw becomes unmeaning. For any obligation which is universal and perpetual is coextensive with humanity; and of any duty in practice arising under it it may surely be said, "man was made for that duty," as much as that duty "for man." The two become completely reciprocal and the distinction vanishes. When S. Paul says (Gal. iii. 24), "the Law was our pedagogue ["Schoolmaster" in A.V.] to bring us unto Christ," he virtually draws the same distinction, *i.e.*, the Law "was made for man" but man was made for Christ; while the concluding words of the passage first cited, "Therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath," clearly claim ample power over the Institution on the part of the Speaker, to abrogate the enactment, dispense with the observance, or in any way commute the practice; and this, whatever the date and scope of the original institution may claim to have been; whether covering all mankind and given "at the beginning," or restricted to the Jewish race and promulgated from Sinai. But this is far from being the whole of the argument, the real stress of which is only reached when we find Gentile and Jewish believers side by side as members of the same Church. Then the practical question as to their *modus vivendi* was distinctly raised, whether any and how much of the observances current among the latter were to be required of the former. The principle was at first asserted in all its breadth that

those former were to "be circumcised and keep the Law of Moses" (Acts xv. 1 and 5). And here it should be noted that the primary rite of circumcision itself is in the Fourth Gospel asserted by Him who claims jurisdiction over "the Sabbath," to be "not of Moses but of the fathers" (S. John vii. 22). From which it surely follows that, even allowing the Sabbath to have been similarly "not of Moses but of the fathers," in the widest sense, *i.e.*, given to and practised by the patriarchs—a wide assumption—yet it falls, for the purpose of the practical question, into the same category as a *Mosaic* observance. It was included in the whole question raised, what are the obligations which the Gentile believer owes to the Law of Moses? Those obligations may possibly be less, now that the hard and sharply-drawn distinction between Jewish and Gentile convert has melted away, but cannot possibly be greater. Whatever was *not* required then cannot possibly be obligatory now, whether it was in point of time coeval with or antecedent to Moses. The question of those obligations was solemnly decided in the earliest Christian Synod of which record exists; it was of primary importance alike to the conscience of the individual and to the peace of the Church; it was settled by the highest authority in the Christian body, by men who did not shrink from saying, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us" (Acts xv. 28), and settled once, it ought to be deemed settled for ever. It limits the points of obligation to four, and none of the four touches the Sabbath. The inevitable conclusion is that no Sabbatical observance was deemed obligatory; and that any observance of the Lord's-day, such as we undoubtedly trace in the New Testament, falls into a wholly different category from that of the Sabbath. Put the analogy between the Jewish and Christian weekly festival as close as you will; put the expediency, the moral need of a day of realized union for the members of Christ as high as you please—and I should be willing to put it as high as most—argue with all cogency from human experience of the blessedness of a weekly respite from toil; but all these arguments together make no case for the Sabbatarian. It is the old

answer, "ever so many couple of white rabbits will not make a white horse." The Sabbath, as resting on a revealed divine command, is a thing *sui generis*, which analogy and expediency and experience do not touch nor even approach.

Let me dwell a little further on the *dicta* of S. Paul, whose authority is, if possible, enhanced on this question by his prominent share in the controversy at Antioch and in the Synod at Jerusalem, as recorded in Acts xv. He recognizes "the First-day of the Week" in his personal ministry and his pastoral letters (Acts xx. 7, 1 Cor. xvi. 2), but of its Sabbatical character there is no tinge or vestige. I have noticed above his broad statement about "fulfilling the Law," in Rom. xiii. 8—10. In the very next paragraph and chapter of the same epistle, occurs a passage (Rom. xiv. 2—6) which, if it stood alone in the New Testament, would suffice for my argument. For the last three centuries this teaching of the Apostle has been set aside in Great Britain. It is, briefly, that all distinctions between day and day, as regards sacred observance, are to the Christian just like distinctions between vegetable and animal diet. There were vegetarians in S. Paul's day, and there were Sabbatarians; and his advice to both is the same, amounting virtually to this, "Be satisfied in your own conscience and don't interfere with your less scrupulous brother." This is only a special application of the two principles of Christian liberty and Christian charity, which are the two piers of the Pauline arch of Christian practice; but it forms, as it stands, a corollary to the statement of the previous chapter, that there is no law binding on a Christian save what is fulfilled by love. Let all who have scruples shun by all means the Museum or Art Gallery on a Sunday, but let them not force their scruples as a standard upon others. But as all days are for the Christian essentially alike, none, not even the First-day of the week having an objective and inherent sanctity, so those are censured by the same Apostle as reactionaries, who "observe days and months and times and years;" and he calls on all

to assert their liberty in respect of such externals—"the Sabbath days" being expressly included, "which are a shadow of things to come," of which "the substance ["body" A.V.] is of Christ." Of course those who read their own traditions into the Apostle's words will tell us here that the Christian Sabbaths are to be understood as excepted, and Jewish Sabbaths alone intended. But I come back to the decree of the Jerusalem Synod in Acts xv. If the Jewish obligation was really affixed to a new day, what an all-important fact to Gentile believers such a transfer must have been. If there was one positive institution of Judaism and known to Gentiles only as such, which was to stamp itself, merely with a change of its weekly incidence, upon the new Church, the inspired Fathers of that Synod could not have suppressed such a fact, when the question was directly raised, what points of Jewish observance were to be deemed binding on a Christian. It further so happens that, besides circumcision itself, the Sabbath was the sole Jewish institution popularly known in the Gentile world. *Hodie tricesima Sabbata*, says Horace,* in an affected holy horror of profanation meant to convey derision. We may take it that every Gentile member of every Church addressed by S. Paul knew of the Sabbath as a Jewish usage, and that, if there were a Christian usage of nearly the same kind and force, such a convert would of all things require to be taught it. To keep him ignorant of what it most concerned him to know would have been a guilty reticence. But to use language condemning unequivocally *all* Sabbaths, to declare the man who "esteemed every day alike" (Rom. xiv. 5) as on the same footing with him who regarded one day above the rest, would be worse than reticence, it would be simple untruth. Unless we are prepared to tax the Apostle of the Gentiles at once with the *suppressio veri* and the *suggestio*, or rather *enunciatio falsi*, the whole notion of a "Christian Sabbath" falls to the ground.

What again are we to say of the oft-repeated lists of sins for which "the wrath of God cometh on the children of

* Sat. i. 9, 69. Cf. Juvenal Sat. xiv. 105—6.

disobedience," or which exclude from the kingdom of God. The whole Gentile world were living, of course ignorantly, in confirmed Sabbath-breaking habits, if the Sabbatical ordinance be binding on all mankind. If this was an old sin of ignorance, where is the new light to be found in their Apostle's teaching which convicts, instructs and warns them? Where, if it was a new duty to which they were bidden, is the principle stated to enlighten, or the precept to guide the neophyte? The sins of heathen darkness are exposed in a passage of scathing invective in Rom. i. 21 to end, the catalogues of heinous offences current among the Gentiles are found in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, Gal. v. 19—21, Ephes. v. 3—5, Col. iii. 5—9, 1 Tim. i. 9, 10. The last passage is specially noteworthy, because, firstly, it is addressed to the chief officer of a Gentile Church, and secondly it is introduced by mention of "the Law" as a comprehensive term. If "the Law" was "not made for a righteous man" *but* for sinners, of whom certain chief classes are specified, one might expect to find "Sabbath-breaking," *if a sin*, stated as one of its heads, and Timothy as the executive and responsible person, charged to repress it, or his attention, at any rate, drawn to it. But, on the contrary, "Sabbath breaking" is here as everywhere, a blank. I only take the last passage as one among half-a-dozen, all to a similar tenor, but this as having some peculiar features. I am not therefore resting an argument on the mere negative phenomenon of a single passage. They all confirm one another, and they show that Sabbath-breaking was a sin unknown. An enthusiast for the Sabbath may, if he will, assume that the practice of the Gentile Churches in this respect was so perfect, and the obligation so thoroughly understood, that no censure of such offenders was necessary, and even all inculcation of the practice superfluous; that Churches which were in danger of idolatry, were utterly blameless in their Sabbatical respect for the First-day of the week! that they who needed the most urgent warnings and the most vehement menaces on every other point of the Decalogue needed none on this—the one of all others in which they must

have been, up to the time of their conversion, untutored novices! Such a position surely needs no argument. It betrays its untenable absurdity as soon as stated. And the omission in the Pauline addresses to Gentile Churches is the more glaring when we compare the teaching of S. Paul with that of modern expositors, a large and popular school of whom not only erect "Sabbath-breaking" into a damning sin, but give it the deadly prominence of a precedent for all other iniquity in practice. No doubt the contempt of sacred duties and their specially solemn seasons is not only sinful itself, but opens a very wide door to all other temptation. But I contend that it does not constitute "Sabbath-breaking." I complain that these well-meaning, but unwise pietists invented a new sin unknown to the New Testament, as if poor human nature had not enough to answer for already; and were ready to invoke the *laesa majestas* of the Author of the Decalogue in Person on Hogarth's "idle apprentice" playing chuck-farthing at the church door. In their eyes the so-called "Sabbath-breaker" was not only rated in the same class with the blasphemer, but was made the very bell-wether of Satan's flock; not indeed literally stoned, as under the old Law, but belaboured with the missiles of malediction till he had not a moral leg left to stand on. These narrow but sturdy Christians of the Mosaic type drew their only line of observance hard and fast, and "tabooed" impartially all that lay outside it. The man who read a newspaper or played a game of chess between the services, was censured with no less Draconian severity than the man who hired a post-chaise to attend a Sunday cock-fight. One result of this unmerciful rigour was a great confirmation of the lower orders in drunken habits. The whole life of their leisure day was saddened and soured, and they took refuge from enforced idleness and stagnation in the excitement of stimulants. And if ever the law which now closes the haunts of artistic and scientific recreation is altered in their favour, I should expect one of the surest results will ultimately be to reclaim the classes who have found this

resource in intoxicants by providing a wholesomer antidote to dulness; and to raise that siege of the public-house carried on by the dozens of shiftless idlers who now hang about its] doors on a Sunday to wait for its opening.

But I would add one more word on the teaching of S. Paul. If he takes credit with his converts for any quality, it is for the fulness, the frankness, the outspokenness of his teaching, and the simplicity and sincerity which he used in imparting it. How this is reconcilable with the total suppression of a most important duty, with an utter silence and reserve as regards the changed incidence on the weekly life of humanity of a ceremonial command exceptionally perpetuated, I am at a loss to conceive. If the Sabbatarian is to be credited, there must be an undercurrent of reserve and tacit exception running through the whole of the great Apostle's express and emphatic protests against the nullity of "Sabbaths" and the worthlessness of the Jewish Law of ordinances. For it is absolutely certain that only as a point of that Law of ordinances could the Gentile Christian have any knowledge of the Sabbath whatever. The Ephesian or Corinthian believer knew nothing antecedently of "Sabbaths," save as practised by the Jews. The teachers who proclaimed the Jewish Sabbath swept away are supposed to have meant that the Sabbath was retained with a change in the day and with an altered mode and spirit of keeping it; and this inner meaning the raw convert is supposed to discover for himself, and read it into statements, the broad and obvious tenor of which it clean contradicts! Such "dissimulation" seems morally far graver than that with which Barnabas is on one occasion taxed (Gal. ii. 13), and is utterly foreign to the great and open heart of S. Paul. To ascribe it to him is morally impossible.

But one may go further than this. If the Sabbath was, in fact, retained in principle, only tempered by the larger and more loving spirit of Christianity, and its obligations only transferred in practice to a new day, it was as vitally

important that the Jewish believer should be informed of this as the Gentile. In the Epistle to the Hebrews and that of S. James and to some extent in the first of S. Peter we find Jewish Christians distinctively addressed. But you may search them through and through without discovering the slightest trace of such a thought in any of the writers' minds. Not only so, but the first of the three documents is remarkable for discussing at some length the lessons to be gathered from the Creator's recorded "Rest on the Seventh-day from all His works," combined with an exhortation contained in the ninety-fifth Psalm (Heb. iii. 7—iv. 4—9). A fair opening is here given at any rate for an allusion to Christian practice had that been in favour of Sabbath-keeping. But the opportunity is left on this side wholly blank. There is neither allusion to practice nor inculcation of precept. The writer approaches close to the very brink of the most interesting and important of practical subjects, had it existed, only in order to give his exhortation a totally different turn. He, further, in the course of his exhortation to console the Jewish believer, points out expressly several particulars of analogy or coincidence between Jewish and Christian faith and practice. "We have," he says, "a Great High Priest," we "receive a kingdom," "we" even "have an altar;" but he nowhere suggests that "we have a Sabbath," a sufficiently plain hint that there was no such fact to appeal to. All the current of his arguments drove him directly upon it, if there had been. Thus the argument from the Jewish standpoint completes and confirms that from the Gentile; and if space allowed, I could show that all that we know of Christian antiquity in the sub-apostolic and post-apostolic ages coheres exactly with the drift and tenor of both, some Christians keeping *both* the days, Sabbath *and* Lord's Day, with different observances, but all giving homage to the latter, and sometimes precisely distinguishing it in spirit and in practice from the former.

But over and above all lies the golden rule of Christian charity which is at least as far above Sabbaths as it is above rubrics. If the brother of imperfect spiritual capacity finds

that he cannot absorb and assimilate an entire weekly festival in an exclusively religious use of it, it is harsh and unfeeling to condemn him to mental inertness and moral stagnation; nay, it is something worse than this to drive him into Satan's snare of idle hours, and to leave him to the temptations which beset the lower man in order to fill the void left by the imperfect functions of the higher. Once get rid of the notion of an obligatory Sabbath as of divine appointment *for us*, and all these arguments at once recover their proper weight. But superstition, as always, neutralizes in this matter brotherly love and even natural affection; leading to cruelties against the mind, as in mediæval times against the body, on the pretext of religious duty. *Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum.* This is why I have endeavoured to fix on a Scriptural basis which religious persons may accept—the claim to remove restraints which are irksome in proportion as healthy intelligence is displacing drunken stupidity among the wage-earning population, in proportion, too, as culture is advancing among all classes. To those who accept the New Testament as the Word of God, I may claim to have shown what its evidence is, alike positive and negative, alike from the Gentile and from the Jewish convert's standpoint; and how these various lines of evidence converge and confirm one another. Of course the secularist and the scoffer at all things holy may be supporters of the same conclusion on wholly different grounds, and the fear of such support alone deters many. But as S. Paul did not scruple to avail himself of the support of the Pharisees in the Jewish council, although his avowed antagonists on most points, and to plead the status of a Roman citizen, although "his citizenship was in heaven," so we may reassure ourselves in our holdfast of a true conclusion upon Christian grounds, even though others agree to support the same on grounds which are Anti-Christian. Superstitions will always enlist the opposition of the secularist and the scoffer. But is that any reason why superstitions should enjoy our support? On the contrary, there is a distinct danger in leaving

to such agency the knocking off such fetters ; because that enables them to monopolize the duty of emancipation, and to recommend their own nostrums as the only practical antidote to mischievous error. I write not as a member of the Sunday Society, but as one who seeks to vindicate the New Testament from the corruptions of human traditions, and as a deeply interested observer of the tendency of our times.

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN MÜNSTER.—II.

THE saints and the godless had been separated, but still the folk of New Sion were not quite one at heart. There were the religious fanatics, who thought that all alike must share their enthusiasm for this kingdom of righteousness; there were the knaves, who had joine dit simply for plunder, and would not hesitate to convert it to hell; there were the cowards, whom fear had impelled and whose hands would fail when most needed; finally, there were the simpletons, who at first were stirred by words, the meaning of which they scarcely grasped, to join a fool's paradise, but whose spirit would die, when their material wants were not supplied, and who would in the end be butchered with small resistance,—ignorant simple folk, conscious of some great injustice, easily guided by the stronger will, and then left to bear the brunt of outraged and relentless authority. It was not long before the lukewarm spirit showed itself, and called forth a terrible judgment. One Hubert, a smith, as he kept watch on the walls at night ventured to say to some of his comrades that:—"The prophets will prophesy till they cost us our necks, for the devil is in them." * Small wonder that the enthusiastic brethren of Sion were shocked to find the godless within their very ranks, a traitor within the purified city! The saints gathered on the market-place and the wretched smith—he, who had been the first to dim the bright hopes of the New Jerusalem—was led out into their midst. Then the prophets sat in judgment and declared the poor

* *Gresbecks Bericht. Dorpius* has the more expressive "*Sie sind scheissende Propheten.*"

trembling sinner worthy of death. "He had scorned the chosen of God—God whose will it was that there should be naught impure in the city. All sin must be rooted up, for the Lord wanted a holy folk." Let us try for an instant to feel as those prophets felt, to feel that if once a citizen of Sion could doubt their mission, nay, if once a shadow of doubt were allowed to settle in their own minds, if once the cold touch of reason should question their inspiration, then all the glorious hopes of this Kingdom of God would crumble into the dust. It was based alone on the saints' belief in the prophets and on the prophets' belief in themselves; they were the direct means of communication between God and his chosen folk. And here came one out of the very fold in the dawn of the new era, and ventured to doubt,—to doubt where the very suspicion of doubt meant the madness of recognised self-delusion! Nay, after the prophets had fallen, even when under torture, they could but say, we have failed, yet still were tools in the handling of God! Awful is that first judgment in Sion, but not more awful than the maiden drowned in the horse-pond at Salzburg. In old Germanic days the priests had been the executioners, and now the prophets took upon themselves the dread office. The trembling smith was led to the cathedral—to the Mount of Sion; there Jan, the prophet of Leyden, took a halberd and struck twice at him, but in vain; Death grimly refused his prey. Back to prison the wounded man was taken, and a strange scene followed. God had deprived the arm of their prophet of strength, and the saints grovelling on their faces in the market-place shrieked that Sion had lost the grace of God! Then the prophet Mathys orders the prisoner again to be brought out, and placed against the cathedral wall; but he will not stand, falls crosswise on the ground and begs for mercy. Mercy there is none in Sion, and Mathys takes a musket and shoots him through the back. And still he does not die. Then say the prophets: 'Tis the Lord's will that he live.' Live however he cannot, and he dies within the week. Such is the first blood shed in Sion, foretaste of the flood to

come. Mad, raving mad, judged the world, when it heard of this and the like: 'Shoot them down like wild beasts!' And the world was right, 'twas the only way to cure the pest. But the world never learnt the lesson,—will it ever?—the judgment of history for the crimes of the past. It forgot the butchered Anabaptists of the decade before. It forgot the 'laver of degeneration' it had itself administered in the baptism of blood.

But let us turn for a moment from the darker side of the picture, which will soon enough demand all our attention, to glance at what too often is forgotten—the social reconstruction in Sion. So soon as the labour of separating the saints from all taint of the godless was completed, the leaders began to organise the new kingdom of righteousness according to their glowing ideals of human perfection. First, a community of goods was proclaimed. "Dear brothers and sisters, now that we are an united folk, it is God's will that we bring together all our money, silver and gold; one shall have as much as the other. Let each bring his money to the exchequer in the council house. There will the council sit to receive it." Then the prophets and the preachers arise and speak of the mercy of God, and of brotherly love, calling upon all the saints, with terrible anathemas against defaulters, to bring their wealth to the common stock. In each parish three deacons are appointed to collect all the food, which is then stored in houses hard by the gates. Here the common meals are held—the women at one table and the men at another—while a youth will read the wierd and soul-stirring prophecies of Isaiah or Daniel. The deacons have the entire domestic economy in their hands, particularly the charge of the common food and property. So great is at first the enthusiasm for the commonweal, that even little children run about pointing out hidden stores! * The doors of the houses are to be left open day and night, that all who will may enter, only a hurdle shall serve to keep out the pigs.

* The Lutheran *Dorpius* terms them "maidens possessed of the Devil who betrayed what was hidden."—E. i.

Some half-dozen schools are founded for the children, wherein they are taught to read and write, to recite the psalms; but above all they learn the doctrine of brotherly love, and the glorious future for Sion. Once a-week the children march in pairs to the cathedral, hear one of the preachers, sing one or two psalms, and return home in like fashion. Money too is coined in Sion, not however for its inhabitants, but to bribe the men-at-arms who serve the godless. Twelve elders are appointed, and they sit morning and noon on the market-place to hear plaint and administer justice. Terrible is the justice of the saints, for a thief is a traitor to the brotherhood, and even the soldiers of Sion are shot for forcibly tapping a barrel of beer!

Not all however is stern earnest in the city; in these first weeks the joy of the folk shows itself in coarse jest at the bishop's expense. An old broken-down mare is driven out of the city towards the bishop's camp, and tied to its tail is the treaty of peace with its great episcopal seal, whereby his grace had recovered the 'oxen' captured at Telgte. Then with ringing of bells a procession is formed, and a straw-stuffed dummy covered over and over with papal bulls and indulgences is conducted out of the gates and despatched in like fashion towards the enemy's lines. Another timeit is a huge tun which arrives on a waggon without driver; great is the curiosity of the bishop and his court to know its contents,—being opened they find themselves mocked with Anabaptist excrement pure and simple! Nor do the saints content themselves merely with jests; they make successful sorties, carry off the gunpowder and spike the guns even under the very nose of his grace. There is small discipline in the bishop's camp, and his appeal to his neighbours for aid is but slowly complied with. Still later we hear of a mock mass in the cathedral; fools dressed in priest's raiment officiate, while the folk offer rubbish, filth, and dead rats at the altar; and the whole is concluded with a sham fight in the aisle. Upon another occasion the chancel is turned into a stage, and the play of the rich man and Lazarus is given. Merrily the

three pipers play accompaniment, and the devil fetching the rich man to hell causes the building to ring with laughter. But this is in the latter days of Sion, when Sion has got a king, and suspicion stalks darkly amid the starving Anabaptists. The farce ends with tragedy. The ruler has reason to suspect the queen's lacquey who acts the rich man; and the rich man is dragged from hell to be hung on a tree in the market-place. There was small room for jest in those latter days of Sion!

Yet at first even the most fanatical could unbend, and we hear that when the sternest Anabaptists were together 'they sat joyously over the table, and all their talk was *not* of the Lord, of Paul, or of the holiness of life.'* Shortly before Easter we find the prophet Mathys with his wife Divara—the young and the beautiful, for whom he had thrown off a union of the flesh—at a marriage feast. Who shall say what dark thoughts had entered the mind of the austere prophet? Had he seen a glimpse of the spiritual decay which was soon to fall over the new Sion? Had he doubt of the future and of himself? Did the shadow of the butchered smith haunt his mind? Be this as it may, in the midst of the general joy, Jan Mathys was suddenly moved by the spirit, he raised his hands above his head, his whole frame shook, and it appeared as if the hour of death were upon him. The bridal party sat in hushed fear. Then the prophet arose and said, with a sigh: 'O dear Father, not as I will, but rather as thou wilt.' Giving to each his hand and a kiss, he continued: 'God's peace be with you,' and left the gathering. A few hours after the saints in Münster learnt that their chief prophet seizing a pike, and crying like a madman: 'With the help of the heavenly Father I will put the foe to flight and free Jerusalem,'—had rushed out of the gates, and followed by a few fanatic enthusiasts had been slaughtered by the bishop's troops. So the first and chief prophet of Münster, honest and true to his idea, died before the moral decay of the saints. He may have been a fanatic, his idea may have

* *Gresbecks Bericht.*

been false; still he fought and died for a *spiritual* notion—his grace the bishop fought and triumphed for *himself!*

Strange scenes follow the death of Mathys. The prophets and the folk gather on the market-place crying, 'O God grant us thy love! O Father give us thy grace!' In the most abject fashion the saints grovel on the ground. Women and maidens go dancing through the streets with wild cries. With loosened hair and disordered dress they dance and shriek till their faces grow pale as death, and they fall exhausted to the ground. There they strike themselves with clenched fists upon their naked breasts, tear out their hair, and roll in the mud. But the youthful Jan of Leyden arises and proclaims that God will grant them a greater prophet even than Mathys. That long ago he saw a vision, wherein Mathys was bored through with a pike, and the voice of God bade him take the lost prophet's wife as his own.* So the folk cries 'Grant it, Father, grant it!' and from this day Jan is the chief ruler in Sion. Unfortunately however the young prophet is already wed to a serving-maid of Knipperdollinch's, and how can he take in addition the beautiful Divara? For three days and three nights he remains in a state of trance, and then the power of evil triumphs, the floodgates of social license are thrown open, and Jan Bockelson awakes to preach the gospel of sense. On the one side the sensuous vigour of youth, the feeling of power, the animal will; on the other the hope of a new future for men, the rule of human love, the old moral restraints based on the experience of long generations. Sensuous pleasure and the toil of self-renunciation,—'tis an old struggle which has oft recurred in history, and is like to recur, till centuries of progress shall perchance harmonise the material and spiritual in man. And what remains to restrain the youthful tailor of Leyden, filled as he is with the consciousness of will and of power? There is no respect for the slowly acquired wisdom of the past, for the

* Even in his confession under torture Jan maintained the truth of this vision, and his own wonder when it was fulfilled. *Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster.*

past is cursed with sin ;—no appeal to the common-sense of the folk is possible, for God dictates truth through the prophets alone. But there is this great danger in Sion—the women far out-number the men—and in the hysterical religion of these female saints the sensuous impulse is strong. So it comes about that Jan preaches the gospel of sense. The preachers and the twelve elders declare that a man may have more wives than one. God has bid his chosen people 'be fruitful and multiply.' None shall remain single, but every Anabaptist bring up children to be saints in Sion. It is said that at first some even of the saints resisted this new licence, but that the unmarried women themselves dragged the cannon to the market-place, and were mainly instrumental in destroying all opposition! Be this as it may, it is certain that on Good Friday, April 14th, the prophet Jan, amid the ringing of bells and the rejoicing of the folk, marries Divara, widow of the prophet of Haarlem. From that date onward the number of Jan's wives increases till they reach the total of fourteen, besides their chief, Divara. Rottmann seems to have had four wives, and Knipperdollinch and other leaders at least this number. No woman might refuse marriage though she might refuse any proposed husband. Girls of a tender age were given husbands, and even the old women in Münster were distributed as wives among the folk, who had to look after them and see they fully grasped the great Anabaptist doctrines. 'Dear brothers and sisters,' said the preachers, 'all too long have ye lived in a heathen state, and there has been no true marriage!' Simple in the extreme was the new ceremony. The man went with a few friends to the home of the woman, and both taking hands in the presence of their friends proclaimed themselves husband and wife. But polygamy brings almost at once a grotesque judgment on the saints of Sion, for the wives quarrel endlessly with one another, and the saints have no peace at home. Daily cases of fighting and disorder among the women come before the twelve Elders, and imprisonment is found useless. So at last Bannock-Bernt declares that the sword must be tried, but the

mere threat loses its force after awhile, and several women are executed. The leaders still finding that no punishment avails, bid all the women, who will, come to the Council House. There several hundred women, who have been forced into marriage or are tired of polygamy, give in their names. Summoned a few days afterwards before the Elders, they are declared *free* from their husbands, and the preachers rising in the market place proclaim them cursed of God, and body and soul the devil's! The veil is best drawn over this dark plague-spot in Münster; suffice it, if the reader remember 'tis ever at work undermining the kingdom of Sion, that it leads to terrible abuses, and ends as that kingdom totters to its fall, in little short of sexual anarchy.

But even in Münster these great social changes are not completed without rebellion. A section of the less fanatical aided by the native saints, who by no means approve of the community of goods, suddenly rises and seizing the prophets and Knipperdollinch, imprisons them in the cellar of the Council House. The uxorious preacher Schlachtschap is torn from the midst of his wives, and placed in the pillory, where the women, who approve of the old fashion, pelt him with dung and stones, demanding whether he wants more wives, or if he does not now think one enough? The fate of Sion hangs in the balance, and a messenger is dispatched to the bishop's camp. But before he is out of the town, the strangers from Holland and Friesland have seized the gates, and are marching six hundred strong upon the Council House. There is a short but severe fight, the defenders firing from the windows upon the strangers below, but alas! they have been spending the night in drinking from the stores in the town cellar, and the Dutchmen force their way in and make some 120 prisoners. Terrible is the judgment of the enraged fanatics. Jan of Leyden, Knipperdollinch, the twelve Elders, and the prophets, being released they cause the rioters to be brought out daily in batches of ten; then some are shot, some beheaded, some stabbed with daggers. Whoever desires to kill a traitor to Sion, he may take one and

slay him as he pleases. For four or five days the massacre lasts, the bodies being cast into two large pits in the cathedral close. Awful is this dance of death, this masquerade of loosened passion; but those who will learn its lesson must ever remember the 'baptism of blood'! At last the fury of the fanatics is glutted, the remaining prisoners being pardoned are taken into the cloister of St. George, and there Schlachtschap mounted on a high stool preaches a sermon to them on their crime; how they have acted against the will of God and must thank him, that they have received grace. The preacher addresses each by name, and tells him how he has sinned against the brothers and sisters in Sion. They have been received into the fold again, may they duly appreciate such mercy.* There must have been many sore hearts in Sion, many weary and sick of this Kingdom of God, and yet the enthusiasm was not dead, it wanted but opportunity to show itself with all the force of old.

Since February the bishop had made but little progress, and even within his camp he could not feel safe from the fanaticism of these strange children of Sion! A curious incident had happened about Easter. A maiden of the Anabaptists, Hilla Feichen by name,† had heard at the common meal the story of Judith and Holofernes read. Inspired, she determined to repeat the bold deed on this shameless bishop in his camp at Telgte. She announced this as the will of God to his prophets, and they allowed the damsel to go. Dressed in her best and adorned with gold rings, the present of Knipperdollinch, she arrived at the hostile camp. Only, poor deluded child, to fall into the hands of the men-at-arms, to excite suspicion by her wondrous garb, to be tortured, to confess and pay for the wild vision with her life. Why should her name not be remembered along with those whose bearers have planned nobler,

* *Gresbecks Bericht.*

† Her confession in *Niesert's Münsterische Urkundensammlung* Bd. I. Cf. the confessions of Jan of Leyden and Knipperdollinch in the *Geschichtsquellen.*

if less heroic deeds? There was power, there was genius in Hilla, had the world brought it to fairer bloom, had it not been poisoned in this slough of profanation at Münster! By Whitsuntide, however, the bishop feels strong enough to attack the town by storm; and now an opportunity presents itself to the inhabitants of Sion to show in mass the enthusiasm of Hilla. Men, women, and children flock to the walls on the first report, only the aged and sick are left in the town. Out of every hole and corner, from every rampart boiling oil and water, melted lead and glowing lime—a perfect devil's broth is poured upon the foe. Blazing wreaths of tar are thrown round the necks of the bishop's soldiers, a hail of shot and stones greets them as they approach. She-devils on the walls batter with pitch-forks the skulls of those who mount scaling ladders. The folk of Sion are mad in their rage, as though the oppression of years, the whole 'baptism of blood' was to be avenged in this one day. "Are ye come at last? Three or four nights have we baked and boiled for you, the broth has long been ready, had ye but come!" Once, twice, thrice, the men-at-arms rushed to the storm, once, twice, thrice, a shattered remnant retired. Theirs is the bull-love of fight, but not the enthusiasm which springs from the idea. Their pluck fails and they retreat. The defenders mockingly shout:—'Come again, come again, will ye already fly, surely the storm might last the whole day?' Then the Anabaptists fall upon their knees and sing: 'If the Lord himself had not been on our side when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick.' Jan of Leyden and the minor prophets go dancing and singing through the streets: "Dear brothers, have we not a strong God? He has helped us. It has not been done with our power. Let us rejoice and thank the Father!" The inspired declare approaching deliverance; Christ will come at once and found the 1,000 years' kingdom of the saints. There is new unity in Sion, fresh hope and fresh enthusiasm. God has been but trying his saints. His grace the bishop has also learnt a lesson, in future he will adopt the surer

method of blockade, he will shut these fanatics up till starvation has won the battle for him. So as aid comes in from his allies, he completely cuts Münster off from the outer world, and Sion becomes the centre of an impassable circle of blockhouses.

This victory seems to have brought new inspiration to Jan Bockelson. Were but the hand of one strong man to guide these enthusiasts, surely the kingdom of Sion might even now be established, even now the elements of decay might be cut off, and the baser, selfish passions of the saints subdued. The thought in the man, becomes the will of God in the prophet. A revelation comes to Jan that he is called to be king of the New Jerusalem—nay king over the whole world, and viceroy of God on earth; a Lord of righteousness, who shall punish all unrighteousness throughout the world. Nor does the revelation come to Jan alone. On June 24th—*Johannistag*, mysterious and holy sun feast—Johann Dusentschuer, formerly a goldsmith of Warendorff, but now a prophet of the Lord—rushes, as fast as his lameness will allow, through the streets of Sion, crying to the folk to assemble on the market place. There the limping prophet throws himself upon the ground, declaring the will of heaven. God has ordained that Jan of Leyden, the holy prophet, shall be king over the whole world, over all emperors, kings, princes, lords, and potentates. He alone shall rule and none above him. He shall take the kingdom and the throne of David his father, till the Lord God requires it again of him. Then the folk look to their beloved prophet and he falling on his knees tells them *his* revelation. 'God has chosen me for a king over the whole earth. Yet further I say to you, dear brothers and sisters, I would rather be a swineherd, rather take the plough, rather delve, than thus be a king. What I do, I must do, since the Lord has chosen me.' Many another king has fancied himself appointed by heaven with as little justification; few have been so successful in convincing their subjects of their divine right. The bride Divara comes out among the people. The limping prophet taking

a salve anoints the new king, and presents him with a huge sword of battle, the twelve Elders lay their weapons at his feet, and the tailor-monarch calls upon heaven to witness his promise to rule his people in the spirit of the Lord, and to judge them with the righteousness of heaven. Then the excited folk dance round their king and queen, singing :— 'Honour alone to God on high!' Mock-majesty forsooth; but the divinity which hedges a king has oft been more grotesque. Sion, like Israel, has passed from a theocracy to an autocracy; but there is no Nathan to check its ruler, because he is himself chief prophet.

The sovereign of Sion—although 'since the flesh is dead, gold to him is but as dung'—yet thinks fit to appear in all the pomp of earthly majesty. He appoints a court, of which Knipperdollinch is chancellor, and wherein there are many officers from chamberlain to cook. He forms a body-guard, whose members are dressed in silk. Two pages wait upon the King, one of whom is a *son of his grace the bishop of Münster!* * The great officers of state are somewhat wondrously attired, one breech red, the other grey, and on the sleeves of their coats are embroidered the arms of Sion—the earth-sphere pierced by two crossed swords—sign of universal sway and its instruments,—while a golden finger ring is token of their authority in Sion. The king himself is magnificently arrayed in gold and purple, and as insignia of his office, he causes sceptre and spurs of gold to be made. Gold ducats are melted down to form crowns for the queen and himself; and lastly a golden earth-sphere pierced by two swords and surmounted by a cross with the words : "A King of Righteouness o'er all" is borne before him. The attendants of the Chancellor Knipperdollinch are dressed in red with the crest, a hand raising aloft the sword of justice. Nay, even the queen and the fourteen queenlets must have a separate court and brilliant uniforms! Thrice a week the king goes in glorious array to the market-place accompanied by his body-guards and officers of state, while behind ride

* *Newe Zeytung von der Widertäuffern zu Münster.* 1535. Usually found with Luther's preface, *Auf die Newe Zeytung von Münster.*

the fifteen queens. On the market-place stands a magnificent throne with silken cushions and canopy, whereon the tailor-monarch takes his seat, and alongside him his chief queen. Knipperdollinch sits at his feet. A page on his left bears the book of the law, the Old Testament; another on his right an unsheathed sword. The book denotes that he sits on the throne of David; the sword that he is a king of the just, appointed to exterminate all unrighteousness. Bannock-Bernt is court chaplain, and preaches in the market-place before the King. The sermon over, justice is administered, often of the most terrible kind; and then in like state the king and his court return home. On the streets he is greeted with cries of: 'Hail in the name of the Lord. God be praised!' There can be small doubt that the show at first rouses the flagging spirits of the saints in Sion.

The new government is more communistic even than the old. To the limping prophet Dusentschuer God has revealed how much clothing a Christian brother or sister ought to possess. A Christian brother shall not have more than two coats, two pair of breeches, and three shirts—a Christian sister not more than one frock, a jacket, a cloak, two pair of sleeves, two collars, two 'par hosen und vehr hemede;' while four pair of sheets shall suffice for each bed. The deacons go around the town with wagons to collect the surplus clothing: "God's peace be with you, dear brothers and sisters. I come at the bidding of the Lord, as his prophet has announced to you, and must see what you have in your house. Have you more than is fitting, that we must take from you in the name of the Lord, and give it to those who have need. Have you want of aught, that for the Lord's sake shall be given to you according to your necessity." So the deacons return with wagon-loads of clothes, which are distributed to the poorer brethren, or stored for the use of the saints whom God will soon lead into Münster.* Then comes an order for the interchange of

* The chief authority for the above account is *Gresbeck*. His story of the last days of Münster seems the fullest and least biassed. 'Two pair sleeves' =*twe par mouwen*, which would be more intelligible two centuries earlier when the ladies used their enormous sleeves as wrappers.

houses, for no brother must look upon anything as his own, and it is but right that all should share whatever accommodation Sion provides.

But difficulties are coming upon the Kingdom of God in Münster, which no system of Government will obviate, no amount of show drive from the thoughts of the saints. Provisions are becoming scarcer, and though the prophets announce the relief of the town before the New Year, yet they permit the pavements to be pulled up and the streets sown with corn and vegetables. As want becomes more urgent, despair begins to find more willing votaries, and fanaticism takes darker and more gloomy forms. Fits of inspiration become more frequent and more general among the saints; while at the same time social restraint becomes weaker, and the grotesque, yet terrible union of the gospels of sense and of righteousness presents us with stranger and stranger phases of this human riddle. Two maidens eight or nine years old go about begging from all the brothers whom they meet, their coloured knee-ribbons; from the sisters their ornamental tuckers; they pretend to be dumb, and when they do not get what they want, they try to seize it, or grow furious. What they do get they burn. Even these children are attacked by the 'spirit,' and in fits of inspiration require four women to hold them. The prophets themselves, from the king downwards, are often 'possessed of God,' and rush through the streets with the strangest cries; or again they will give themselves up entirely to pleasure, and throughout the night dance with their wives to the sound of drum and pipe. Soon, too, a new freak of fanaticism seizes the limping prophet. He declares that after three trumpet blasts the Lord will relieve Sion, then without clothes or treasure the saints shall march out of Münster. At the third blast all shall assemble on Mount Sion and take their last meal in the city. Twice the stillness of the night is broken by the trumpet blast of the limper. All wait the fortnight which must precede its last peal. Again it is heard in Sion, and men, women and children collect in the cathedral close. Two thousand armed men,

some nine thousand women with bundles containing the little treasures they have preserved from the grasp of the deacons, and twelve hundred children await the will of God on Mount Sion. Then the king comes in state with his queens, and explains that 'tis only a trial of God to mark out the faithful! 'Now dear brothers, lay aside your arms, and let each take his wives and sit at the tables and be joyous in the name of the Lord.' Long lines of tables and benches have been arranged in the close, and here the disappointed saints sit themselves down. But the meal itself, though it consists only of hard beef followed by cake—probably a rare feast even in these days*—arouses the drooping spirits of the Anabaptists. The king and his court wait upon the populace, and the preachers go about talking to the brothers and sisters. The limper proclaims that there are some on the Mount of Sion who before the clock strikes twelve shall have been alive and dead. Little notice is taken of the prophecy, as the saints are cheered with the unwonted food and drink. 'Tis true that Knipperdollinch desires to be beheaded by the king, as he feels confident of resurrection within three days, but the king will not comply with his request; Jan has some other fulfilment of the prophecy in view. After the meal the king and queen break up wheat cakes and distribute them among the populace, saying: 'Take, eat and proclaim the death of the Lord.' Then they bring a can of wine and pass it round with the words:—'Take and drink ye of it every one and proclaim the death of the Lord.' So all break bread and drink together, and then the hymn is sung:—'Honour alone to God on high.' After this the limping prophet mounts a stool, and announces a new revelation. He has in his hand a list of nearly all the prophets in Sion, divided into four groups:—'Dear brothers, I tell you as the word of God, you shall before night leave this city and enter Warendorff, and shall there announce the peace of the Lord. If they will not receive your peace, so shall the town be immediately swallowed up and consumed with the fire of hell!' Then he throws at the feet of the prophets

* *Newe Zeytung, die Wilerteuffer zu Münster belangende. MDXXXV.*

one-fourth of his list, with the names of the eight servants of God who are to proclaim the glory of Sion in Warendorff. In like words he bids three other groups of prophets go to the 'three other quarters of the world'—Ossenbrugge, Coisfelt and Soist, he himself being among the last. All declare that they will carry out God's will. Then Jan the king mounts the stool and cries to the folk that owing to the anger of God he renounces the sceptre in Sion, but the prophet Dusentschuer promptly replaces him, and bids him punish the unjust. The king sets himself at table with the twenty-four prophets who are about to depart on their mission. As it grows dark the regal fanatic stands up, and bids his attendants bring up a trooper captured from the bishop's army, and with him the sword of justice. The word of God has come to him, this trooper has been present at the meal of the Lord. He is Judas, and the King himself will punish the unjust. In vain the trooper begs for mercy, he is forced upon his knees and the tailor-king beheads him, fulfilling the prophecy in Sion. So ends in bloodshed, in mad fanaticism, the supper of the Lord among the saints. 'Tis autumn now and yet no relief, can God have forgotten his chosen folk in Münster?

What of the prophets that go forth? Some fall at once into the hands of the bishop, others arrive at the four towns to which they were dispatched and begin preaching on the streets, 'Repent, repent for the Lord is angry, and will punish men.' Soon they are seized by the authorities, and examined under torture. Even then they are bold and confess that since the time of the Apostles there have been only two true prophets, Mathys of Haarlem, and Bockelson of Leyden, and two false prophets, Luther and the Pope—of whom *Luther is more harmful than the Pope.* So all the twenty-four but one meet a martyr's death. The one—prophet Heinrich—had been despatched with two hundred gulden and a 'banner of the righteous.' He was to place the banner upon the bridge at Deventer, and when the Anabaptists had flocked to the standard, he was to lead them to the relief of Sion. So soon as the banner appeared near the blockhouses, the

saints would flock out to meet it. Prophet Heinrich however goes straight with his gulden and banner to the bishop, and writes to the town bidding the saints surrender and receive the bishop's grace. But the saints are not yet so hungry that they cannot scorn a traitor. Bannock-Bernt preaches against the false prophet Heinrich:—"Dear brothers and sisters, let it not seem strange to you. Such false prophets shall rise up amongst us. We are warned thereof in Scripture. Such a one was Heinrich. We have only lost two hundred gulden with him." But the Anabaptists are not content with sending out prophets, Bannock-Bernt writes a book the 'Restitution,' painting the glories of Sion, and the wrath of God; it is to be scattered among the bishop's soldiers, in the hope that they may desert. He writes another work also, the 'Book of Vengeance,' which is to be sent into Friesland and Holland. "Vengeance will be accomplished on the powerful of earth, and when accomplished the new heaven and the new earth will appear for the folk of God." "God will make iron claws and iron horns for his folk; the ploughshare and the axe shall be made into sword and pike. They will set up a leader, unfurl the banner, and blow upon the trumpet. A wild unmerciful people will they stir up against Babylon; in all shall they requite Babylon for what she has done—yea doubly shall Babylon be requited." "Therefore, dear brothers, arm yourselves for battle, not only with the meek weapons of the apostle for suffering, but with the noble armour of David for vengeance, in order with God's strength and help to exterminate all the power of Babylon and all godlessness. Be undaunted and hazard wealth, wife, child, and life."* Some thousand copies of this 'Book of Vengeance' are smuggled through the bishop's lines. The Anabaptists in Holland and Friesland begin to stir, and gather together in various places, intending to march for the relief of Münster. Poor ignorant folk, ill-armed and undisciplined, they are shot down and massacred wherever found. In Amsterdam they seize the Council House, but are soon defeated and

* Quoted in *Janssen's Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, III.* 313. I have in vain sought a copy of the original.

captured. While still alive the hearts are torn out of the prisoners and flung in their faces, then they are beheaded, quartered, and impaled. So a terrible sequel is added to Rottmann's 'Book of Vengeance,' and all hope of relief from outside vanishes.

Worse and worse grow matters in Sion; a new prophet of the future, noiseless and yet awfully explicit, replaces the twenty-four martyrs—starvation begins to preach among the saints. As despair increases, madness and lust stride forward too. 'Enjoy while we can, for to-morrow we are slain'—becomes the watchword of a larger and larger party in Sion. At the New Year the king prophesies sure deliverance at Easter. 'If salvation come not,' he cries, 'then hew off my head, as I now hew off the head of him who stands before me.' Executions by the 'King of Righteousness' are now commonplace to the saints. Everything is done to keep the folk employed, to distract their attention from the grim prophet. All preparations are made for the relief which is impossible; a wagon-camp is constructed to be used on the march from Münster. A sham battle is held on the market place; a battalion of female saints is formed to assist in the glorious campaign which approaches; the folk is summoned to the market place and formed into two divisions, one of which will be left to guard Münster. Twelve dukes are named, and the lands of the world distributed among them; tailors, cobblers, pedlars, sword-makers, and what-not are appointed rulers of the world; for the present they must content themselves with small districts in the city, where they strive to keep the people quiet. Poor, miserably poor comfort this to the folk, who now think the flesh of horse and dog luxuries, who are eating bark, roots, and dried grass! The gilt, too, is wearing off from royalty in Sion. One of the queenlets, Else Gewandscherer, grows sick of her life, throws her trinkets at the feet of the king and asks to be allowed to leave Sion. Poor Jan! Is enthusiasm utterly dead among his nearest? Shall they be examples of cowardice and treachery to the lesser saints in Sion? On to the market place with her and

fetch the sword of righteousness! There let her bite the dust—the very corpse spurned by the foot of its lord—example of disloyalty, of faithlessness to the few who can take aught to heart in Münster. So the trembling wives of the king sing 'Honour alone to God on high' as they stand round the headless form of their fellow!

At last Easter comes and of course no relief. The king summons the folk to the market place. He asks whether they will venture to fix a time for God? Not material relief had been prophesied, but only salvation from sin. He, Jan the prophet, has been laden with all their sins, and they in heart and spirit are now free! It cannot last very much longer, and not even a rule of terror will hold in restraint the starving folk. Execute twenty a day, and treat the suspected traitor with every horror you please—yet it must end at last. A wild demoniac dance are these latter days of Sion! Terror and play trying to fight it out with starvation. Day by day something new to keep the folk engaged. First a religious fête. Gaily attired their king *lies* at a window in the market-place, reads from the Book of Kings how David fought, and how an angel from heaven came with a glowing sword and slew his foes. 'Dear brothers, that can happen to us, 'tis the same God that still lives.' 'Still lives' and yet makes no move to help you poor fanatics? What terrible doubt those words must have raised in the souls of the starving saints of Münster! 'Still lives,' and leaves you to perish, you misguided, mad, oppressed! Peace,—you are judged and condemned. Then the school-children come with their teachers and sing psalms—wan, pale little faces, it were best not to sing, for singing increases the void! Finally Bannock-Bernt concludes with a sermon from the window. But religious nourishment is a poor thing on an empty stomach, and Jan tries next a more lively entertainment. Another great folk meal is held in the market place, but this time there is only bread and beer. After it is over the king and his officers, midst blowing of trumpets, ride with spears at a w reath stuck on a pole, and marksmen fire at another. Then

the folk play at ball, and all because 'it is the will of God.' Home again they go, singing the chant: 'Honour alone to God on high.' How hollow, how mockingly it sounds now, when compared with the enthusiastic shout of the first weeks of Sion! The next day another section of the people is fed, and afterwards there is a general dance on the market place, the king and queen leading off. Picture the emaciated, hunger-torn, lust-worn, and passionate faces of those despairing Anabaptists, as they danced before the Council House in Münster! Grimmest of jests—that dancing can stave off starvation! Bannock-Bernt preaches that 'it is God's will,' that who can shall dance and enjoy himself. Every restraint has long since vanished in Sion. But will any such sensuous, physical joy stand as a substitute for bread? 'Tis a dance of devils, not men—or rather a dance of death where skeletons only appear, to drag off *themselves* as prey. What a strange part to be playing in the history of the world, and what is the key to this weird riddle?

Yet another day and all the leaders of Sion seem themselves to enter into the dire humour of this very devil's jest. The starving folk are again gathered on the market-place. In vain the deacons have gone round searching every house, and finding nought beyond pitiable scraps hidden in the mattresses or under the eaves. Something must be done to occupy the minds of the people. Suddenly Knipperdollinch is moved by the spirit: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord;' he shouts. 'Holy is the Father and we are a holy folk.' Then he begins to dance and all the people wait in expectation, so he dances before the king, and cries to him: 'Sir King, a vision has come to me o'er night. I shall be your fool.' After a bit he continues:—'Sir King, good-day to you! Why do you sit here, Sir King?' Then Knipperdollinch turns to the king, sits down at his feet, and grins like a practised jester: 'Mark you well, Sir King, how we will march, when we leave Münster to punish the godless.' The new prophet-fool now takes an axe, and struts about among the folk, mocking them. He tumbles over

the benches; he proclaims this or that man or woman holy, and kisses them :—'Thou art holy, God has sanctified thee!' He refuses to 'sanctify' the old women, and one who comes forward is threatened with a cudgelling. He makes no attempt however to 'blow the spirit of holiness' into the king. But after awhile Jan himself is moved by the spirit; his sceptre falls from his hands, and he drops from his throne upon the ground. Now the women are all seized with inspiration and shriek in chorus. Knipperdollinch comes and picks Jan up, replaces him upon the throne and blows the spirit into him. Then the King arises and cries: 'Dear brothers and sisters, what great joy I see! The town goes round and round, and you all appear as angels. Each of you is more glorious than the other, so holy are you all at once become!' The women shriek: 'Father!' Again the spirit comes upon the king. He explains the fact of the 'town going round and round' to mean that the Anabaptists will march round the earth. In the midst of his explanation however he spies a man among the folk in a grey cap, and orders him to come up to the throne. All expect he will behead him, but instead he puts the trembling saint on his own seat, then he hugs him and blows the spirit into him. Placing a ring on his finger, he declares it all a revelation from God. Upon this the honoured saint begins to dance, and behaves as one possessed of the devil, till from sheer exhaustion he falls to the ground. So ends this wonderful day in Münster! * These starving Anabaptists are nigh madmen now; religion has become an absolute mockery; morality is dead; yet immorality is dying too, and the starving man gazes wildly round on the half-dozen wives, who would share his crust. The sooner his grace the bishop puts the epilogue to the tragic farce the better now. Let him come in and butcher what remains. Again we ask, what is the key to the riddle? The finger of philosophic history points unregarded to the generations of oppression, to the baptism of blood. Will the world ever learn to educate its toilers, and to redeem them from serfdom? Or must the old tale ever

* *Gresbecks Bericht.*

repeat itself—misery, dogmatic stones instead of bread, uprising, and bloody repression by a shocked 'society'? Are peasant rebellions, 'kingdoms of God,' French revolutions and Paris communes to be periodically recurring chapters of history? Is the development of man the evolution of fate, or can humanity shape its own rough edges if perforce it must leave its final purpose to the mystery of futurity?

Scarce need to follow the story further; its lesson is written so that even they who run *might* read. Let us hasten through the last days of Sion. Knipperdollinch places himself on the throne of the King of Righteousness—in this mad dance, why should not a fool be king? Jan drags him off, and imprisons him for several days 'to do penance'; even yet the prophet of Leyden can influence the haggard saints in Münster. But the gaunt prophet starvation has greater power than he! Closer and closer the siege-works creep. Hunger is lord of the saints. All grease and oil are collected by the deacons: shoes, grass, rats and mice are the meagre fuel of life in Sion. Then come the women, and the weaker brethren, in whom not a shadow of faith is left, who have not even the wild strength of despair. 'Out, we must out,' is all they cry to the king. And out they are sent stripped to a shirt, traitors, but who has strength to punish them now—even the fourteen queenlets may go with the rest! Out from the gates and towards the bishop's blockhouses, but what mercy is like to be there? Poor starving shirted brothers, one and all of you, are cut down. The women alone are driven back. Three days and three nights they feed upon grass and roots between blockhouses and gates and then are allowed to pass. To pass whither and to what? History has naught to tell us of these wretched outcast women. Fancy in vain tries to picture what became of the fourteen wives of the King of Sion. Those who are left determine to burn the city to ashes and force their way through to Holland. But not even so shall they die! Treachery shall at last be successful in Sion. On St. John's Day 1535—just one year after the

limping prophet had placed Jan of Leyden on the throne of the New Jerusalem—Heinrich Gresbeck and Hensgin 'von der langen Strasse' determine to introduce the bishop's soldiers into Münster. In the night the former watchmaster and the later historian of Sion lead three hundred of the bishop's men-at-arms over a low part of the wall near the Zwinger. Stealthily they creep on towards the Fish Market, leaving St. Martin's Church on their right, onward through the deserted streets to the very cathedral close. Then the blast of trumpets tells the scared Anabaptists that Sion is in the hands of the foe, and the bishop that the treachery is successful. The saints rush to arms, the godless must be forced out of Sion. Back they do force them too in bloodiest of fight, back to St. Martin's Church—gaunt skeletons struggling in the frenzy of despair. But the 'party of order' is pouring in over the deserted walls and the king and Knipperdollinch already have fallen into the hands of the bishop's men. Still the starving fanatics fight like demons round the walls of St. Martin's. A truce—some one sanctions a truce—the Anabaptists shall go to their homes and await the bishop's coming. Home they go deceived to the last. No sooner scattered through the town, than the soldiers enter the houses, drag them out one by one and hew them to pieces on the streets. Soon the whole town is strewn with the bodies of Anabaptists, or half-dead they crawl back to their holes, while their cries of agony rend the air. The butchery ceases at last; all that are captured shall be brought before the commander and then—beheaded! As for the women and children drive them out of the city, but not before due notice is given throughout the surrounding district—notice put up on every church of God—that whoever shall succour the starving and helpless shall be held a cursed Anabaptist himself and punished accordingly. "So nobody knows what became of these people, though some say the most crossed over to England."* So in a second baptism of blood ends the Kingdom

* *Warhafftiger bericht der wunderbarlichen handlung der Teuffer zu Münster in Westualen*, etc. . . . with woodcut of Jan of Leyden, 'King of the New Jerusalem and the whole world' *Etates* 26.

of God in Münster. 'Twas not the rage of his grace the bishop,' so the Evangelicals said, 'but the terrible vengeance of God, which thus punished the devilish doctrines of Sion.' When will mankind learn that human selfishness ever brings down its terrible curse—and that the future never forgets to enact grimmest judgment on the sins of its past? Rarely that judgment touches the individual defaulter; humanity at large must bear the burden of every man's sins.

What judgment his grace the bishop thought fit to pass on the leaders of Sion at least deserves record. Rottmann had fallen by St. Martin's Church, fighting sword in hand, but Jan of Leyden and Knipperdollinch are brought prisoners before this shepherd of the folk. Scoffingly he asks Jan: 'Art thou a king?' Simple, yet endlessly deep the reply: 'Art thou a bishop?' Both alike false to their calling:—father of men and shepherd of souls! Yet the one cold, self-seeking sceptic, the other ignorant, passionate, fanatic idealist. 'Why hast thou destroyed my town and *my* folk?' 'Priest, I have not destroyed one little maid of *thine*. Thou hast again thy town, and I can repay thee a hundredfold.' The bishop demands with much curiosity how this miserable captive can possibly repay him. 'I know we must die, die terribly, yet before we die shut us up in an iron cage, and send us round through the land, charge the curious folk a few pence to see us, and thou wilt soon gather together all thy heart's desire.' The jest is grim, but the king of Sion has the advantage of his grace the bishop. Then follows torture, but there is little to extract, for the king still holds himself an instrument sent by God—though it were for the punishment of the world. Sentence is read on these men—placed in an iron cage they shall be shown round the bishop's diocese, a terrible warning to his subjects, and then brought back to Münster; there with glowing pincers their flesh shall be torn from the bones, till the death-stroke be given with red-hot dagger in heart and throat. For the rest let the mangled remains be placed in iron cages swung from the tower of St. Lambert's

Church. On the 26th of January, 1536, Jan Bockelson and Knipperdollinch meet their fate. A high scaffolding is erected in the market place and before it a lofty throne for his grace the bishop, that he may glut his vengeance to the full. Let the rest pass in silence. The most reliable authorities tell us that the Anabaptists remained calm and firm to the last.* 'Art thou a king?' 'Art thou a bishop?' The iron cages still hang on the church tower at Münster, placed as a warning, they have become a show; perhaps some day they will be treasured as weird mentors of the truths which the world has yet to learn from the story of the Kingdom of God in Münster.

KARL PEARSON.

* The Lutherans declared that Jan confessed to two of their number that he was an impostor; the Catholics asserted that he went to the scaffold receiving the ministrations of a priest!

SUPERSTITION & RELIGIOUS ENLIGHTENMENT: WITH WHICH THE VICTORY?

"THERE is not, and there never was on this earth," says Macaulay, in his review of Ranke's History of the Popes, "a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church." And he proceeds to examine it; in what spirit shall we say? with what purpose, and with what result? In a spirit apparently of the intense interest awakened in a scientific student by an astonishing phenomenon; but also with a recurrence of animated expressions which not unfrequently partake more of admiration than of repugnance, horror, or indignation. He writes, surely, with too much indifference to the probable and what has proved the actual result of his enthusiastic exposition, though it may not have been its deliberate purpose, of suggesting to establishments which are rivals to the Papacy that they cannot do better than adopt the tactics which have been rewarded with such marvellous success. "Natural theology," we read, "is not a progressive science . . . neither is revealed religion of the nature of a progressive science." "It is true that, in those things which concern this life and this world, man constantly becomes wiser and wiser. But it is no less true that, as respects a higher power and a future state, man, in the language of Goethe's scoffing fiend,

> Bleibt stets von gleichem Schlag,
> Und ist so wunderlich als wie am ersten Tag.

It is in the very spirit if not in the tone of the scoffing Mephistopheles, that Macaulay proceeds to set forth, with an unction of his own, in what contrast to this pitiable

feebleness are the wisdom and alert sagacity, and energy at every new emergency, which are characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church.

She saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had crossed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.

When such a promise of survival is held out, the worldly minded,—having no doubt as to their own interest in a chance of surviving,—will not suspend their sympathies by troubling themselves to ask whether the survival of what is admitted to be the strongest is a survival of the fittest or of the unfittest; and even the more conscientious who, out of feebleness or modesty are too readily deferential, may be expected to assume that in one way or other the strength of truth must lie upon the side which such authority declares always has prevailed and will finally prevail. For many of those who, for whatever reasons, are furthest from an inclination to throw in their lot with the Roman Church, Macaulay may be followed with peculiar gusto as he develops the secrets of a dishonest success, and sets forth with appreciative distinctness the tricks and refinements of a policy which to set forth in this tone is surely in effect to recommend.

Four times since the authority of the Church of Rome was established in Western Christendom, has the human intellect risen up against her yoke. Twice that Church remained completely victorious. Twice she came forth from the conflict bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the principle of life still strong within her. When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish.

In such words there is no encouragement to organise another attack upon her; there is much—at least for those who have not courage to question them—very much encouragement to go to school to her maxims and her policy, if not to her doctrines.

Franklin and Plato, we are told, failed equally and deplorably to prove the immortality of the soul; natural theology presents, or rather consists in, a set of enigmas that the genius of Locke or Clarke is unable to solve; as to "the divine attributes," or "the foundation of moral obligation,"—the principle of human responsibility to any but human sanctions, boys of fourteen are producible at will who know as much about them as the race has been able to learn during the three thousand years between our own time and the discussions at the tent door of Job—and that is, next to nothing.

Can it then be but with a sense of relief that after such depressing preparation we find the writer turning to provide us with something tangible,—something to save us from the futile subtleties of Plato and the bewildered bigotry of Sir Thomas More,—from following the sagacity and learning of Bayle and Chillingworth into superstition, and Johnson into Cock Lane;—from concerning ourselves about the dealings of God with man, only to find ourselves committed as enthusiastic adherents of it may be Edward Irving, it may be Joanna Southcott?

We are turned over therefore to the practical; and here it is. The first and a formidable insurrection against the power of the Roman hierarchy was in the twelfth century, in Provence and Languedoc, among a population which was the first west of the Alps to emerge from barbarism, and which with advance in culture and refinement lost all respect for Rome, and regarded her clergy with loathing and contempt. The Roman hierarchy, with the infallibility which in such dealings Macaulay so cordially ascribes to it, discerned the danger and its remedy. The northern warriors of France responded eagerly to appeals that addressed both superstition and cupidity, and "a war

distinguished even among wars of religion by merciless atrocity destroyed the Albigensian heresy, and with that heresy the prosperity, the civilisation, the literature, the national existence of what was once the most opulent and enlightened part of the great European family." The sword of the Crusader opened a way for the still more hateful and merciless work of the Order of Dominic which was now instituted, and the tribunal of the Inquisition. But the policy of Rome was not blindly one-sided. Love and reverence are powers which it knew and knows the value of, as well as terror; and the Order of Francis, so contrasted in spirit and genius to that of Dominic, was instituted at the same period and received concurrent encouragement. To do evil and provoke hatred and animosity that good may come,—the good of the Church, only covers half the field of self-interested and unscrupulous activity. To do good that evil may come,—to cocker men's bodies in order to dominate their souls, to foster intelligence and morals up to a certain limit in order to make sure of an authority to be employed in restraining both from continued advance, such is the proper complement of an astute and versatile policy. The advantage is obvious of inculcating that belief in the authority of a Church has precisely the same sanctions as those of piety, charity, and peace,—of getting submission to arbitrary orthodoxy accepted as an article in the code which prescribes purity of life and manners. Even pontiffs themselves, with the revenues of Christendom at command to waste at will on vulgar self-indulgence, have found asceticism and rigid subjugation of their human affections no great sacrifice, when conducing to a self-indulgence more to their taste in the exercise of spiritual power. To refined self-seeking policy and corporate instincts was it due, and not because the Papal chair was occupied by an unbroken series of genuine ascetics and tender sympathetic souls, that from one generation to another the agents of the Papacy obtained zealous adherents on the strength of the truly Christian comfort that they brought to the afflicted, and the example of their

own voluntary adoption and conscientious observance of vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience.

How far any Church at the present time would be ready, could it but get the power, to enlist the Crusader or reconstitute the torture chambers of the Inquisition or relight the fires for heretics, it might be invidious to discuss. Enough that if we are to put the only natural construction on significant reticences, there are clerical bodies which would not easily be brought to disallow that, under circumstances, duty might impose upon them the revival of the old Roman Catholic policy in this form. It may be that while such a contingency seems too remote to provoke animosity, some dignity, and even some power, may be considered to be saved by withholding from admission of past wrong, and keeping to the prerogative as available under implied but quite indefinite qualifications. But in the meantime, policy, in its milder aspect of calculated sweetness and light, morality, benevolence, and asceticism, is practically available and not likely to be neglected. Disinterestedness in a form which is in fact only indifference to vulgar and notorious interests, in order to further others of which the vulgar who are to be victims are unsusceptible, hoodwinks and awes the multitude who are too conscious of their own grovelling devotion to what seems so loftily despised. But even those who can see through the delusion,—who know right well that sinister purpose lurks behind, are very apt to be indulgent to an agency which is helpful for the time in the difficult task of keeping the world in order,—of promoting temperance it may be,—or peace and quietness, and decorum, and above all submissiveness to superior authority generally. In the difficulties of life and government men are glad to get what immediate help they can, even from whencesoever they can. This it is to be men of the world, this it is to be superior to maundering over peevish and inopportune scrupulosities, to the hindrance of work which is pressing for despatch, and which has to be cleared off on any terms, the sooner and the easier the better,—the problem of to-day.

"A century and a half passed away, and then came the second great rising up of the human intellect against the spiritual domination of Rome." This was the occasion when "two worthless priests," each claiming the headship of the Church, "were cursing and reviling each other" from their respective seats of corruption at Avignon and Rome. Internal schism seemed to be the natural signal for assaults from without; and the agitation of Wickliffe and the Lollards in England was responded to sympathetically by new heretical doctrines at the extremity of Bohemia. But the crisis only brought out the vigour,—(are we to understand the healthy vigour?),—of the Church. The assistance of the civil power was again engaged—priests and princes once again found their account in making common cause; again the slaughter of the teachers and persecution of their disciples effectually stayed the plague; the schism of the Church was healed, and the world was called upon to persevere in allegiance to institutions which reissued, strengthened and reformed, from the Council of Constance.

The next insurrection was that which is known as the Reformation,—a movement which Macaulay comprises within the one hundred and thirty years that closed with the treaty of Westphalia.

For a third time spiritual tyranny leaned confidingly on the secular arm; the civil sword was called in, and the Inquisition set to work with increased and crushing power; even as before, the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be; the papal court was reformed, and Popes succeeded replete "with religious fervour and severe sanctity of manners which seconded the policy of persecution, which such religion and sanctity did not think it necessary to repress." "As the Catholics in zeal and union had a great advantage over the Protestants, so had they also an infinitely superior organisation," and in result, in France, Belgium, Bavaria, Bohemia, Austria, Poland, Hungary, the victory remained with the Church of Rome.

"It is impossible to deny," says Macaulay, "that the polity of the Church of Rome is the very masterpiece of human

wisdom. . . . The experience of twelve hundred eventful years, the ingenuity and patient care of forty generations of statesmen, have improved that polity to such perfection that among the contrivances which have been devised for deceiving and oppressing mankind, it occupies the highest place." The implied condemnation is severe, and yet is it scarcely so strongly emphasized as the admiration which seems too effusive to be as he calls it really reluctant?

He insists particularly, as among the chief causes to which the Church of Rome owed her safety and her triumph at the close of the sixteenth century, on her knowledge how to deal with enthusiasts, the profound policy with which she used the fanaticism of such persons as St. Ignatius and St. Theresa. He contrasts the treatment of John Wesley and Joanna Southcott by the English Church, in terms which are well calculated to set a churchman who is more animated by self-interest than by self-respect,—by corporate spirit than philanthropy, upon a train of thought as to how the influence which the Salvation Army is wielding at the present time, in virtue of stimulating vulgar and ignorant enthusiasm by working primarily on superstitious terrors, may be secured at whatever cost of consistency for the furtherance of the Establishment.

The policy of the Romanists in these respects is too manifest not to have attracted attention long ago. Lord Shaftesbury in 1711 writes to the point,—Shaftesbury whose writings surely were and are a power, though Mr. Leslie Stephen only credits him with sufficient merits "to redeem him," like Mandeville, "from contempt."

> They considered wisely (he says) the various superstitions and enthusiasms of mankind; and proved the different kind and force of each. All these seeming contrarieties of human passion they knew how to comprehend in their political model and subservient system of divinity. They knew how to make advantage both from the high speculations of philosophy and the grossest ideas of vulgar ignorance . . . if modern visions, prophecies and dreams, charms, miracles, exorcisms, and the rest of this kind, be comprehended in that which we call

Fanaticism or Superstition, to this spirit they allow full career; whilst to ingenuous writers they afford the liberty on the other side, in a civil manner, to call in question these spiritual feats performed in monasteries, or up and down by their mendicant or itinerant priests and ghostly missionaries.

This (he proceeds) is that ancient Hierarchy which, in respect of its first foundation, its policy, and the consistency of its whole frame and constitution, cannot but appear in some respects august and venerable, even in such as we do not usually esteem weak eyes. These are the spiritual conquerors who, like the first Cæsars, from small beginnings established the foundations of an almost universal monarchy. No wonder if, at this day, the immediate view of this hierarchical residence, the City and Court of Rome, be found to have an extraordinary effect on foreigners of other later Churches. No wonder if the amazed surveyors are, for the future, so apt either to conceive the horridest aversion of all priestly government or on the contrary to admire it, so far as even to wish a coalescence or reunion with this ancient mother Church.

He then proceeds to characterise another form of admiration; it is in truth that which finds such distinct expression in Macaulay's article; but we have no excuse for regarding it as the predominant sentiment of Shaftesbury himself; he is not chargeable with leaving his readers in doubt as to his deep repugnance to sacerdotalism. In the present instance he conveys this sufficiently by the epithet which he applies to the aversion inspired in honest men by the close observation of Rome and its Court. Instead of suggesting, like Macaulay, that the Church of England would do well and wisely to take a leaf out of the Roman book and apply to her own case a policy—"rogueish perhaps but keen, devilish keen," he dismisses the imitators with a contemptuous citation as a contemptible and servile herd.

In reality the exercise of power, however arbitrary or despotic, seems less intolerable under such a spiritual sovereignty, so extensive, ancient, and of such long succession, than under the petty tyrannies and mimical polities of some new pretenders. The former may even persecute with a tolerable grace; the latter, who would willingly derive their authority from the

former, and graft on their successive right, must necessarily make a very awkward figure. And whilst they strive to give themselves the same air of independency on the civil magistrate; whilst they affect the same authority in government, the same grandeur, magnificence and pomp in worship, they raise the highest ridicule in the eyes of those who have real discernment and can distinguish originals from copies. O Imitatores, servum pecus! (III, 94).

The dignitaries whom Shaftesbury here reflected upon were in due political and prelatical, if not exactly apostolical, succession to those of whom Lord Falkland said in the Long Parliament that they were Roman Catholics at heart, and that it was as much as fifteen hundred a year could do to keep them from saying so. The *catena* of such Fathers holds on unbroken to representatives among our contemporaries, who make a very awkward figure indeed in the eyes of all who can appreciate consistency, as their well-proved acuteness and logical power seem suddenly to desert them when the last inevitable inference from their avowed principles has to be drawn, which would involve resignation of preferments and professorships accepted under compact of submission to civil authority.

Addison, in his "Remarks on Italy," the fruit of his four years' sojourn from the beginning of 1700 onwards, puts down some observations which although more superficial than those of his contemporary Shaftesbury are coincident in general drift. There is no reason to suppose that either of these writers was under obligation to the other for the leading thought, but Macaulay's Essay on Addison evinces his familiarity with the 'Remarks,' and it is matter of surprise, in the case of such a marvellous textual memory, that he should have omitted the reference.

The Roman Catholics (says Addison, within a few pages of the end of his work) who reproach the Protestants for their breaking into such a multitude of religions, have certainly taken the most effectual way in the world for the keeping their flocks together I do not mean the punishment they inflict on men's persons, which are commonly looked upon as the chief methods

by which they deter them from breaking through the pale of the Church, though certainly these lay a very great restraint on those of the Roman Catholic persuasion. But I take one great cause why there are so few sects in the Church of Rome to be the multitude of convents with which they everywhere abound, that serve as receptacles for all those fiery zealots who would set the Church in a flame were they not got together in these houses of devotion. All men of dark tempers, according to their degree of melancholy or enthusiasm, may find convents fitted to their humours, and meet with companions as gloomy as themselves. So that what the Protestants would call a fanatic, is in the Roman Church a religious of such or such an order.

Addison however, it will be observed, no more than Shaftesbury sets an example to Macaulay for his Machiavellian suggestiveness, if it is not fair to either Macaulay or Machiavelli to say direct suggestion, of the advantages likely to accrue to the Church of England if she would only try her hand at still another stroke of mimicry. The recommendation has its difficulties; some of them are being experienced now by those who think they see an occasion, if they can only make it an opportunity, to adopt the hint of Macaulay, and utilise the Salvation Army for the Church. But after a struggle to keep down repugnance to superstitious extravagances and to assumption of an appearance of accepting literally, and advocating in serious earnest, doctrines which custom has reduced to mere formulas, the acceptance of complicity which in their case is definite imposture, only commits them to the harder condition of implication in ingrained vulgarity.

But it is not a moderate obstacle that men of the world will boggle at, who have a strong opinion that no really sound basis of valuable religious truth is attainable, and a still stronger that, even if it be, it is hopeless to expect mankind to agree upon it within any time there is need to be concerned about, or, indeed, ever at all. They are already at a point of thinking, with Herodotus, that the whole matter is a question of habit and, so far, of accident. Religious opinions, he intimates, are religious prejudices; it is

absurd to laugh at any in particular when all have the same basis—he is prepared to think a highly respectable, indeed venerable basis—traditional use. The Greeks burnt their dead fathers,—a certain tribe of Indians, when their parents died, devoured them. When Darius brought them together and proposed that they should interchange their customs, the Indians were as much horrified as the Greeks. Could demonstration be more complete? Surely then, concludes Herodotus, Cambyses must have been a very madman indeed, to make the grotesque figures of Egyptian gods subject for laughter,—to think to laugh them down. Herodotus, who had seen such strange varieties of religions in his travels, thought it was absurd to attempt to laugh men out of their religious prejudices; Macaulay was as hopeless of any attempt to reason them out of their prepossessions. Our contemporary historian read the lessons of ages as the father of history read those of his time; both are in agreement that reasoning and ridicule are alike to be given up, as equally pointless and edgeless, and quite out of place in the matter. If we are to defer to these authorities we must come to the conclusion on our own part that every religious discussion is but a case where,—

> One fool lolls his tongue out at another
> And shakes his empty noddle at his brother.

But at the same time those who are perfectly satisfied to rest in the conviction that all serious religious convictions are, from the nature of the case, of necessity absurd, must nevertheless be alive to the fact that they are positive, and susceptible of becoming very inconvenient and dangerous, agencies. Even the politicians therefore who have utterly renounced any thought of such active repression as was usual at one time in violent persecution, have to adopt a policy towards them of some kind or other. They may treat them as harmless, with compassionate or contemptuous indulgence; with wary tenderness, as likely to be dangerous if provoked; with favour and encouragement, as promising to be useful to society at large, to a govern-

ment, a class, an individual. In any case the men of the world, starting from the same premises, are apt to adopt one and thesame conclusion,—"let the fools flounder while sensible men apply themselves to the really serious business of controlling them and making use of them."

In a marked degree less contemptuous but in truth as unphilosophical and ultimately unstatesmanlike also, is the view of diversity in religion embodied in the celebrated apologue of the three rings in Lessing's Nathan the Wise.

The Jew, the Christian, and the Mahometan are three brothers, each of whom believes that a certain ring—the symbol here of a religion, has been committed to him by their father, which in virtue of a certain magic power will secure for him, with the special favour of the Almighty, the love and moreover a right to the allegiance, of all his kin. But when each brother believes his own ring to be authentic all claims are identical; and the convictions of all parties to the dispute, being equally conscientious, prove equally unchangeable, in the absence of any opportunity of verifying by confirmatory evidence, the original exclusive delegation of authority, the divine right to supremacy. What then is the best relation that can be established among the excited disputants? The solution that is offered is this—let the three competitors provisionally admit the possibility that the supremacy claimed was not designed by the father for any one of them; that the original magic ring is lost,—and that he put them off intentionally with imitations, in order that no one should claim an easily abused authority over the others; so they may at least go on in peace while they put the genuineness of their much-prized rings—of their several religions—to the only test available. The truth of each must be tested at last by its efficacy in promoting the true fruits of religion,—in gentleness, forbearance, philanthropy, submission to the will of God. When a fair trial has been given to a system of proof like this, it will be time enough to make a renewed attempt to obtain adjudication of the contested claim to exclusive authority.

Dramatically and as introduced, nothing can be more to

the point at issue than this apologue; but it supplies and suggests no available guidance for an extrication of the world from the real difficulties of diversity of religions.

There are natural causes which make the proposed truce impossible of duration, and therefore not worth working for as an ultimate object; there are others which make it even undesirable for a prolonged term; and there are others fortunately, which are certain to come into play and break up promptly enough a preposterous fool's paradise. The contradictions of the different systems of belief which nominally are grouped under any one of these general titles are too positive and gross for it not to be certain that, in one quarter or another, there is a serious admixture of error and falsehood. In comparison with the religious differences even of cultivated Englishmen,—scholars and gentlemen,—the contrast between Brahminical and Newtonian astronomy is trivial indeed. It is vain to expect such antagonistic elements to remain lulled in inactivity; they are only liable to become more and more virulent by neglect, or to acquire concentration of energy under deliberate attempts at suppression. The conciliation set forth in the apologue as the happiest attainable to be hoped for and worked for, is that rival religions and sects of religions shall leave each other alone, shall agree, not to examine their differences, but to continue to differ; to avoid the very probable contingencies of embittered animosities and quarrel, by a mutual understanding to leave whatever may be bad,—bad in their own systems of belief, or bad in that of others,—alone. So will be got rid of the impulse to persecute,—and so also that impulse to proselytise, which is not less certain to bring sects into direct antagonism and ultimately into collision. But this renunciation of zeal is scarcely to be looked for, if zeal for religion itself is to survive; it is a renunciation of the very essence of sectarianism and of something more. They who cease to be desirous to propagate opinions are likely to have ceased to hold any, or if they still cherish opinions which they believe to represent important truth, an indifference has come over them as to

the fate and fortunes of their fellow creatures which is insensibility, or a disbelief of the power of truth to make its way against error—infidelity of a very bad type indeed. When all human sympathy has evaporated from a religion, what is left behind must be a very *caput mortuum* at best—it may be a mass of irritant poison.

All sensible people, we have been told, hold the same religious opinions, but what those opinions are sensible people never say. The propounders of this sentiment would probably enlarge their definition of sensible people to include those who are ready to profess any system of authorised opinions for a consideration in benefices or preferments, but so far from having a desire either to discuss or propagate them, would be only too glad to find themselves bound to torpor and tranquillity. Any such people, whatever the diversity of their nominal religions, may probably be said to have realised the nearest approach possible to the sacred truce of the possessors of the three rival opal rings. Their agreement to differ is easy enough, for it only concerns matters in respect to which they are in truth utterly and profoundly indifferent. Of what moment to them are details when fundamentally they are in agreement, as they must be to be so fully in sympathy with each other? They are the true broad Church; they are ready to protect each other by denouncing as illiberal any one who is so peevish or so simple-minded as to suppose that the professors of absurd doctrines must of necessity be wanting in common sense,—the habitual propounders of manifestly inconsistent propositions, deficient in the logical faculty, or the assenters with serious countenances to maxims immoral and pernicious, as committing themselves to sympathy with their practical application. The basest illiberality of all is ascribed to those who hold, and do not hesitate to declare, an unhappy conviction that men, from base motives, often apply to deceiving themselves as consciously and culpably as they set about deceiving others; that the theory of a change of views by a shrewd theologian about Papal infallibility may fairly take into consideration a certain value to

be assigned to the prospect of a cardinal's scarlet hat, and a pair of purple stockings; that austerity of life and living which is belied as a token of high-minded sincerity by unscrupulous mendacity in the chair, has been at one time and may possibly again be regarded as a cheap price to pay for spiritual power; that court favour and a deanery have something to do with quenching the fiery darts of the scorn both of Churchmen and Nonconformists, and tergiversation on the very steps of the Temple of Truth with the chances of a bishopric.

The provisions of nature for the disruption of hard incrustations of bigotry and self-interest are two-fold,—lying deep in the nature of man as both intellectual and sympathetic,—as craving for a response in nature to his dominant energies and interests,—to emotion and to knowledge.

Earnestness, whether in all the simplicity of common sense or involved in bewildering superstition, is sooner or later inevitably roused to an outbreak by dreary lukewarmness that simply wearies, or by preposterous insolent make-believe that provokes an outburst of indignation. So long as superstition has the upper hand of common sense in promoting such an insurrection, the policy of the threatened orders is usually clear. It has never been difficult to provide superstition with renewed excitement. The Roman Church, it must be said, has always kept in view that the effect of stimulants to superstition wears out by use; it has therefore always been ready to provide a new order of friars, or to furbish up an obsolete one, with refreshed zeal, a new relic, a new saint, dogma, or definition; safe in its position, confident of authority, it has always been magnificently superior to dread of disgusting its more sober adherents,—of failing to force a repudiated absurdity down the throat of even a Newman or a Montalembert; so it has always kept well ahead of even the credulity of its most credulous followers, and promulgated some new monstrosity of doctrine or syllabus to startle it might be thought, but in fact to awe by its stupendous impudence, and so to enforce forthwith and without fail a renewal of homage to

insolent tyranny, even before the memory of former humiliations had quite died out.

So it results that convalescent superstition reappears apparently in pristine spirits and even starting on a newly invigorated career; yet all is not gain. These movements have reactions; even if no desertion of former followers is apparent to qualify triumph in the exaggerated slavishness of converts, there is a certain loosening of hold upon many who were faltering before,—and whose defection is not less complete because not openly announced; there is a still more important and dangerous excitement produced among declared opponents, an activity of mind and a concentration of energies which are working to their outcome in another form and at a later epoch.

Stimulus so administered from action of the enemy comes in to reinforce that general progress of knowledge which is ever proceeding independently. All truth is connected by a universal bond. No course of inquiry can be pushed onward with success that does not bring the student to the verge of more than one other inquiry, and all at last tend to the main questions of all, What is the relation of man to the universe? Where are we? What are we?

Why made at all and wherefore as we are?

Or even if we were, as we are assured, not made, by what power of evolution did we make ourselves?

Superstition is liable to attack by the progress of knowledge from two sides,—the side of general science and that of historic knowledge.

In what way the progress of physical science may help to explode false miracles it is unnecessary to set forth at length; but it is from mental and moral science that the most important assistance is naturally expected to accrue, in clearing the mind of cant and emancipating it from false terrors, which are amongst the most pernicious instruments of the administrators of religious imposture.

Macaulay, after arguing with pertinacity that no advance in religious truth is to be expected from the advance of

human knowledge, steps aside for a moment to make a reservation. He concludes this within a single paragraph, and then resumes with an observation which coolly proposes to obliterate all the value of a concession which in truth concedes everything.

One reservation indeed (he says) must be made. The books and traditions of a sect may contain, mingled with propositions strictly theological, other propositions, purporting to rest on the same authority, which relate to physics. If new discoveries should throw discredit on the physical proposition, the theological propositions, unless they can be separated from the physical propositions, will share in that discredit. In this way, undoubtedly, the progress of science may indirectly serve the cause of religious truth. The Hindoo mythology, for example, is bound up with most absurd geography. Every young Brahmin, therefore, who learns geography in our colleges, learns to smile at the Hindoo mythology. If Catholicism has not suffered to an equal degree from the Papal decision that the sun goes round the earth, this is because all intelligent Catholics now hold, with Pascal, that, in deciding the point at all, the Church exceeded her powers, and was, therefore, justly left destitute of that supernatural assistance which, in the exercise of her legitimate functions, the promise of her Founder authorised her to expect.

"This reservation," he goes on to say, "affects not at all the truth of our proposition, that divinity, properly so called, is not a progressive science." How so? when an example has just been given of the progress of science serving the cause of religious truth in India? Is not progress made in a science,—in the science of Catholic theology, when an astronomical discovery opens the eyes of a Pascal to a limitation of the supernatural endowments of the infallibility of his Church, which he assuredly would not have allowed otherwise?

When all Catholics of intelligence have had their eyes opened to the fact that the pretensions of their Church to be infallible on a question of astronomy exceeded its legitimate powers, the progress may not be great, but it is the beginning of progress; one link is snapped, albeit in

only one of a system of confining chains. Geology is encouraged to snap another chain, and when history becomes restless too, the complete emancipation of intelligence is no longer immeasurably remote,—ceases to be utterly hopeless. It is probable enough that intelligent Brahmins have found before now some way of reconciling European geography and Hindoo mythology quite as ingenious and neither more nor less satisfactory than that by which Macaulay thinks that Pascal reasonably reconciled the astronomy of Galileo and Copernicus with the theology of their repressors and persecutors. But is not the degree to which Catholicism has suffered by the true theory of the heavens sufficient to justify the instinct which prompted violent means to suppress it? Is it a slight thing that claimants to infallibility should be reduced to welcome the humiliating compromise which is said to have tranquillised Pascal? How can scientific progress more effectually tend to discredit a claim than by exposing the shifts and evasions, if we may not say mendacities, to which it would resort, and was driven to resort, in order to escape resigning pretensions, the falsity of which could not better be demonstrated than by the palpable fact that only by further accumulation of falsities could they be kept in countenance?

It would be hard indeed if bad theology could obstruct the progress of good science, and yet suffered not at all when good science gained a signal triumph over it. Geology has had a hard fight with English Churchmen in our own day, and it is by no means agreeable to think of English men of science, with no Inquisition to dread, humiliating themselves far less excusably than Galileo by suppressions, evasions, reticences. The struggle to adjust Geology to Genesis or Genesis to Geology, has now gone by as completely as any absurdity ever does go by. Intelligent Churchmen like the intelligent Catholics headed by Pascal, have hit on formulas which they are content to persuade themselves save their consistency;—but who shall say that the controversy, wretched as it was, has not cleared men's

minds of many false impressions not only with respect to the theology but to Churchmen?—a progress clearly. Of course the fright at having to make a concession perforce has had its actions and reactions within the Church itself. One set of clergymen take warning to keep their eyes well closed in future against scientific discoveries or any elucidations of the history of Christianity that go back beyond Athanasius and Ambrose, Cyril or Augustine; it is enough for them to assume unconsciousness of the challenges of men strong in learning and candour to discussions in open field and no favour, and to make it their business to teach the same deliberate ignorantism to all who come under their influence, and these may not be a few. But a different course is taken by others, sometimes in perfect sometimes in imperfect sincerity,—with an animus inclining either to save as much of the original cargo good or bad as possible, or more providently to lighten ship in good time and jettison every fragment of error that it is hopeless to defend—to retrench all that will not bear the test of fully authenticated scientific truth. Amidst this process, carried on with more or less quietness or hurried bustle, the figure cannot be missed of the hierophant who is well to the front, conspicuous in the work, heaving overboard with ostentatious resolution a mass of condemned doctrine,—much of it condemned so long ago as almost to be forgotten,—and making the most of an opportunity to gain a reputation for liberality which shall screen his careful retention of some dogma,—eucharistical or what not—that embraces as much mischievous assumption as all that he claims merit for sacrificing.

The historical attack upon false theological dogma is no less serious than that which comes from the side of physical science; the origin of the errors which it exposes lies far back in history, and is constantly rooted more in habitual reliance upon historical tradition than upon any abstract principle or scientific observation.

Nathan the Wise himself is witness for this,—the three

religions of Jew, Christian, and Mahometan are all distinct, down to dress—food—drink :—

> Just so ! and yet their claims are all alike
> As founded upon history, on facts
> Believed and handed down from sire to son,
> Uniting them in faith. Can we—the Jews—
> Distrust the testimony of our race ?
> Distrust the men who gave us birth, whose love
> Did ne'er deceive us ; but when we were babes
> Taught us by means of fables, for our good ?
> Must *you* distrust your own true ancestors
> To flatter mine ?—or must a Christian doubt
> His father's words and so agree with ours ?—

Nathan assumes here, as is necessary for his case, that any attempt to disentangle truth from error by going back upon the historical development of the rival religions, would be futile. But is this the case ? Is historical truth not recoverable, or if recoverable must it be the private possession of a few students, and incapable of extensive influence ? Are those who have laboured for truth in a spirit of large philanthropy to admit contentedly that this spirit was a mistake ; that the truth when gained can never be expected to permeate masses which are divided into so many sets and sections, each preserving its individuality by inveterate cohesion within and indiscriminate repulsion of all that comes from without ?

This last question I am inclined to think is the most difficult to answer. The rapid spread of religious innovations has too usually been due if not exclusively yet materially to elements of superstition,—superstitious promises or superstitious threats, the very corruptions, in fact, in new forms which the enthusiastic movement is engaging to supersede by healthy promotion and purification of the religious sentiment. Assistance to religious progress is no longer to be looked for, as it would indeed be inconsistently invited, from arbitrary power. The time has gone by for a religion by law established and by law enforced, to gain

such hold upon entire nations by long habit under compulsory observance as to become with them at last a second nature. And reflection on the ways of the world, as we are familiar with them, is likely enough to make us mistrustful as to how far the advance in intelligence can be counted on to supersede with advantage blind habit, even for the orderly regulation of conduct day by day. But we must not presume to measure or limit the resources or the rate of that force of development which declares itself throughout all animated nature and culminates in the nature of intelligent humanity. The world seems to be stationary, as the moon does if we watch it uninterruptedly; but like that satellite its change becomes perceptible if we allow an interval,—becomes rapid and immense if we apply science to the appreciation and comparison of its times and distances. Surely we can by this time take in enough of the world's history to recognise some progress made in permanent conquests over superstition; we may justly doubt whether when the Roman Church emerged from its troubles under the French Revolution, it was still, a fourth time, as unchanged and unchangeable as Macaulay assumes, because dogmatical Protestantism had at last no gains to show from her disasters.

It is not necessary for us to commit ourselves to a statement of our own conception of what are the proper characteristics of Religion in its essence, before pointing out how it is competent for study to divest popular religions of some of the abuses that cling to them, and so make something more than a mere negative progress. It is clear that so far as the systems of Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, Mahometanism contradict each other, there must on one or the other side lurk falsity and error. And many of such contradictions are ultimately traceable to special reliance on recorded histories and traditions, the value of which is not only open to question, subject to legitimate analysis, but proved in consequence, in abundance of instances, to be susceptible of being brought to the test and satisfactorily disposed of favourably or the reverse.

It is not in respect of the recognition of One God and Father of all to whom man is responsible, on whom is his reliance, that these different sects disagree; by whatever name they designate and address the object of their gratitude and awe,—'Jehovah, Jove, or Lord,' Yahveh, God, or Allah,—the object of their devotion is so far indistinguishable. And even if one or another should believe that the particular title they employ was communicated by revelation, they would not be content to ascribe their knowledge of his existence,—at least such is my impression,—to any such historical incident. Certainly it seems extraordinary that agreement here is not recognised by these sects as agreement on what overrides differences on other religious details;—that all these other differences should not be regarded as too insignificant, and considering their dependence on tradition, too uncertain, to be insisted on with positiveness and passion.

It is difficult to appreciate the present attitude of Judaism; it is not easy to satisfy oneself as to the effective energy of attempts which are making in our own day by certain Jews to induce a movement for freedom from narrow tribalism; it is not easy to be hopeful when we find that the most daring cling at last to the wretched ceremonialism of circumcision, which St. Paul could wisely see, nineteen centuries ago, could not be retained without carrying all other legalism with it. If the Jews still claim to be a specially, an exclusively privileged nation, and rely on the Pentateuch as containing their credentials, and the Pentateuch further encumbered with the Talmud as authoritative for Messianic anticipations, for ritual and for morals, they must be left to find their way tediously if at all, in the dark and out of the dark, to the splendid results which have rewarded the historical criticism of the noble body of Hebrew literature. Only so far as they succeed in this, and modify their pretensions accordingly, will they find that their exchange is the very reverse of "Gold for brass, a hundred beeves for nine." They will then understand that the truest glories of their race have been achieved by those

Jews who in one age after another have rebelled against these tribal distinctions, and merged the conception of a national God in that of a universal and impartial Creator;—renounced the worship of Jehovah as merely the greatest of all Gods, for the recognition of One God and Father of all. In this case also, therefore, access to religious progress is open by the way of historical knowledge. And still, but for the stupefying effect of inveterate prejudice, recognition of the equal brotherhood of humanity is as readily attainable by the Jew as by the rest of mankind, by study of the intellectual nature and moral experience of an individual man, independently of literary research.

There is one God, say the Mahometans, and Mahomet is his prophet; moderate blame to them if they ascribe to their hero such a character; he may rank, when all is said, with David or with Moses. Who should be a prophet if not he who rescued whole nations from idolatry? But when we are called upon to understand that acceptance of Mahomet, in any special character whatever, is enjoined by religion as no less important and imperative than belief in a sole God, we pause; again we turn to history and we demur to the interference of a prophet who asserts such rank for himself, or who amidst all his reforms breaks up the human family by pernicious distinctions—by making imperative a repulsive rite of circumcision, and elevating fasts and ceremonial observances to the dignity of moral duties and conditions of everlasting salvation.

How fare we then when we come to Christianity? Do we here also encounter gratuitously-intruded obstacles to the happy sympathy of general humanity,—to brethren dwelling together in unity?

Here we are thrown back upon historical analysis at once; we are again bidden to accept the original promulgator of a religion as equal to the God whom he proclaimed,—nay as identical with him. So it is that the votary is equally repulsed from participation in common devotional service, whether he demurs to ranking Jesus with God as co-equal or identical, or to co-ordinating in importance the

recognition of Mahomet as a prophet with that of a sole controlling Providence,—of Allah.

And if Mahometanism has its circumcision and its Ramazan to repel a proselyte, Catholicism demands acceptance of seven sacraments,—among them the all-powerful instrument of confession, to bind the convert to recognise that there is no salvation but in the Church and by the Church, in virtue of authority derived by unbroken succession from a commission by its founder. Claims are these which have long ago been brought up to the bar of history; and the account that history gives of them in a conclusive summing-up, is accessible to all who can overcome the scruples and alarms which are so sedulously encouraged to deter them, and can think for themselves.

In Protestantism, it might be thought, we escape at least from the intrusive control of a Church and priestly domination. But here again we are confronted by an unnatural combination of dogmas, creeds, and articles, as by a very Cerberus before the hopeful entrance to our Elysian fields. It is little also if sacerdotal claims to authority are not directly asserted; even if they are not directly, which they may or may not be, we do not therefore escape them; for priestly purposes two sacraments answer as well as seven; and when baptism and the eucharist are insisted on as necessary to salvation, and a priest is necessary for the due administration of these, we find again that we have got separated from the Church we are in search of in venturing into a Church of Christ; that the nearer we are to a Church so constituted, corrupted, and beset, the further we are from God.

How are feet to be freed from such trammels? how are brains to be cleared of such a muddle of mystical dogmas? how is courage to be mustered to defy the threats of interested policy and ignorant superstition, to denounce alike effete mythology and the sinister motives of too many of its promulgators?

Short and easy is the way if we follow the suggestions of simple unsophisticated common sense. But common

sense rarely can come through a course of education which seems contrived as introductory to sympathetic commerce with systematised dogmas, prejudices, and prepossessions on all sides, without loss of healthy tone if not with fatal and final sophistication. Sincere endeavour however, if only wakened by genuine enthusiasm for truth, may still do much towards recovering independence and vigour for the mind, and enabling it to deal with moral evidence directly. The moral evidence afforded by individual moral experience has the first claim, but original suggestions of truth as well as clenching confirmations are to be found in following forth the historical evidence of how one misconception accrued in the course of ages upon another,—and thereon how imposture and greed helped to aggravate the mischief and misery still further.

The world was certainly never so rich in helps and aids to this study as it is at present; the results of the labours of profound scholars,—of the insight of sagacious analysts, are not only still accumulating,—but they are becoming gradually popularised. It is in the advance of the average popular mind to desire, and of popular capacity to appreciate them, that a hope exists of Macaulay's discouraging and demoralising essay being convicted for a congeries of flashy but preposterous fallacies.

W. Watkiss Lloyd.

*THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND.**

HOW brilliantly Macaulay fulfilled his youthful dream of making English History as interesting as a novel is well known alike to his "intelligent schoolboy" and the world in general. The author of the work before us has been utterly indifferent to Macaulay's aim (which, nevertheless, we take leave to admire), and has even repeatedly declared his preference for making history dry, scientific, exactly the reverse of romantic and dramatic—in short, "a serious study." Yet this preference certainly does not arise from an abstract delight in dryness or uninteresting reading and writing. On the contrary Professor Seeley has shown a remarkable power of writing both history, and on other subjects, in a style that enchains the attention even of the lazy or mere pleasure-seeking reader; and he has certainly made the present lectures (as their large and rapid sale abundantly proves) more fascinating than most novels. He is jealous only for the honour and lofty functions of History; and dreads the far too common tendency of clever and popular authors to pander to the craving for enjoyment, and degrade it from its rightful ministry to be the mere handmaiden of literary amusement or transient excitement. Like all earnest reformers, in contending against this baneful tendency, he may occasionally have gone to the opposite extreme; but these expositions of the development of our old English home into "Greater Britain," with all its causes and consequences, are not only

* *The Expansion of England.* Two Courses of Lectures. By J. R. SEELEY, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. London: Macmillan and Co. 1883.

full of interest but appear to us of the highest scientific and political value.

Before analysing the various lines of thought worked out in this volume, it is desirable to note the main propositions concerning History and its functions laid down by our author. He pleads that it should be valued and studied as the great primal fountain of political philosophy and science—as the true and principal source of political wisdom and successful political action—in short, as the only rightful basis of politics, whether regarded as a science or a pursuit. "Without history," he maintains, "no politics; and without politics no history." Hence he contends that history should be "scientific in its method," but "should pursue a practical object. That is it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present, and his forecast of the future" (p. 1). And again: " . . . it is with the rise and development of states that history deals" (p. 148). Thus, also:—

> Is it not evident that we have yet to learn what history is, that what we have hitherto called history is not history at all, but ought to be called by some other name, perhaps biography, perhaps party politics? History, I say, is not constitutional law, nor parliamentary tongue-fence, nor biography of great men, nor even moral philosophy. It deals with states, it investigates their rise and development and mutual influence, the causes which promote their prosperity or bring about their decay (p. 151).

From all which and many similar passages in these and his other lectures, it is made clear that Professor Seeley estimates, and would have all men estimate, the importance and interest of events not by their heroic incidents, dramatic situations, and romantic episodes, but by their bearing on national well-being, their influence on subsequent important results—their "pregnancy," in short; *i.e.*, the extent to which they carry within them consequences affecting the vital welfare of nations.

> Politics and History (he says) are only different aspects of the same study. There is a vulgar view of politics which sinks

them into a mere struggle of interest and parties, and there is a foppish kind of history which aims only at literary display, which produces delightful books hovering between poetry and prose. These perversions, according to me, come from an unnatural divorce between two subjects which belong to each other. Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalised by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics (p. 166).

We need not be surprised, therefore, to find our author vigorously combating Thackeray's views on the subject in the following passage:—

We have been told for a long time past by fashionable writers that history has made itself too solemn and pompous. . . . I fully admit that history should not be solemn and pompous, and I admit that for a long time it was both. But solemnity is one thing, and seriousness is quite another. This school argue that because history should not be solemn therefore it should not be serious. . . . I find their theory stated with the most ingenuous frankness by Thackeray in the opening of his lecture on Steele, a passage which almost every one has read, and I fancy almost every one has thought very shrewd and true. He says, 'What do we look for in studying the history of a past age? Is it to learn the political transactions and characters of the leading public men? is it to make ourselves acquainted with the life and being of the time? If we set out with the former grave purposes, where is the truth, and who believes he has it entire?' . . . But now, political history being all nonsense, what are we to substitute for it? (p. 171).

Simply a delightful amusement, by getting a representation of "the life and being" of bygone days. It is easy to understand the antagonism between such notions and those of our author, and to admire the quiet polished satire and self-repression with which they are discussed by him. Yet even Thackeray admits "that history might be important if it were true, but he says it is not true." Mr. Seeley replies that the charges against history of untrustworthiness, pomposity, &c., "well-grounded once, are groundless now. History has been in great part re-written; in great part it is now true, and lies before science as a mass of

materials out of which a political doctrine may be deduced." And—

If once we grant that historic truth is attainable, and attainable it is, then there can be no further dispute about its supreme importance. It deals with facts of the largest and most momentous kind, with the causes of the decay and growth of Empires, with war and peace, with the sufferings or happiness of millions. It is by this consideration that I merge history in politics. I tell you that when you study English history you study not the past of England only, but her future. It is the welfare of your country, it is your whole interest as citizens that is in question while you study history (pp. 173, 174).

One more extract (the last paragraph in the book) fitly concludes our quotations illustrative of the Cambridge lecturer's views on the singularly important subject to which he is devoting his life; and (though of course very inadequately), if taken together with the preceding extracts, will give the reader some idea of his theory and aims.

I am often told by those who, like myself, study the question how history should be taught, Oh, you must before all things make it interesting! I agree with them in a certain sense, but I give a different sense to the word interesting, a sense which after all is the original and proper one. By interesting they mean romantic, poetical, surprising; I do not try to make history interesting in this sense, because I have found that it cannot be done without adulterating history, and mixing it with falsehood. But the word interesting does not properly mean romantic. That is interesting in the proper sense which affects our interests, which closely concerns us and is deeply important to us. I have tried to show you that the history of modern England from the beginning of the eighteenth century is interesting in this sense, because it is pregnant with great results which will affect the lives of ourselves and our children and the future greatness of our country. Make history interesting indeed! I cannot make history more interesting than it is, except by falsifying it. And therefore when I meet a person who does not find history inteesting, it does not occur to me to alter history,—I try to alter *him* (pp. 308, 309).

Pondering these and other similar utterances by the Professor, let us say once for all that we hold it to be of the highest importance that his doctrines concerning the scientific uses of history, and its application to politics, should be heartily welcomed and earnestly carried out. It is difficult to exaggerate the value of the service he is rendering to every community and state whose rulers and citizens will lay to heart his appeals. And therefore we scarcely like even the appearance of cavilling at all these witty and brilliant censures (often so thoroughly deserved) of the partially erroneous and mischievous views there denounced. On the platform, in the lecture-hall, in every essay on the Science and Art of Politics, the duty of urging our author's teaching is plain and imperative. But in the judicial mood which is imposed on the Reviewer's chair, it seems needful to remark that if a person "does not find history interesting," it may be on account of the way in which that particular portion of history has been written, and that what has to be altered is not the "person," but the style and treatment adopted by the historian. May not a great deal be done to make history interesting as well as useful (and therefore considerably *more* useful), by vivid and dramatic descriptions of events and characters, by effective collocation and selection (for after all there must be selection and arrangement in writing history), as well as by sagacious insight, important generalisations, profound reflections or inferences, and brilliant forecasts? Surely history may be thus made deeply interesting without "falsifying" it. We entirely grant, or rather earnestly urge, the danger of an historian being tempted to sacrifice truth as well as valuable political lessons to scenic effect and romantic description, if he be not deeply penetrated with a sense of the dignity and unspeakable importance of political history, especially if he is more ambitious of immediate popularity than of permanent usefulness, if his imagination be greatly in excess of his reflective powers, and his dramatic instincts considerably more powerful than his conscientiousness. Macaulay Carlyle, Kingsley, and Froude, to go no farther back than

the last half century, have certainly made history intensely interesting, though (*eheu, infelices!*) the scientific historians might possibly say, not without materially "altering" it. It is well to have a perfect ideal, even though it be impossible to realise it; and if we could only have Macaulay, Kingsley, Froude, Carlyle, J. R. Green, Gardiner, and Seeley combined in one great historian (leaving out of account many illustrious Continental writers), should we not have got something very like an ideal model historian?

Sympathising deeply, as we do, and have done from boyhood, with the ardent enthusiasm felt by great writers like Scott, Macaulay, Thackeray, &c., for the romantic, heroic, and dramatic elements of history, we yet freely, gratefully confess our absolute loyalty to Professor Seeley's teachings which take us captive in maturer years. We can hardly conceive of any one who sincerely desires and prays for the welfare of his country, being otherwise than devoted to those convictions. But are the two theories of historic composition incompatible? On the contrary are they not essential to each other's full success? For not only will history fail to attract any but students, fail to interest the masses of those constituents of great representative governments, those electors who certainly ought to be imbued with the important political lessons of the past, if it be made merely dry scientific teaching, but it will thereby often fail to give its teaching with due force and truthfulness.

The reproduction in vivid colours of the life of the past which Thackeray so curiously claims as the sole object of history, the picturesque presentation in life-like power of the manners, customs, dress, amusements of former ages, as well as interesting dramatic and biographic details, all help, indeed are often needful, to present the events and inner political life of bygone days with truthful reality to the reader, to make it in fact not only attractive to the multitude but at once intelligible and real. Granted that history must "investigate" and deal with "the rise, development, and mutual influence of States," that we should read it not "simply for pleasure, but that we may discover the laws of

political growth and change," yet is not one main element in all that growth and change,—one which is also specially interesting and romantic, viz., the characters and influence of great men, the fate and fortunes of heroic families, the bearing and actions at critical periods of whole classes, tribes and nations? Yet these are just the materials most rich in romantic interest for ordinary readers. In like manner we have to remember that it is not merely material progress that is needful to the well-being of a State, but moral and intellectual growth also, and primarily. Yet this latter growth cannot be faithfully traced out and recorded, without the study and description of the great men and great minds, the stirring events and striking conflicts, the collisions and defeats, the sufferings or triumphs, which often constitute the most interesting and effective "scenes" of history, and which most surely tend to attract the average youth, or adult citizen, to this important study.

Professor Seeley and his supporters, now that the popularity and success of his present volume is placed beyond a doubt, may indeed contend that he has shown us how profoundly interesting history may be made without any such picturesque and romantic attractions as those above adverted to. But in the first place we have no right to prescribe that to be the true method of history which requires a writer with such exceptional powers as Professor Seeley to make it attractive and useful; and in the second place, he himself has shown us in his Life of the great Prussian Statesman, Stein, how signally even he may fail in rendering the patient and exhaustive labour of years conducive, save in a lamentably inadequate degree, to the great object of political teaching which he has in view. That work ought to have produced a vast and far-reaching influence, especially valuable and needed in this critical period of our history when all the kingdom is beginning to be shaken, as with the throes of a mighty earthquake, by the agitation of the terrible "Land" question. He may say that he wrote it for students, and that students have rejoiced over it abundantly. The latter statement at all events is true.

But will he tell us he is satisfied with its circulation, or with the effect it has produced, or is likely to produce, in contributing to the rightful and peaceful settlement of that question. We trow not. Decidedly he ought *not* to be satisfied. For had he written it in the style of these lectures, or of some of his earlier productions, he might have doubled or quadrupled its usefulness; and no lover of his kind or his country should be content with the lesser and poorer result if he could have produced one greater and nobler.

We are aware that Mr. Seeley once answered to criticisms of this nature that "it is easy to make *results* interesting, but that for his objects he had to describe *processes*, and that was a very different thing." We venture to reply that in the present Lectures he has shown how admirably both may be rendered attractive; and he may be assured that henceforth he will not be accounted justified in writing history only in the dry scientific style which is attractive to students, but not to the average citizen. He admits (in the extract given above p. 312) that history must be made "interesting" in the sense which *he* gives to the word, viz., that "which affects our interests"—and we accept his definition as partially, and for our present argument sufficiently, true. If we cannot have our ideal historian,—Seeley-cum-Macaulay, Kingsley, &c.—we shall only too thankfully accept the author of "The Expansion of England," and rejoice that in his own way and without aiming at any "romantic, poetical, surprising" effects, he can make history so profoundly interesting. But we beg to assure him of two incontrovertible conclusions drawn from his own works. First, that he has shown he can fail to make a history like that of the Prussian Statesman and his land revolution, which was "pregnant with great results, which will affect the lives of ourselves and our children, and the future greatness of our country," attractive to multitudes who ought to peruse and ponder its pages well. Secondly, that he has proved he can make the development of Great Britain incomparably more interesting than it has ever

been before, without "adulterating" it or "mixing it with falsehood" in any degree.

Many authors would be utterly overwhelmed by possessing the remarkable amount of historic knowledge this writer has evidently accumulated. But his power of classification and insight, which are among the foremost qualifications for scientific discovery, being combined in his case with vivid imagination, brilliant powers of description and illustration, and a delightfully clear and attractive style, leave him no excuse for being dull, or for making his historico-political teaching dry or repulsive on pretence of keeping it scientific and practical.

With regard to the scientific principles on which Prof. Seeley maintains that history should be written, we have only to express our hearty thanks for the service he renders by insisting on them so clearly and forcibly; for even when not claiming the merit of novelty, they are of the greatest moment, and must be continually urged if that revolution in the study and writing of history for which he contends is to be effectually carried out. And in this connection it may be well to note the stress he wisely lays on the need for exhaustively studying the causes that have led to political change and phenomena. All science, political as much as chemical or astronomical, imperatively requires both student and teacher to investigate the causes of phenomena, their origin, working and ultimate effects. In political science this is pre-eminently the very soul and spirit of the benefits to be derived, by rulers and subjects alike in every community, from a thoughtful review of former experience. One great secret of the interest with which our author is able to invest his teaching undoubtedly will be found in the clearness with which he traces the working of various forces and analyses the complicated agencies which led up to certain important results. Events which other historians have perhaps ignored, or treated as of little moment,* he

* Compare the benefits which he shows were conferred on England by the Treaty of Utrecht, for instance, with the way in which that instrument is treated by English historians generally, and even by one so sagacious and trustworthy as J. R. Green. (See his "Short History, &c.," pp. 702 and 8.)

brings into prominence, fixes on them our anxious regard; and so when he arrives at and displays the result with striking effect, the *dénouement* has all the charm of reaching the solution, the Q.E.D., in a proposition of Euclid, of arriving at the top of a hill with a fine prospect, or of coming to the happy or fatal catastrophe of a well-written novel.

But this brings us to a weighty question. Professor Seeley maintains that the importance of events must be judged by their consequences. Are we sure that, in his ardent desire to see History exercising her rightful functions as the ministering and indispensable high-priestess of Politics, he always estimates "consequences" at their true value? Is there not danger, when she is constantly directed to "pursue a practical object," that she may lose sight of the higher considerations connected with events and their apparently less practical or immediately utilitarian results? For instance, it would be difficult to show that Sir Philip Sidney's death at the battle of Zutphen, or even the battle itself, still less the romantic act of chivalrous self-sacrifice with which the memory of his last hour is connected, had any far-reaching or (in the ordinary sense of the word) any political consequences, as regarded the life-and-death struggle in which the Netherlands were then engaged. Yet if, in writing a history of that struggle, Professor Seeley in his anxiety to make history scientific, to fix attention only on such events as had important political consequences, were to omit that striking and memorable scene, not only would he make English history distinctly and considerably poorer, less beneficial to the national character, less interesting to the men of large culture and the artisan-elector, but he would be losing sight of the important point that the mere fact of English knights dying gallantly there in Holland for disinterested objects of the noblest character, shedding their blood like water for Dutch liberties and religion, must in all probability have had some deep and lasting influence on Protestant and Catholic European States, and have materially helped to inspire the Dutch nation with that invincible, self-sacrific-

ing faith, hope, and pertinacity which ultimately gave them victory. We do not, of course, say that our author's principles necessarily, though occasionally, lead to an erroneous estimate of the importance of events, but we maintain there is a danger in this direction against which he has to guard. So also with regard to his thesis that "we read history that we may discover the laws of political growth and change." Moral and spiritual influences are among the most potent elements of political change, whether for good or evil. But "practical politics," like practical politicians, cannot always be safely trusted to give such influences their due weight either as causes or consequences. They may over-estimate the importance of material, and greatly undervalue that of moral and spiritual results. They may also undervalue the relation existing between the Ruler in heaven and the rulers on earth, and neglect, through indifference, or purposely ignore, that divine government which we believe over-rules and guides, according to eternal principles and aims, the political as much as the material movements of this lower world. Professor Seeley's special and most important function undoubtedly in the present condition of mundane, or at all events of Britannic affairs, is to develop and establish the imperative need of learning from history the invaluable political lessons it has to teach for the political guidance of the future. But at the close of those masterly lectures on "The Roman and the Teuton," by his predecessor in the University Chair, we have a remarkably fine illustration of how that higher range of thought which traces the influence of an over-ruling Providence on the grand march of events in human progress, the shaping our "rough-hewn" purpose to fitting "ends," may be blended with accurate historic investigation. When Professor Seeley had been describing so forcibly how the unconscious strivings and the often poor low aims of our English forefathers were wrought out in far nobler and more beneficent results than they had ever dreamed of, some reference of a similar nature might well have followed, and have

formed a legitimate conclusion to his argument. Anything of that kind, if forced or artificially propounded, would of course be most offensive; but we doubt if any sensible readers of the passage in Kingsley's lectures would feel anything but admiration for the style and spirit in which it is written, even if positivist or agnostic views prevented warm sympathy with its faith.

But it is time we should proceed to show how our author illustrates and fulfils, in these lectures, the objects with which he maintains all history should be written. And we must admit at the outset of our comments upon them that by insisting always on a searching inquiry into the causes of events, he renders periods of history profoundly interesting which have generally been viewed with indifference or even dislike, and, therefore, consigned to neglect.

This, he thinks, is particularly noticeable in regard to our own history in the eighteenth century, sometimes called "the dismal period." For therein he finds the decisive struggles taking place which resulted in the marvellous development of Great Britain into "Greater Britain" with all the manifold consequences resulting, for good or evil, of our magnificent Colonial Empire and Indian dependencies, North, South, East, and West. He complains that

English history as it is popularly related, not only has no distinct end, but leaves off in such a gradual manner, growing feebler and feebler, duller and duller, towards the close, that one might suppose that England instead of steadily gaining in strength had been for a century or two dying of mere old age. Can this be right? Ought the stream to be allowed thus to lose itself and evaporate in the midst of a sandy desert? The question brings to mind those lines of Wordsworth:—

> It is not to be thought of that the flood
> Of British freedom, which to the open sea
> Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
> Hath flowed, 'with pomp of waters unwithstood,'
> Roused though it be full often to a mood
> Which spurns the check of salutary bonds,
> That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
> Should perish, and to evil and to good
> Be lost for ever.

Our author, on the other hand, maintains that "England has grown steadily greater and greater, absolutely at least, if not always relatively." He speaks of "the prodigious greatness to which it has attained" by the vast development of its Colonial Empire, and he consequently invests with attractive charms all the events and struggles, the labours, heroism and conflicts whereby during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Empire has been built up. He finds a far deeper importance attaching to our sixty or seventy years' war with France, and our duels with Holland and Spain, when it is seen that in reality they were struggles for supremacy in that "New World" which was laid open to European enterprise by Vasco de Gama and Columbus, than when those wars are regarded merely in relation to our position in the European community of nations. He sees this question at the heart of every European war in which we have been engaged since the wars of the Reformation down even to Napoleon Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt. The Corsican conqueror's haunting dream and unfailing aim was to deprive us of our Colonial territories and of our possessions in the East and West Indies, as it was the aim of Spain and Portugal, France and Holland in the previous century to maintain their ground and expel the English from the Indies and Canada, South Africa, and what are now become the United States.

Napoleon's exclamation after the battle of Austerlitz, "Give me only ships, colonies and commerce!" which so strikingly confirms Professor Seeley's argument, has acquired a memorable and dramatic notoriety from the answer given to it within a few days by the echoes which reverberated through Europe from the guns off Cape Trafalgar.

The lectures in which are traced the causes and consequences of this gradual development and final triumph of Great Britain in the world-wide contest, not only deserve the closest attention but are written in a style which excites our interest in an unusual degree. Of course we

cannot pretend to offer our readers any summary of Mr. Seeley's searching expositions of the course of that development; but as a specimen of his closely-argued and more or less thoroughly original mode of looking at these periods of history we may point to his contention that it was the insular position of England—by saving her from the fatal consequences of those internecine conflicts in which the Western Continental States exhausted their strength—and not so much the superior valour, or administrative genius and wisdom of Englishmen, that ultimately made Great Britain triumph in the race for "New World" supremacy. In his anxiety to assign the real and more recondite causes for all the results on which he dwells, and to humble the rather boastful spirit which he detects in portions of our national literature—histories, tales, songs, &c.—it may be that the Professor detracts a little unduly from the real merit of British statesmen, soldiers, and adventurers in accomplishing that triumph. We suspect that the men who have made, and are making, the history of Greater Britain, would be inclined to say that it is "taking all the heart out of them" thus to depreciate our national characteristics in the struggles for dominion. There would be some truth in the complaint. For instance, Mr. Seeley gives a most interesting series of facts by which he shows that we rule in India not because a handful of English conquered 200,000,000 of Asiatics, but because India was divided against itself; and we triumphed not by acting on the old Roman rule of conquest, "*Divide et impera*," but by taking advantage of divisions already existing. Nevertheless he cannot deny, and ought to have remarked, that Clive and Wellesley, and many an Anglo-Indian conqueror since, with the singularly gallant troops under them, were always the "steel spear-head" of the victorious Indian hosts which overcame their Asiatic fellow-countrymen when striving to enthrone first an English Trading Company and afterwards the British Government as the ruler of the vast territory now known as our Indian Empire.

Having conducted us through a survey of all the various processes whereby that "expansion" was secured, and having rightly, as we think, maintained it to be "the greatest fact in our history" (we presume he means since the revolutions of the seventeenth century), he is prepared to contend successfully that the question, What is to become of the empire thus built up? must needs be the greatest question of the future—whether that expansion shall end in such another "bursting of the bubble" as took place in the revolt of our North American colonies when a sudden and ignominious end seemed to be put to our colonial development, or—whether it shall culminate in a vast consolidated English nationality of a united "Greater Britain."

In answering this question the Professor stoutly protests first against the old conceptions of colonies which in the earliest stages of civilisation were simply "the swarming of the hive," as in a Greek or Phœnician "exodus," or at the best were regarded merely as fruit borne by a tree, which drops off altogether when it is ripe and thenceforth seeks a separate and independent existence. But he objects no less strenuously to the modern notion of colonies being "possessions," existing as subordinate and dependent communities for the benefit of the mother country. If Professor Seeley had done nothing else than contend with irresistible force that our colonies should be viewed neither as a "swarm," nor as "fruit," nor as "possessions," but as an integral portion of the British nation, he would have made a valuable contribution to the future well-being of this kingdom and the world. A portion of the English people, "for convenience and profit," he says, have thought fit to leave our island and settle in some other portion of this little planet, but are nevertheless far nearer to the community from which they came, in consequence of steam and telegraphs, as regards readiness of material communication, than were the colonists of Athens or Corinth in their "Magna Græcia" or Sicilian homes. While, as far as moral and intellectual

bonds of union are concerned, the dwellers in Canada and Australasia are united to those who remain in Great Britain by the strongest of all ties—blood, language, literature, politics, and religion. We must not be misled in this matter, he urges, by false metaphors about "fruit" or "grown-up sons" either; nor because many of the first colonists were driven from this country and elsewhere by bad government at home, and their descendants were ill-treated through the false and mischievous views then prevailing as to the relation of colonies to the mother-country, are we to infer that after a certain time it is the natural tendency and inevitable result of a colonial system for colonists to establish themselves by revolt or mutual consent as independent nations. Our colonies may certainly be regarded for all purposes of practical politics as near to London at the present time as Northumberland and Cornwall were three hundred years ago. The time occupied in traversing the intervening distance has not been considered an argument, since the Saxon Heptarchy was abolished, for sundering the kingdom into separate political states; neither should it be so used at the present day.

In an interesting passage which throws some valuable side-lights on the whole subject of colonisation, Professor Seeley points out that the case of the American colonies was a peculiar one, and does not afford a parallel to that of the communities which have been formed in ancient or modern times by way of overflow, due to overcrowding or poverty at home. In the former case there was a real Exodus—a religious emigration. The Pilgrim Fathers

> wished to live on beliefs and to practise rites which were not tolerated in England. . . . The emigrant who merely goes out to make his fortune may possibly forget his native land; but he is not likely to do so; absence endears it to him, distance idealises it. . . . There is scarcely more than one thing that can break the spell, and that is religion. . . . For I always hold that religion is the great State-building principle; these colonists could create a new State because they were

already a Church, since the Church—so, at least, I hold—is the soul of the State. Where there is a Church a State grows up in time; but if you find a State which is not also in some sense a Church, you find a State which is not long for this world (pp. 153, 154).

Professor Seeley's reasoning on colonisation is not for the purpose of ventilating theories, however true and admirable, or of establishing a pet or pretty theory about colonisation; but for an eminently practical and much-needed conclusion. In the seventh lecture of the second series entitled, "Internal and External Dangers," after referring to the first two great periods in the history of our Colonial Empire, viz., in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (p. 287), he proceeds to speak of the "third phase" on which we have lately entered, and in which "the English world-empire," having overcome its other rivals, has now "two gigantic neighbours, one in each hemisphere. In the West she has the United States, and, in the East, Russia, for a neighbour." Both of these "are continuous land-powers. Between them, equally vast but not continuous, with the ocean flowing through it in every direction, lies, like a world-Venice, with the sea for streets, Greater Britain." With that picturesque illustration our author clinches the nail, and then, in his concluding lecture, thus puts before us the momentous issues which hang upon the course that England may pursue towards her Colonial Empire, and which the Colonies may pursue towards her, during the next half century.

Lastly, let us observe that the question whether large states or small states are best is not one which can be answered or ought to be discussed absolutely. We often hear abstract panegyrics upon the happiness of small states. But observe that a small state among small states is one thing, and a small state among large states quite another. Nothing is more delightful than to read of the bright days of Athens and Florence, but those bright days lasted only so long as the states with which Athens and Florence had to do were states on a similar scale of magnitude. Both states sank at once as soon

as large country-states of consolidated strength grew up in their neighbourhood. The lustre of Athens grew pale as soon as Macedonia rose, and Charles V. speedily brought to an end the great days of Florence. Now if it be true that a larger type of state than any hitherto known is springing up in the world, is not this a serious consideration for those states which rise only to the old level of magnitude? Russia already presses somewhat heavily on Central Europe; what will she do when with her vast territory and population she equals Germany in intelligence and organisation, when all her railways are made, her people educated, and her government settled on a solid basis,—and let us remember that if we allow her half-a-century to make so much progress, her population will at the end of that time be not eighty, but nearly a hundred and sixty millions. At that time, which many here present may live to see, Russia and the United States will surpass in power the states now called great as much as the great country-states of the sixteenth century surpassed Florence. Is not this a serious consideration, and is it not especially so for a state like England, which has at the present moment the choice in its hands between two courses of action, the one of which may set it in that future age on a level with the greatest of these great states of the future, while the other will reduce it to the level of a purely European power looking back, as Spain does now, to the great days when she pretended to be a world-state? (pp. 300, 301).

Reflections like these make us feel how truly our author is justified in urging that we should read History in order "that we may discover the laws of political growth and change" (p. 237); and that, by careful study of the Past, we may be able to learn, at least, the rough outline of what will happen in the Future. He may well add:—

It is true that we in England have never accustomed our imaginations to the thought of Greater Britain. Our politicians, our historians, still think of England, not of Greater Britain as their country; they still think only that England *has* colonies, and they allow themselves to talk as if she could easily whistle them off, and become again with perfect comfort to herself the old solitary island of Queen Elizabeth's time, "in a great pool a swan's nest." But the fancy is but a chimera produced by inattention, one of these monsters, for such

monsters these are, which are created, not by imagination, but want of imagination (pp. 306, 307).

While roused by these lectures to a sense of the growing vastness and importance of our Colonial Empire, and of the consequences that must follow a right or wrong course in regard to them, a conviction comes over us with overwhelming force that in some way or other political unity between Great Britain and her colonies, at all cost, must be secured. If the logical development of our author's thesis is that our colonies are not to be regarded as "possessions," but as integral portions of the British nation, clearly they must be treated accordingly, and be admitted to a share in the government of that Empire in the same manner as Kansas or California share in the government of the United States. The *Spectator*, indeed, in its first notice of these lectures (Oct. 13, 1883), affirms that while they present "a brilliant picture and substantially a true one" of the future of Greater Britain, their author draws from it a dangerous deduction; and contends that any plan of Federation would be "impracticable." Taxes must be levied equally; the colonies must be fully represented in the Home Government (by at least 150 members fifty years hence, who in alliance "with one of the great parties" of this country "would be irresistibly strong"), and "the freedom of the Island Englishmen to direct their own lives would speedily be ended." In war-time especially, the danger of the new bond leading to disruption would be very great. "Each colony has then its special interests," &c., &c. To all which we imagine Prof. Seeley would reply that the difficulties in the way of such a Federation as he contemplates would not be one whit greater than in federating States so distant and with interests so varied as those of New England, the Carolinas, Ohio, and California—nay, far less than in the United States before the Civil War. Yet those difficulties have been overcome, and there is not the remotest prospect, scarcely the slightest chance, of any disruption in the future. "STATE RIGHTS" *would effectually protect* the inhabitants of New England from any undue

interference on the part of Kansas, and would be equally efficacious in preserving to "Island Englishmen" "freedom to direct their own lives." Decidedly we would rather trust our own colonies than Russia or even the United States, to leave island Englishmen freedom to direct their lives; but if our lecturer's forecast of England fifty years hence, as placed between those two colossal Powers, and shorn of her colonial empire, be correct, which we believe it indisputably is, it would be incomparably safer to trust our future liberties to a Federated Greater Britain than to the chances of existence in that dwarfed, unenviable, and comparatively unprotected condition.

In war, moreover, "the special interests" of Australia or of England, of Canada, or the West Indies would not be more "diverse" than the States on the American Eastern sea-board from those on the Pacific. Yet who doubts that if the United States were plunged into war with any other power, the inhabitants of every State in the Union, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, would march as one man under "the Star-spangled Banner"? And while we deprecate "the balance of parties" being entrusted to exasperated Irish representatives in the House of Commons, we as Liberals, at all events, should see with much composure representatives from Canada and Australasia mediating alike between Conservative, Liberal, and Irish Members in that political arena.

In short, the difficulties in the way of Federation for Great Britain and her colonies, conjured up by the imagination of Professor Seeley's critics, must appear to him, as they certainly do to ourselves, like the chimera of its being possible for England to whistle her colonies down the wind, "and become again with perfect comfort to herself the old solitary island she was in Queen Elizabeth's time." Hence it would seem that we may peacefully repose in the prospect of our destiny foreshadowed by our author as "The World-Venice" of the future.

If therefore this vision is to be realised, we ought no longer to regard migration from these shores to our colonies as a

loss to Great Britain of her best citizens, any more than when a man emigrates from Devon to Yorkshire; but rather as a satisfactory contribution, from our abounding strength, towards building up the great world-wide empire of the Future—an empire which is to aid in keeping the balance of power on behalf of the true interests not only of the whole English-speaking race, but of the rest of the populations of the globe. It is the painful recollection of the revolt of our North American colonies which leads to all the erroneous apprehensions and reasonings on this subject. Mr. Seeley, in urging that that revolt was simply the result of a bad colonial system and an evil government at home, not of a Law of Nature, has done invaluable service. The early colonists, like the modern Irish, flying from tyranny, carried with them a fatal enmity towards the mother-country; and when their descendants continued to be treated like a conquered nation and found themselves strong enough to resist, their Puritan and Teutonic blood bade them assert their independence by open war (not by secret assassination), and to throw off their allegiance to the power which ill-treated them.*

In common with other reviewers we find that our author has given us so much to think and say about the first course of these lectures as to leave us no room to dwell on the six lectures in the second course, on our "Indian Empire." And in common we fear with most Englishmen (Anglo-Indians, of course, excepted), we were unprepared

* True, the tax, as our author points out, which the British Government laid on the colonists was, in reality, only a fair requisition in compensation for some of the enormous expense to which this country had been put in defending the colonies against France and in extending their borders as well as consolidating their strength. It was the unfortunate form in which the requisition was put, with all the political consequences it involved, that rightly compelled the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers to fight at Bunker's Hill. They might no less willingly than justly have made an annual contribution for a time to the Imperial Exchequer till a fixed sum had been paid off. But they could not consent to being taxed, *unrepresented, without abandoning all claim to English liberties*, and submitting to be regarded as conquered "possessions" of the British Crown.

to believe even he could make that subject particularly interesting. Nevertheless, we are bound to say he has done so, and it is almost as captivating as his previous disquisitions. Leaving the reader however to discover this fact for himself, we have only to remark in conclusion that Professor Seeley's views with regard to the importance—indeed, necessity—of teaching the Science of Politics by means of History, derive immense force from the recent and coming legislation for admitting the industrial classes to political power. If it be true that the governing classes care little about educating the people until compelled to bestow on them the franchise, it is no less certain that they are bound, if only for self-preservation, to care a great deal about that education when once the people have gained political power. Clearly, however, mere ability to read, write, and cypher, or even a knowledge of all the "ologies," including theology, with a training in law, medicine, poetry, painting, artisan trades or engineering, into the bargain, will not suffice for,—will, in fact, go but a very little way towards,—training men to understand and decide on the great questions affecting the government and destiny of a nation. Yet down to within a very few years, these studies and equipments have been considered the only education, *at the best*, needful for the citizens of a free and powerful community, with enormous interests of every kind at stake, like Great (and Greater) Britain. It is beginning to be understood—largely owing to the labours of Professor Seeley—that there is such a thing as Political Science, and that it must be based on History—that no man is qualified to share in the government of his country except so far as he has learnt the lessons which History teaches and the conclusions which Political Science draws from the experiments hitherto made by this and other communities, with the results that followed—learnt, in short, to understand the causes and the consequences of political changes, "the laws of political growth, development, and change." Hence it would not be well to shut our eyes to the fact that while a large and laudable amount of determination is

being shown both by Government departments, public bodies, philanthropic individuals, and the Press, to push forward alike elementary and advanced education in almost every other department of knowledge and training, the work of political education is chiefly confined to the efficient training given by Professor Seeley himself to his History class, and by Mr. Oscar Browning, at Cambridge, to the labours of the Professors of History at University and King's Colleges, London, of the Cambridge and London Societies for the Extension of University teaching, and of the able, indefatigable, and generous lecturers for "The Social and Political Education League"—a recently-formed society (of which Professor Seeley was the President), now supplying the London and other social and political working men's clubs with a desultory but most fruitful and stimulating training for the right discharge of the duties of citizenship.* Verily all this is but a beginning, even if we have omitted some "unknown quantities." And not only is the amount of teaching, as compared with the whole of the enfranchised population of this kingdom, so lamentably small, but those who promote and advocate it have to contend with a large amount of open or secret distrust among influential parties. Even at Cambridge the teaching of Political Philosophy is decorously veiled under the title of the study of History; and how long will it be before the ruling powers openly venture to establish a chair of Political Science either in that or in any other of our national universities? How long before the Committee of the Privy Council on Education will set up classes for Political Science among their thousand classes of "Science and Art" or let the Jermyn Street capital courses of lectures on Natural Science be varied by lectures on the "Causes of political growth and change"? Well might Professor Seeley say in an admirable letter in *Macmillan's Magazine*, written more than six years ago (June, 1877), but nearly as

* Mr. Seeley resigned the President's chair at the annual meeting last November, with the view of making it an annual appointment, and was succeeded by Mr. John Anthony Froude.

much needed to be said now, after adverting to the memorable dictum of the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, that "our new masters [the working classes] ought to know how to read and write"—"Practically, then, we are not acting on the maxim which we profess to adopt, namely, that the working class should be educated for the exercise of political power. The reason of this evidently is that we ourselves have never been educated for politics, that we know of no system of political education, and perhaps that most of us disbelieve in the possibility of such an education, and regard politics as purely a matter of practice and experience," (p. 144).

Yes, but also because "most of us" have been in the habit of regarding politics from a party point of view, as a mere game of skill and experience in which the main object, at the best, on the one side, was to obtain the enactment of certain measures, on the other to defeat them, and, at the worst, to turn the "Ins" out, or to get the "Outs" in.

Our neighbours on the other side of the Channel are setting us an example we may lay to heart. In Paris M. Boutiny and his friends have established, by private subscription, an admirable "*École libre des Sciences Politiques.*" Will any patriotic and wealthy English citizens do the same in England? Or will the Council of University College, London, take the lead in this, as they have nobly done in other methods of public education and progress?

There can be no doubt that political conflicts are at hand in this country which will equal, probably exceed, in fierceness the bitterest struggles in which the nation has ever been engaged since the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. The great bulk of the industrial classes are alienated from the existing constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, and from what was once the National Church of England. But far more serious questions than any connected even with these institutions, are stirring them to the deepest depths of their national life. The subject of Land Tenure is fast absorbing their serious and even

passionate interest; while beyond and below that engrossing topic there stands out with increasing distinctness the grim and threatening spectre of Communism, warning us that the whole question of private property and the very foundations of civilised society is coming up for discussion. In short, the masses of those who toil and spin, and who begin to see that from one cause or other they are not receiving their fair share of the profits of their labour, are beginning to *think*. What more, then, is going to be done to help them to think wisely, justly?

If these and all the minor but more immediately practical questions of Parliamentary reform, Licensing laws, Poor-Law reform, County government, Irish legislation, &c., are to be considered and settled only in a party spirit, to be fought out as party political contests, it is evident that victory will go not to the wisest and most patriotic, but to the strongest; and the results instead of being permanent and beneficial, will be the seed-plot of renewed conflicts, of more deadly strife, and ultimately either of a settlement on the fair and equitable basis which might have been secured at an earlier date without the intervening miseries, or of the triumph of a party or a class at the cost of national ruin.

If Professor Seeley's most able and earnest pleadings for the scientific study of history and politics combined, materially help to lift the great political questions and conflicts of the day above the region of mere party strife, and to bring a largely-increasing number of thoughtful men in every class to study those questions by the light of past experience, he will have earned a claim to national gratitude of the highest kind, and of a permanent character.

HENRY SOLLY.

HEAVEN AND HELL.

THE mediæval idea of Heaven was of a place of ecstatic bliss, and joy, and triumph, without trouble and pain, with endless repose and peace, all tears wiped from the eyes, no doubtfulness, or hesitation, or scruples, or remorse, no sorrow and no sin. Incidentally it was perceived that God was there. Hell was imagined and described as a place of intolerable and endless pain and anguish, of bitter remorse and hopelessness, with the undying worm of unsatisfied lust and the unquenchable fire of futile revenge; the wretched victims gnashing their teeth with self-consuming passion; and, over all, the malignant arch-fiend exulting with hideous mockery and scorn. The large-drawn picture of Milton, the terrible minute and realistic imaginings of Dante, will occur to the memory. Incidentally it was perceived that God was not there.

In more modern times these conceptions of Heaven and Hell are toned down. But the essential colouring and composition are the same. Heaven is recognised as the place of bliss, Hell as the place of torment after death for disembodied spirits.

It is my intention to define Heaven and Hell by their essentials, apart from the accidentals of bliss or pain. I desire to define Heaven as *the presence of God*, Hell as *absence from God*—Heaven as *union with God*, Hell as *alienation from God.*

I further wish to enunciate what I conceive to be a great elemental spiritual law, that *any spiritual gift or loss a man really desires to attain to, that he shall attain to;* according to the words of Christ—"Ask, and ye shall

receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened." If this law is true, and if (as stated above) Heaven and Hell are spiritual conditions, it follows that to desire Heaven or Hell is to get that one of the two on which the heart has set its longing. Of course this implies that the desire is real, and that the meaning of Heaven and Hell is apprehended. Otherwise, as often happens, a man may be wishing for Hell who asserts that he has placed his aspiration on Heaven, and a man may be ripe for the full fruition of Heaven who fears that he is only fit to be engulphed by the open jaws of Hell.

I should like to throw what I have to say into the form of an address from the pulpit, and to imagine it spoken to a congregation of men and women who are desiring that "assurance" which has been sought from the earliest Christian days to the present time; who are striving to get an answer to the one vital question, "whether they will go to Heaven or to Hell when they die."

With this important object in view they have proposed to themselves many tests—sacerdotal, ecclesiastical, ascetic, moral; *i.e.*, salvation through a priest, salvation through right beliefs, salvation through self-denial, salvation through right conduct. I wish to propose here another test which seems to me more searching and more final; that they should ask themselves what is the Heaven which they desire, and the Hell which they fear; and whether it is towards Heaven or towards Hell that their faces are actually turned? For it is surely a good thing for a man, buoyed up with false persuasions, to know, *if it be true*, that he is on the way to Hell, with full purpose directing his steps thitherward; to know that where his heart is, there his treasure is; to know that he is working for a reward, and will verily get it and not be disappointed; to know that, as he has never wished for Heaven, so he will never get Heaven, and that, if he got it (which is an impossible conception), he could extract no enjoyment from it—enjoyment being the

thing that he is looking for. And it is a good thing for a man, troubled, depressed, and turned aside by false fears, to know, *if it be true*, that he is, for all his sins, and shortcomings, and fears, on the way to Heaven, and that, though his steps be faltering, he will inevitably get there—to the haven of his heart's desire. The following, then, is an attempt to enable men to know where they stand, and thus to direct their course with reasonable precision.

I will suppose a minister of the Gospel—of the good news of God and the Truth—to stand forward and deliver himself as follows :—

You understand, dear friends, that Heaven is the presence of God, and Hell the absence of God. You are all conscious of sin, and are aware of the fact that the wrath of God is visited on all sin. You are all anxious to save your souls.

It would be felt by many of you to be a great boon if an angel of God were to come down and tell you whether your souls were saved or not. But it does not need an angel from Heaven. Each one by following a simple chain of thought can discover this fact for himself.

It all depends on what is meant by saving your souls. If it means to escape the necessary penalty for sin, no doubt many of us would desire to save our souls. But we know that the penalty for sin is inevitable and inexorable. And even if we could escape the penalty of sin, that has no connection with Heaven, which is the presence of God.

But if saving our souls means separating our souls from sin and doing good; feeling enthusiastic hopes and aspirations for ends far off and seemingly unattainable ; with earnest desire for progress to some horizon ever fair, and ever farther and farther away in the illimitable distance; to some height whose majesty is ever more majestic because it rears itself to larger and nobler proportions with each step upwards,—then no doubt some of us, while realising that this is Heaven, would not feel drawn to it, but would sigh for the flesh-pots of Egypt. Some of us, no doubt, would feel that such a Heaven does not respond to the actual impulses

of our spiritual being, and can only be desired as an escape from the pains and penalties of Hell.

But suppose, further, in order to enlighten our eyes to get a still clearer notion of Heaven and Hell, and in order to make it still clearer to ourselves what our choice is, and, therefore, what our acquisition shall be when we die—suppose, for the mere sake of the argument, that Heaven, the presence of God, is not a condition of perfect happiness or repose ; not a condition in which God wipes all tears from our eyes ; not a condition relieved from all self sorrow and regret for lost opportunities ; not a condition in which the penalties of sin have been removed; but suppose, on the other hand, it is a condition of poignant sorrow for the glories of God we might have obtained and the close fruition we might have enjoyed; suppose we find we share in God's sorrow for all sin and wickedness and error, and long to work His work, hard and apparently often unblessed, for the souls of all sinners and sufferers; suppose we begin, then at last, to feel somewhat more earnestly in love and sympathy for all that are gone astray and have wandered out of the way, till our love and sympathy respond with rhythmical impulse to the infinite love and sympathy of the Godhead, so as to become a divine pain; suppose our aspirations are keener, our sense of the real, and beautiful, and true more intense ; suppose we find, in fine, that Heaven is a natural development in an orderly way of the best work of mortal life under the best conditions, without sin and remorse, but with pain, and sorrow, and work, as long as there be any one left to help in pain and sorrow ; then we may say, fearlessly, not only that every soul of man who desires such a Heaven as the best fulfilment of his most eager hopes can tell what his acquisition shall be when he dies, but that he has already gained the Kingdom of God, and has entered into some of the outer glories of it.

And suppose again, for the sake of argument, that Hell, the absence of God, is not a condition of pain and torment, not a condition of self-torture or gnashing of teeth, not a condition of punishment, in the sense that the penalties of

sin (as popularly conceived), which weigh so heavily here shall be made to weigh a hundred fold more heavily hereafter; but a condition in which the feared pressure of the hateful hand of the terrible God shall be removed, in which the pleasant lusts, the splendid majesty of magnificent, world-reaching, high-born sins, the easy habits of self-love and self-admiration, shall continue to exist without compunction, without remorse, without fear of results, without the abhorrent dread of degradation, without the condemning voice of God, or man, or conscience, lost to sense of shame, and therefore unstung by shame; then we may say certainly that every soul of man that feels that such a condition as this would be to experience a happy release from the heavy burdens of conscience, from the fear of the *results* of sin, from the weight of responsibilities felt, but not attended to, has already the Hell he desires, and is already entering into the joys of it.

I dare not presume to say that Hell is not a place of torment, I do not even say that there is Hell, *i.e.*, absolute absence of God and alienation from Him. But I do say that it appears clear that there are many men who love and do not hate sin, though they are not free from that supreme form of spiritual selfishness, conceived by them to be a wish to save their souls, but which means, for them, desiring to be released from the penalties of sin. I do see men who appear to live for themselves and not for others, and appear to enjoy wallowing in the mire of self-indulgence, to whom Heaven is not so much denied as it is impossible. I do think many men would feel it a great release if they could do what they liked, unchecked by fear of God or man, and, according to the great spiritual law that every one finds what he really seeks, I say that the belief in such a Hell as I have sketched out is neither illogical nor unreasonable, and that it is consonant with the facts of this world, and with the law of spiritual degradation that rules, concurrently with thegracious law of spiritual elevation, in the present condition of things. I say that many men appear to wish for Hell, that is, for the absence of God, and that they

would elect Hell if it were not for the supposed torments of Hell. It is not incompatible with the Bible or common sense that their heart shall be where their treasure is, and that they shall get the reward they have worked for.

Hell may be considered as the Mad House of future life, in which the souls confined to it pursue their degraded life unconscious of degradation; but, while foul, and feeble, and false, beyond imagining, they glory in their fancied liberty, reckoning themselves kings, conquerors, beloved of their mistresses, philosophers, gods, heroes, and the darlings of the world they live in.

Let us put the case in this way. Suppose, as in old fairy-tales, it were possible to have an invisible cap, whereby a man might make for himself a fortune without labour, might trade on the secrets of cabinets without fear of detection, might satisfy his revenge without the terror of the law, and his lusts without dread of consequences. Suppose, being thus relieved from the tyranny of custom, and the condemnation of man, and of the social rules of life, he knew himself to be delivered from the final judgment of God. Further, suppose that, with the invisible cap, he could receive the gift of perennial youth and health, to give him the zest of continuous keen enjoyment. Would the heart of a man to whom these gifts were secretly offered impulsively accept them, or would he prefer the shabby drudgery and the grim uncertainty, the cold mockery and cruel frustrations of this world with its regular work-a-day conditions, its sins and sorrows and bitterness and disappointments, but with the certainty of Heaven before him? Do we not feel sure that many men would accept the former? That is, would not many men prefer Hell, if, if only——? It is true that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. But it is only the beginning. Love is the end of wisdom, and men must not abide at the beginning of the course who would win the race. "Ah! si liceret!" murmured the pagan emperor, meditating some unusually foul act, but fearful of men's talk, of outraged law, and of divine wrath. "Ah! if only I might! if only I

could avoid the unpleasant consequences!" is the secret wish of many of us. In the choice of Hercules, Pleasure promises present gifts with future penalties; and Hercules, judging with prudence and policy, taking an excellent commercial view of the situation, shows his shrewdness and good sense by rejecting Pleasure, and accepting the offer of Wisdom. In Faustus' compact with the Devil, we feel that Faustus made a mistake in bartering the endless happiness of his soul for a few brief years of excitement and pleasure. These cases of careful balancing of profits and losses, of exact computations how to make the best of both worlds, of the happy discovery that the best policy is honesty, do not adequately exemplify the point of view I have endeavoured to put before you. But take my position of the invisible cap, and you can see how accentuated the choice becomes between unmixed sensual or sensuous pleasure on the one side, and goodness, rectitude, love, enthusiasm, with tribulations and self-sacrifice and vigorous work, on the other.

What then is the conclusion arrived at? It is this. Those who mean, when they say that they desire to save their souls, that they like the sins they commit but dread the penalties and would gladly avoid them, will receive their reward of Hell; those who mean, when they say they desire to save their souls, that they hate the sins they commit and long for a Father whose everlasting arms should support them, and that their election would be to hold to Him through continual pain, they also have already obtained their reward and are standing on the threshold of the Heaven which they desire.

In the above address, I have made my preacher assume, for the sake of argument, many things which are not usually believed, which cannot be proved, and which may be untrue. All I have to urge is that none of these assumptions are illogical or unreasonable, and some of them I certainly heartily believe. For instance, it seems to me to be beside the present purpose to consider whether there is or is not

such a Hell as I describe; whether the complete absence or alienation of God from any of His creatures is possible; or whether, rather, there may not be a purgatory for the wretched half beasts and half devils in mortal shape, in which, under changed conditions, they shall be taught to reverence that which they have scorned, to love that which they have hated, to rejoice in that which they have shrunk from. On these points nature and revelation are alike silent, and the impulses of the heart of man speak diversely and ambiguously. Again, we need not consider whether, if there be a Hell, it is necessarily a place of torment. On this point I also believe nature and revelation to be silent, interpreting the literal metaphors of Christ in a spiritual sense; but, in any case, I do not conceive that it is logical to assert, either from a philosophic conception of the nature of sin, or from views of the justice of the case, that Hell *must* be a place of torment. We know almost nothing of the disembodied spirit, or even whether the spirit is ever disembodied, and it is rash to argue on such a point. So far I conceive resignation of spirit, and restraint of judgment, and, as far as possible, of opinion, is the wisest course. But other points, which we cannot prove, I should none the less believe with tenacity, not only because they are consonant with the facts of life, but also with a belief in a Father, in immortality, and in a just and equal ruling of the world.

Thus I believe that Heaven begins on earth to those who are really desiring Heaven, and Hell begins on earth to those who are really desiring Hell. Heaven begins, because for those who look for God, to them as a normal consequence God manifests Himself; Hell begins, because for those who shrink from God and avoid His ways with dislike, from them God removes Himself till He fades away, dim in the darkness to their darkened eyes. It is the custom to say that, for the wicked man, Hell begins upon earth because he already begins to feel the torments of Hell,—self-reproach, satiety, futility, fear, unslaked revenge. This may be so sometimes, but it certainly is not always so with

prudent, self-contained natures. In any case, it is not the point of view here presented; which is, that he who would possess the absence or alienation of God, whether either brings him pain or alleviation, will infallibly attain his end.

But above all things I wish to urge that Heaven is not a condition of perfect peace and repose, of crowns and harps and thrones, but of work and of sorrow, and that it is a blessed thing that this is so, ennobling and invigorating. Such pain as we feel to be good for us here; such pain as God Himself, for aught we know, feels, He will surely allow us to continue to take upon ourselves when we join the communion of the saints, as we would not be relieved from it here. Simple happiness is a gift of God to be received with thankfulness, but it is a very elementary gift, bestowed principally on unthinking childhood and undeveloped intellects. It has been often observed that much of the noblest poetry of the world has been distilled from the wounded and torn heart of the poet. It is the crushed almond that gives forth its sweetness. The Allegro is balanced by the Penseroso. What is true of poets is even more true of men of deep religious feeling. God dowers His best and most matured souls with keen susceptibility to pain, from the Man of Sorrows downwards. For Him the mountain top, the temptation in the wilderness, Gethsemane, and the death on the Cross. For us too, if we follow His steps. On this head Dr. Martineau expresses himself very finely.

"No one can think [he says] of Christ, visibly social and cheerful as he was, without the belief of a secret sadness, that might be overheard in his solitary prayers. Those who make the end of existence to consist of happiness may try to conceal so perplexing a fact, and may draw pictures of the exceeding pleasantness of religion; but human nature, trained in the school of Christianity, throws away as false the delineation of piety in the disguise of Hebe, and declares that there is something higher far than happiness; that thought which is ever full of care and trouble, is better far; that all true and disinterested affection, which is often called to mourn, is better still; that the

devoted allegiance of conscience to duty and God—which ever has in it more of penitence than joy—is noblest of all. If happiness means the satisfaction of desire (and I can conceive no other definition), then there is necessarily something greater, viz., religion, which implies constant yearning and aspiration, and therefore non-satisfaction of desire."*

With this quotation I make an end. If the view maintained above is tenable, as I believe it is in accordance with reason and logic, I cannot but think that a salutary lesson might be gained from it to help the worst dregs of humanity; to help, that is, selfish men, living for self, not looking for or caring for the glories of a better life than this, extracting the sweets of this world to feed themselves, without returning a blessing,—bargain makers, battening on the weaknesses and follies of their neighbours, men by whom the world is regarded as their oyster made for their behoof, beggarly themselves and idle filchers from the common and universal good. I call such men—not necessarily criminals—the worst dregs of humanity, because they are barren of excellence, producing nothing and agglutinising much that is worthy. Out of nothing, nothing can be got; whereas, by the blessed processes of vitality, out of vehement natures that go vehemently wrong, good and noble results may be obtained, which shall help to redeem a world. "Le blasphème des grands esprits," says Renan, "est plus agréable à Dieu que la prière interessée de l'homme vulgaire." So also Walter Savage Landor better still, because with less exaggeration:—"Great men too often have greater faults than little men can find room for." Not every Saul becomes a Paul; but each Saul has it in him to become a Paul. The bitter becomes sweet, the strength becomes gentleness without losing its intensity and vigour. But, above all, I believe this view of Heaven and Hell would be a help and encouragement to many hungry souls thirsting for righteousness, to many tender-hearted souls, timorous and scrupulous, looking upwards for strength and comfort. To know that Heaven is theirs, to know that

* Hours of Thought. First Series.

Heaven has already begun for them, to feel that the next world is but a natural development of this, so that every step gained now is a step gained in spirituality hereafter, that every retrogression now, though it does not lose them Heaven (which depends on their desire to be with God and to be like Him), is a retrogression in spirituality hereafter; to know that they shall be *satisfied* with the travail of their soul, to know that the reward of aspiration is a higher aspiration, and of tasks fulfilled is a new and better task; these are fruitful gifts of the Spirit of God. And will not such tender souls who have learned these truths be thereby enabled to thank God and take courage?

H. CANDLER.

MR. GIFFEN AND MR. GEORGE.

"IF any one, a quarter of a century since, could have foreseen all that was about to take place; if he could have known that trade was soon to be trebled; that railways would be taken to almost every small town in the kingdom; would it not have appeared absolutely incredible that all these favourable agencies should have produced so little effect that *it may now be fairly disputed whether the poverty of the poor has been perceptibly diminished?* There has, no doubt, been an unprecedented accumulation of wealth, but this wealth has been unhappily so distributed that the rich have become much richer, *whilst the poor have remained as poor as they were before.*"

These are not the words of Mr. Henry George. They were published by Professor Fawcett thirteen years ago in his treatise on "Pauperism, its Causes and Remedies." No one will say that in the last decade the prosperity of the country has been such as to make this, if true then, untrue now. Mr. Gladstone writes to Mr. Giffen, December, 1883, that his masterly paper on the Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century "is probably in form and in substance the best answer to George." When Professor Fawcett wrote the words I have quoted he had, at the same time, to refer to a speech by Mr. Goschen, then President of the Poor Law Board, containing "a most glowing account of the advancing prosperity of the country."

* *The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century.* By ROBERT GIFFEN, Esq., LL.D., President of the Statistical Society. London: George Bell and Sons. 1884.

Social Problems. By HENRY GEORGE, Author of *Progress and Poverty.* London: Kegan Paul. 1884.

When Mr. Gladstone says, what we are all so ready to think, that these arrays of statistics supplied by Mr. Giffen, showing the vast amount of bread and pudding which society as a whole contrives to consume, are the best reply to Mr. George, he might add—and to Mr. Fawcett, unless he has changed his opinion since last he called attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the poor of this great wealth-producing nation. Mr. George has no more formidable or more resolute economic opponent than Professor Fawcett. It is therefore most important for those who would silence Mr. George's school by presenting them with Mr. Giffen's statistics, to remember that when Professor Fawcett dealt systematically with the subject of Pauperism he refused to accept as valid evidence the satisfactory statistics which then, as now, could be quoted. In short, if Mr. Giffen's statistics are worth anything it is as rebutting rather the facts asserted by Mr. Fawcett than the remedies recommended by Mr. George.

It would seem that statistics have always been at hand to prove the progressive condition of the working classes. Nearly fifty years ago Carlyle wrote as follows :—*

> Twice or three times have we heard the lamentations and prophecies of a humane Jeremiah, mourner for the poor, cut short by a statistic fact of the most decisive nature: How can the condition of the poor be other than good, be other than better; has not the average duration of life in England, and therefore among the most numerous class in England, been proved to have increased? Our Jeremiah had to admit that if so, it was an astounding fact; whereby all that ever he, for his part, had observed on other sides of the matter, was overset without remedy. If life last longer, life must be less worn upon by outward suffering, by inward discontent, by hardship of any kind; the general condition of the poor must be bettering instead of worsening. So was our Jeremiah cut short. And now for the "proof." Readers who are curious in statistic proofs may see it drawn out with all solemnity, in a pamphlet "published by Charles Knight and Company,"—and perhaps himself draw inferences from it . . . incredible

* *Chartism*, chapter II., 1839.

"document, considered satisfactory by men of science in France:" alas, is it not as if some zealous scientific son of Adam had proved the deepening of the ocean, by survey, accurate or cursory, of two mud-plashes on the coast of the Isle of Dogs?

So, in a moderate degree, do we feel as we pass from the jeremiads of Mr. George to Mr. Giffen's tables of statistics on the "Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century." Mr. George's theories tend to show that things must get worse and worse for the very poorest stratum of the working classes if we go on as we are going on at present. Mr. Giffen's statistics tend to show—what? That money wages have greatly risen, and that bread and common articles of consumption have greatly cheapened, in the period he deals with. Therefore the average individual is better off. But how about the man who is below the average, and the number of such individuals? It is perfectly conceivable that there may be, at one and the same time, a tendency in the existing whirl of life to the greater production of wealth, and a tendency to the deposit of silt and the upcasting of scum, such as answer to the contrasts which I have quoted from Mr. Fawcett, and which may be seen any day within two minutes' walk of Charing Cross. Even Mr. Giffen, whilst concluding that "we find undoubtedly that in longer life, in increased consumption of the chief commodities they use, in better education, in greater freedom from crime and pauperism, and in increased savings, the masses of the people are better, immensely * better, than they were fifty years ago," adds at once, "This is quite consistent with the fact, which we all lament, that there is a residuum still unimproved, but apparently * a smaller residuum, both in proportion to the population and absolutely, than was the case fifty years ago; and with the fact that the improvement, measured even by a low ideal is far too small. No one can contemplate the condition of the masses of the people without desiring something like a revolution for the better."†

* Surely a statistician should eschew such adverbs, so sorely reprobated in writers like Mr. George.

† Giffen, pages 19, 20.

Facts are stubborn things but they are also very treacherous things, whether they are stated in the form adopted by Mr. Giffen or in the very different form in which they present themselves to Mr. George. Mr. George's facts may be treacherous, but they are to a very large extent unquestionably stubborn. Mr. Giffen's facts have a stupendous stubbornness about them, but I believe that I can show that even they are treacherous. Take his figures about pauperism. Any one who has sat, as I have, on London Charity Organisation Committees and on a Board of Guardians, will be able to realise the tremendously increased difficulty with which people obtain relief, now, compared with what they can have encountered fifty years ago. A far greater amount of exertion is required before a person can figure on the "pauper" rolls. This may be well; but it deducts from the convincingness of Mr. Giffen's statistics as proofs of the ameliorated condition of potential paupers.

There are only a million or so of "paupers" now; and there was about the same number when the population was only half what it is at present. When I think of the present deterrents to likely applicants for admission to the pauper roll, and of the possible readiness with which the employer of bygone days may have assisted his own wage fund out of the poor rates, I cannot but fear that there may be other causes than our national prosperity to account for the fact that only one out of two potential paupers, as compared with fifty years ago, qualify for cognisance in Mr. Giffen's tables; and I feel at least as much pity for the one or more millions who don't emerge from their obscurity to enlighten statisticians, and for the nation that is left in the dark as to the provision made for these out of the vast amount of bread and rice and sugar and the rest which Britons in the aggregate consume. I think, too, that a tabulator of hard facts should have told us exactly what a "pauper" is. Was a person entitled to this designation then on exactly the same conditions as he is now? At the present time if the head of a family of six fall ill, and he have relief, *all six* names go upon the parish medical relief

book for a week, and they swell by six the pauper rolls of the country for the year. If this used to be so in the past, and the facility with which an order for medical relief was obtainable used to be greater than now, Mr. Giffen's statistics may be still more inadequate as a clue to the proportionate amount of suffering in the nation.

I experience a like inconclusiveness in many of the other statistics of Mr. Giffen. "The increase in tea and sugar appears especially significant, the consumption per head now being four times in round figures what it was forty years ago."* But I cannot help suspecting that our wives may now put four times as much tea into the pot as our grandmothers did. And Lady John Manners has been telling us how in some houses people now want a little tea service in every bedroom before they are equal to the effort of rising. So the poor may easily fail to have their share in the extra tea drinking which the triumphant statistics record. Has Mr. Giffen ever seen a short table drawn up by Mr. Buckmaster of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, in his little manual on "Domestic Economy and Cookery," containing a "Suggested weekly expenditure of a family of five persons, consisting of father, mother, and *three* children"? If this small family have fifteen shillings a week to expend, and only pay 1s. 9d. in rent, Mr. Buckmaster can allow them no tea, no meat, no tobacco, no beer. The wages are too small for town labourers, but the rent is small even for village labourers, and the family is small. One wonders what the large families can get out of the average which should fall to them from the nation's tea, meat, tobacco, and beer total. But there is the sugar. The amount of raw sugar, per head, for the nation is more than a pound a week. This cannot be consumed by the well-to-do, rich or poor, in undue proportion, one thinks at first sight! But remember Mr. Gladstone's jam statistics and the assurance which was given him by the jam-makers that this is chiefly made in England. And remember that "enormous capacity of the human stomach" for jam, &c., to

* Giffen, p. 17.

which Mr. Gladstone called attention; and one has not even the consolation of feeling sure that the average amount even of raw sugar per head is inevitably distributed in any intelligible proportions. I notice that Mr. Buckmaster can allow his family of five a penny each, a week, for sugar, and twopence between them for treacle; and he advises them that "fat bacon," of which otherwise they are to have none, although Mr. Giffen's ham and bacon figures are so imposing, "might occasionally be substituted for sugar, dripping, or treacle."

The rice statistics too have an irresistibly satisfactory appearance; 16lb. per head, per annum—enough, I am told on good authority, to allow of a rice pudding five days a week for a family of five. But I happen to give my chickens rice, which, as far as one can see, might be made into puddings, and these dozen and a half chickens will easily consume in a week or two, amongst much besides, an individual's annual share of 16lb. So here again another hard fact melts for me into unsubstantiality of consolatoriness. It may be the chickens of England, or something else, and not the poor people only, who ought to figure in the capitation grant of rice.

The Savings Banks' accounts show "an increase of tenfold in the number of depositors, and of fivefold and more in the amount of deposits!" But whence do these come? We have no statistics to show the occupation of the depositor. It is a very common thing for half-a-dozen children or more in a middle-class family to have an account each with the savings bank. Besides, as Mr. Giffen admits, there is no knowing how much of the increased deposits is due to the increased facilities offered. Or, to use Carlyle's words again—

> Statistic science turns up her savings bank accounts, and answers, "Increasing rapidly." Would that one could believe it! But the Danaides' sieve character of such statistic reticulated documents is too manifest. A few years ago, in regions where thrift, to one's own knowledge, still was, savings banks were not; the labourer lent his money to some farmer, of capital, or supposed

to be of capital,—and has too often lost it since; or he bought a cow with it, bought a cottage with it; nay, hid it under the thatch: the savings banks books then exhibited were blank and zero. That they swell yearly now, if such be the fact, indicates that what thrift exists does resort more and more thither rather than elsewhither; but the question, Is thrift increasing? runs through the reticulation, and is as water spilt on the ground, not to be gathered here.*

Read for thrift, thrift amongst the poorest quarter of the population, and the question still remains unanswered by Savings Banks' Accounts.

There are 130,000 people now who pay tax on incomes between £150 and £200 per annum, more than three times as many as paid tax on such incomes fifty years ago. Mr. Giffen gives us a table showing the comparative numbers of payers on every increase of £100 up to £1,000, and between £1,000 to £2,000, up to £5,000. The increase in each separate stage is by twice or thrice. When we come to incomes between £5,000 and £10,000, we find 1,439 fortunate payers in 1880, as compared with 493 in the year 1843; between £10,000 and £50,000 there are 785 payers now as compared with 200 then; on £50,000 and upwards, 68 now as compared with eight then. Mr. Gladstone may be able to see in such figures an assistance towards "the best answer to George;" and doubtless we shall all be disposed to take his word for it that there is more comfort to be got out of the figures than an ordinary intellect can extract from them by aid of the multiplication and division tables; but we may be sure of this—that if the clamour which Mr. George has raised is to be allayed it must be by some manipulation of figures which has regard to average minds as well as average stomachs. Not without excuse might Mr. George write at the foot of the table we have quoted: "Soothing as soft flutes to those who, having fared well themselves, think every body should be satisfied."

But in his final paragraphs Mr. Giffen clinches his statistics by adducing the testimony of common-sense as

* *Chartism*, Chap. II. "Statistics."

corroborative, or rather anticipatory, of what his facts have proved; and he appeals to a vital moral principle which needs no statistics for its support. And it is in these assertions that he gets upon level ground with the author of *Social Problems*. There is an inconclusiveness about Mr. George's facts, except as useful appendages to such statistics as Mr. Giffen's.

But since even Mr. Giffen deigns to call to the aid of his statistics the anticipations and testimony of common-sense and universal moral experience, Mr. George's new book may have a force and value unshaken by the air of shakiness which undoubtedly hangs about many of his anecdotal facts.

Mr. Giffen sums up his piles of statistics thus :

> The facts are what we should have expected from the conditions of production in recent years. Inventions having been multiplied, and production having been increasingly efficient, while capital has been accumulated rapidly, it is the wage receivers who *must* have the benefit. The competition of capital keeps profits down to the lowest point, and workmen consequently get for themselves nearly the whole product of the aggregate industry of the country. It is interesting, nevertheless, to find that the facts correspond with *what theory should lead us to anticipate.*

Again—

> Those who have done some hard work in the world will, I am sure, agree with me that it is only done by virtue of the most powerful stimulants. Take away the rewards, and even the best would probably not give themselves up to doing what the community wants, and now pays them for doing, but they would give themselves up either to idleness or to doing something else. The war of the land nationaliser and socialist is then not so much with the capitalist as with the workman, and the importance of this fact should not be lost sight of. *

Mr. George could not have wished for a better statement of the social and economic axioms with which he conflicts. The political economy which has been dubbed as a canonisation of "devil take the hindmost" results from theories

* Giffen, p. 29, 30.

such as are contained in these sentences of Mr. Giffen. The political economy of Mr. George, of which one, who wanted to affix to it an antithetical stigma, might say that its motto is, "Devil take the foremost" meets Mr. Giffen on this ground rather than on that which is peculiarly his own. But here, as I commenced by saying, we must remember that Mr. George has on his side his opponent, Professor Fawcett, when he declines to accept such statistics as Mr. Giffen's as conclusive proofs of national advancement.

It is in the challenge it throws down to such axioms of the older economists as I have referred to, that *Social Problems* will make itself felt. As *Progress and Poverty* raised the land question as perhaps it has been never raised before, so will this book raise questions as to the sufficiency and possibility of *laissez faire*. It may be said that Mr. George's forte is rather in the stirring enunciation of problems than in their solution. But those who best state problems do most towards solving them. "I ask no one to accept my views. I ask him to think for himself," says our author. And we may apply this phrase to the work done by his *Progress and Poverty*. Few, probably, have accepted his views compared with the vast numbers whom he has compelled to think for themselves. We may reprobate any sudden application of his remedy, and yet admit thankfully that he has opened thousands of eyes to the facts about rent which lay hid for the few in the pages of Mill and Spencer. As I have previously discussed *Progress and Poverty* in these columns, I may be excused if I say now that I, for one, cannot but lament that Mr. George has felt it his duty or his wisdom to take the line which he seems, from the brief newspaper reports, to have taken in his lecture campaign in this country. He has, I believe, damaged his cause immensely; and I can only imagine that he must have been misled as to English feeling on the subject with which he deals. In the proposal, to which he *seems* to have given such prominence on his platforms, to confiscate ground-rents, in the

form of taxation, by a sudden stroke and without any compensation, he really does a great injustice to his own writings. I don't for a moment mean that the proposal is not prominent in his works. But there is so much besides, which is of great and immediate practical value, and which the public has lost sight of in presence of the revolutionary spectre he has raised.*

Those who have really read *Progress and Poverty* know that sudden confiscation of ground-rent is not a necessary *sequitur* from the economic truths there elaborated. A progressive taxation of ground-rent, an increasing tendency to throw the burdens of taxation upon ground-rents, *will* follow if the truths enunciated in *Progress and Poverty* be accepted; and this not merely to relieve other "interests," but in order to counteract the industrial evils which result from the increase of rents with the increase of population. It is not too much to say that Mr. George has played directly into the hands of his opponents by insisting upon non-compensation to landlords in the event of the sudden adoption of his theories. He has acted as if every one had read his writings. He would more wisely have assumed that his opponents, at least, have not read them, but have only gathered their notions about his proposals from the inadequate hearsay of daily newspapers. The one idea which those influential and other people who, having no taste or time for literature, are unacquainted with *Progress and Poverty*, now entertain concerning Mr. George, is that he is only a fresh raw revolutionist, unaware that his theories have been upset long before he propounded them. In his writings there is nothing like an appeal to vulgar greed. In fact he deliberately discountenances all ideas of simply taking away the wealth of the rich. He says (*Social Problems*, chapter on First Principles)—

Nor yet could we accomplish any permanent equalisation in the distribution of wealth were we to forcibly take away from

* A friend who has read this article in proof-sheets, assures me that the Press have misrepresented Mr. George's lectures. I thankfully give publicity to such a credible warning.

those who have and give to those who have not. We would do great injustice; we would work great harm; but from the very moment of such a forced equalisation the tendencies which show themselves in the present unjust equalities would begin to assert themselves again, and we would in a little while have as gross inequalities as before.

I wish to emphasize this point, for there are those who constantly talk and write as though whoever finds fault with the present distribution of wealth were demanding that the rich should be spoiled for the benefit of the poor; that the idle should be taken care of at the expense of the industrious, and that a false and impossible equality should be created, which, by reducing every one to the same dead level, would destroy all incentive to excel and bring progress to a halt. In the reaction from the glaring injustice of present social conditions, such wild schemes have been proposed, and still find advocates. But to my way of thinking they are as impracticable and repugnant as they can seem to those who are loudest in their denunciations of "communism."

The newspaper reports, or his own lecture-method, misrepresent Mr. George utterly in exhibiting him as a robber of one class. What he seeks to do is to check certain ruinous forces evolved by progress in wealth; to prevent that increase in rent which is the inevitable outcome of the growth of population from tending to the impoverishment of labour and capital. We who have been influenced by his book must protest in his own name against the sudden and uncompensated application of his remedy. Even if it be his own fault we must not allow him to be howled down as a robber by people who have not taken the trouble to find out what his teaching really is. It is noticeable that few, if any, of those who have dealt most seriously with his work have been at the pains to differentiate his teaching from that of cruder revolutionists. Mr. Samuel Smith, even in an article* which he commences by upbraiding statesmen for not having dealt with the dangerous doctrines of George, so far mistakes his author as to say—"so far as I understand this novel doctrine it is that the State ought to own the entire

* *Contemporary Review*, December, 1883.

land of the country," a complete misapprehension of Mr. George's wishes.

The very able and appreciative, though hostile, Quarterly Reviewer took no notice of Mr. George's foremost claim, as indicated on his title-page, to have pointed out in the unmitigated private ownership of ground-rents the perennial cause of industrial depressions. I have not been able yet to read Mr. Walker's new work which deals with Mr. George's theories; but a notice of it in *The Pall Mall Gazette* complains that Mr. Walker deals with the application of Mr. George's theories to agricultural rather than to town lands. And whilst I guard myself against adopting a second-hand criticism like this, I would premise that any view of Mr. George's propositions as to rent which chiefly regards agricultural rents, chiefly regards the least important item of his complaint against our present system. Here is a passage which shows briefly what Mr. George proposes; it will be noticed that the "revolutionariness" of his scheme depends upon the speed with which it is carried out. If the change were spread over one or two hundred years it would hardly be open to the charge of revolutionariness.

> Nor to take rent for the common benefit, is it necessary that the State should actually take possession of the land and rent it out from year to year, or from term to term. It can be done in a much more simple and easy manner by concentrating taxation upon the value of land. All it is necessary to do is to abolish all other forms of taxation until the weight of taxation rests upon the value of land irrespective of improvements, and takes rent for the public benefit. . . . As the tax upon land values irrespective of improvements was increased, more and more of the rent which now goes to favoured individuals would be taken for public benefit, until ultimately, if we could attain that ideal perfection, the selling values of even the most valuable land would entirely disappear, and taxation would become rental paid the State.*

Lively and sparkling as the essays are, there is, I imagine, but little in them that will be new to students of

* *Social Problems*, p. 274.

Progress and Poverty. The new book, he says, is "intended for the casual reader who lacks inclination to follow the close reasoning necessary to show the full relation of this seemingly simple reform to economic laws." The great question again raised is as to whether our social woes are due to the fault of men or to the fault of things in themselves; whether these woes are the inevitable concomitants of our wealth, or are solely caused by "ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights."

I am not denouncing the rich, nor seeking, by speaking of these things, to excite envy and hatred; but if we would get a clear understanding of social problems, we must recognise the fact that it is owing to monopolies, which we permit and create, to advantages which we give one man over another, to methods of extortion sanctioned by law and by public opinion that some men are enabled to get so enormously rich, while others remain so miserably poor. If we look around us and note the elements of monopoly, extortion, and spoliation which go to the building up of all, or nearly all fortunes, we see on the one hand how disingenuous are those who preach to us that there is nothing wrong in social relations, and that the inequalities in the distribution of wealth spring from the inequalities of human nature; and, on the other hand, we see how wild are those who talk as though capital were a public enemy, and propose plans for arbitrarily restricting the acquisition of wealth. Capital is a good; the capitalist is a helper, if he is not also a monopolist. We can safely let any one get as rich as he can if he will not despoil others in doing so.*

This passage fairly indicates Mr. George's ruling thought in this volume. His chief aim is to show that the present tendency of things towards production on a great scale is a tendency towards monopoly which places in the hands of a group of monopolists powers which the State cannot safely leave to a few individuals. Thus the march of concentration, which is going on in all departments of production, points to the necessity of the assumption by the State of great operations which will otherwise be monopolies placing

* *Social Problems*, p. 76.

the community at the mercy of small rings of monopolists. The first monopolies which Mr. George would have the State secure for the benefit of those who enrich them are, after the taxation of land, railways, and the supply of gas, water, electricity, &c.

The fact is that society and industrial life are becoming more and more complicated with the growth of population; and, as Mr. George points out in his first chapter, with society, as with animal life, "the increasing complexity and delicacy of organisation which give higher capacity and increased power are accompanied by increased wants and dangers, and require, therefore, increased intelligence." The worm has none of the risks which beset in increasing ratio the sheep, the horse, and the human being. Even if the worm is chopped into little bits he is not much nearer destruction, as far as we can see. And civilised man, the creature of the city, has wants and risks compared with which those of the savage tribe, or simpler stages of society, are small. More forethought and intelligence, one would think, are needed by Government, now that social life is so much less simple than it was. But those who have least patience with books like this, and with ideas like those of Mr. Ruskin, talk as if all that were necessary for the salvation of society were to leave it alone. Mr. George's new book will do good service if it well raises the question as to the efficiency of *laissez faire*. Are we prepared, quâ State, to shut our eyes and hold our hands and wait for the survival of the fittest? Unfortunately for those who would act thus, there is a knack of surviving amongst the unfittest. No one contends that we ought to close our prisons and our hospitals and our casual wards. But if we protect the wronged and weak and dying when they come within range of the need of these institutions, we so far infringe the principle of *laissez faire* as to create a state of society in which we have a lot of weak people for whose weakness the State, through its mercifulness *in extremis*, is responsible, and a lot of trustful people who probably would never be robbed as they are, were it not that the

State interferes with robbery when it reaches a certain pitch. The result of our *laissez faire*, of our glorification of the average outcome of unchecked commercial gambling, for this is what our competition amounts to, is satisfactory to some people. But the process, whose outcome is so imposing in tables of statistics, is accompanied by social symptoms which defy *laissez faire*. As Mr. Giffen says in these very pages, "No one can contemplate the condition of the masses of the people without desiring something like a revolution for the better."

Many well-to-do people cannot bring themselves to believe that our social distress and discontents are due to anything more radical than the conduct of political agitators. But, as Mr. George says, "To attribute all this to the teachings of demagogues, is like attributing the fever to the quickened pulse." There is an *a priori* absurdity about this supposition that no new invention of political and social thought, so to speak, is needed to meet the social complications which have resulted from the increase of wealth and increase of population. It is easy to see how it has come to be considered almost an axiom, with liberal politicians of these latter generations, that society is to be saved by the mere destruction of restrictions upon individual freedom. The older leading statesmen amongst us have won their laurels in crusades against antiquated privilege in things ecclesiastical, military and departmental, and in the establishment of open competition. Religious freedom has been the watchword with pioneers of progress for the last generation or two, till freedom and progress have almost come to mean for most minds a religious fervour for leaving people alone. And in the meantime wealth has enormously increased, through the increase in population and in wealth-producing inventions; and there has grown up the state of things which Mr. George knows so well how to describe. It would seem as if in this new state of things freedom and progress were impossible without the introduction of a different current of ideas from that in the rush of which reformers have been trained during the past generation. The new weak need protection from the new

strong. The monopoly and privilege of luck has succeeded to the monopoly and privilege of caste and creed; it claims the divine rights denied to them.

Men of the sort who, a little while ago, derided the idea that steam carriages might be driven over the land and steam-vessels across the sea, would not now refuse to believe in the most startling mechanical invention. But he who thinks society may be improved, he who thinks that poverty and greed may be driven from the world, is still looked upon in circles that pride themselves on their culture and rationalism as a dreamer, if not a dangerous lunatic.*

And so the burning power of united intelligence and sympathy is not brought to bear upon the social problems of the day. There is a suspicion that heart and brain must for ever be at loggerheads. In other spheres of thought the contradictions of heart and head have been reconciled by that fusion of transcendentalism which seems foolishness to the wisdom of this age and the princes of this age. Can we be liberal enough to believe that it may be as true now as it was when the poet wrote thirty or forty years ago that

The old changeth, yielding place to new,

and that the realm of ideas which has been necessary for the promotion of religious equality and free-trade has done its work, and must yield to something more constructive?

G. SARSON.

* *Social Problems*, p. 84.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Dr. Drummond's Introduction to the Study of Theology.*

THOSE who have had the advantage of studying at a German University will not forget the help derived from the text-books usually published by the Professors. These books are valuable, first as a preparation for the lectures by enabling the student to form some idea of the road along which he is to travel, and afterwards as a reliable abstract of the fuller notes which he has himself taken in the class-room. The book we are about to describe is of this sort, and we cannot but hope that its usefulness will encourage all the Professors of Manchester New College to prepare works of a similar character in their several departments. The present work is an excellent beginning, both from its plan and its execution. As the title indicates, it introduces the student to the whole field of theology, in the widest sense of the term. Defining theology as the science of God, and answering objections that may be urged against this definition, Professor Drummond goes on to speak of its importance and its principles. The necessity of freedom in a theological college is strongly affirmed; for "not only do the acquisition of knowledge and the search for truth demand the most absolute freedom for their successful prosecution, but the very differences which are a disturbance to our higher moods of devotion and self-surrender, serve to stimulate the understanding, to clarify the judgment, and to widen the horizon of our mental view." If the doctrines and usages of a particular church are to be maintained at any price, all comprehensive treatment of theology is at an end. Not that a position of neutrality is required of the teacher; but he is not to take his side without giving to those who differ from him a fair hearing. Moreover, while freedom assures to the fullest extent the option of rejecting what is not true, and receiving what is true, it does not ignore the fact that, as religion has its basis in our religious nature, our power of apprehending spiritual truths will depend, not only on intellectual considerations, but also on the understanding to be gained through moral earnestness and the devout affections. If a young man has adopted the ministry as his profession, it is reasonable to infer that he is profoundly interested in it, has already felt

* *Introduction to the Study of Theology.* By James Drummond, LL.D., Professor of Theology in Manchester New College, London. Macmillan and Co., London. 1884.

a call to it, and is anxious to qualify himself, as best he can, for exercising a religious influence among his fellow men. Still, if the fervour of his spirit and his philanthropic zeal lead him to despise intellectual acquisition, he will be in danger of being one-sided and immature, and wanting in the power of a harmonious culture.

After remarks on the relation of theology to other studies, Professor Drummond gives a synoptical view of the various branches of theology, beginning with philosophy. "The philosopher need not be a theologian but the theologian is bound to study the deepest questions of philosophy;" for he cannot build on grounds of the firmness and solidity of which he has a secret misgiving. Under the head of philosophy will come those questions, which in our day have been answered by some leading men of science and others in a way which is a virtual negation of theology altogether. The three branches of philosophy which will have the special attention of the student for the ministry are mental, ethical, and religious. The next subject is Comparative Theology, which will disclose the development of religious ideas and feelings in the religions and Bibles of the world from the earliest times. The various religions are to be regarded, not as the false and the more or less true, but as in the relation of the rudimentary to the more advanced in growth. All genuine or sincere religions are in a certain sense true, being, it may be supposed, the best that could be done in the circumstances to draw nearer to God. Section III. deals with Biblical Theology, for entering on which linguistic equipment is needed. There should, of course, be a knowledge of Latin, Greek (not classical Greek only, but also the Greek of the New Testament), and Hebrew, "the theological language." Among modern languages stress is laid on German on account of the valuable theological works in that language. Other languages and dialects are mentioned, and reasons are given for the advantages which an acquaintance with them will afford. The methods by which the most correct text of the Old and New Testaments may be ascertained; the interpretation of the text; the origin and collection of the Biblical writings; Biblical archæology; the history of the Israelites down to the destruction of the Jewish nationality; the history of religious ideas among the Israelites down to the time of Christ; the exposition and explanation of the Scriptures; the Life of Christ; the Lives of the Apostles, or the History of the Apostolic Age; the Theology of the New Testament,—are separately treated with as much conciseness as is compatible with an exhaustive survey. The motive for dwelling on the character of Christ apart from His life and teachings is stated in the following passage:—

> Our doctrine respecting Christ must largely depend on an examination of His life and teaching, and for this very reason the examination itself must be conducted without any ulterior view. But, in saying this, I do not for a moment suppose that we can solve our problem by a mere criticism of details. We want to penetrate the inmost recesses of a soul, and discover what was really there, what was the spring of its spiritual being, what was its purpose, what were the sources of its power; and if we confine ourselves to a shrewd analysis of isolated events, we may succeed at last only in

laying the dead body in the tomb, while the immortal spirit passes utterly beyond our ken. A soul can be understood only by a soul, and he who has no sympathy with the ideal of life presented by the Gospels cannot interpret for us their sublime portrait. Though we may not bring to our inquiry a preconceived dogma, as little may we come with dry and meagre hearts, and hope by ever so much turning of our logical key to open the central treasure house of the world's history. . . . We must have realised to ourselves the awfulness of that religious power which Christ has exercised over mankind; and we are bound to bring to the interpretation of details that unique impression which is produced by His life as a whole (p. 116).

Ecclesiastical History (Section IV.) is to be regarded as representing, "more or less imperfectly, the Christ-life in humanity," and includes inquiry into the constitution of the Church, the history of Ritual, the history of Doctrines, Symbolics—*i.e.*, formulas of belief, such as the Symbolum Apostolicum, Symbolum Quicunque vult, &c.—Patristic Divinity, the moral influence of Christianity, Christian Literature with the most noticeable Lives, Christian Art, and Ecclesiastical Statistics. The section (V.) on Systematic Theology has reference to the fruits of theological study under three heads: "God in His universal relations to the world and to man;" "Man in his ideal and actual relation to God;" and "The relation between God and man as affected by historical considerations." These subjects involve investigations into sources of doctrine, doctrinal differences, and theological ethics. The concluding section (VI.) on Practical Theology * has to do with religious instrumentalities: the principles of ecclesiastical association, and ecclesiastical government; the agencies for the expression and cultivation of religion —*i.e.*, Prayers, Liturgies, Preaching, Pastoral Work, Classes for the Young; and finally agencies for the spread of religion and its influences beyond the Church.

Professor Drummond directs the attention of the student to two German works, akin to his own in their general object: Hagenbach's "Encyklopädie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften," the tenth edition of which, revised by Professor Kautzsch, was issued in 1880, and Räbiger's "Theologik oder Encyklopädie der Theologie." (1880.)

This brief account of the contents of the book before us will show the comprehensiveness of its plan. The object is, for the most part, not to advocate views or state evidence, but to set forth the principal questions which will present themselves for consideration. The work is, in fact, a large and detailed map of the ground over which the student of theology should travel, as far as he is able, in order that he may be prepared for the office to which he has resolved to devote his life. Doubtless he will be ready to ask, "Who is sufficient for these things?" But he will not be the worse for ideal aims.

> Who aimeth at the sky
> Shoots higher much than he that means a tree.

If some part of what is desirable must be left to specialists, it is yet

* There is a very comprehensive and interesting work on this subject by Professor Nitzsch. "Practische Theologie."

important that something should be done, as it ought to be done, in each of the main departments of study, that the student may learn from qualified teachers what are its landmarks, who are authorities in it and who not, and so be able to do what he can under the most favourable conditions.

From the range of the subjects that have to be brought under notice in this Introduction to Theology, it might seem that not much scope would be afforded for that thoroughness of research which is characteristic of Professor Drummond, and which gives so much value to such special studies in theology as he has published from time to time; but, in truth, the same thoroughness is apparent in another way in the completeness with which he has carried out his present plan. For the task which he has set himself, he is in all respects eminently qualified. Nitzsch said that if in the republic of critics descriptive names were given, the one most applicable to Bleek would be the *trustworthy*, "Bleek, der *Zuverlässige*." The same may be said of Professor Drummond: "er fuhrt nicht weiter, und will nicht weiter fuhren, als die wirkliche Wissenschaft reicht." Not only, however, in many passages, but also in passing expressions, there is evidence of that hidden fire which burns in our author's breast, and which cannot fail to be kindling to the souls of the young men who have the benefit of his labours as their teacher and friend. Yet, though this enthusiasm of divinity makes itself felt, it is never of a kind to suggest that his mental calmness has been disturbed, or that feeling has been otherwise than a stimulus to his best thought. No strength of personal conviction renders him insensible to the unfolding processes of the human mind, with its treasures new and old to bring forth.

It is what we *believe* that operates upon the character, and he who would deeply move us must exhibit *this* in its beauty and power, and press upon our assenting conscience its application to our daily life. But, notwithstanding this practical necessity, a Church which would nurture the liberty of the children of God must make provision for advancing knowledge and changing forms of thought, and will therefore refuse to bind its members by the terms of an authoritative creed. The amount of agreement which is requisite for the attainment of the highest ends of common worship need not be defined, but ought to be left to the kindly hand of nature to determine in each instance (p. 21).

No less harmoniously do the inspirations of personal faith blend with those inspirations which come through contact with loftier minds.

Every wise man, when he starts upon his solitary track, will gather to himself an unseen communion of saints, and nourish his soul with mighty thoughts and devout meditations and prayers, which have been breathed from holy lips; yet, with humblest reverence, he will seek within him the verdict of the spirit and of reason, for it is there that God speaks to him His nearest word, and he dare not be guilty of high treason against the majesty of those supreme gifts to man (p. 173).

Not only have individuality and fellowship their own places, but they are so connected that in the truest piety we can hardly think of the one without the other. The loftiest vision of prophet or aspiration of saint must have response within ourselves before it can be anything to us.

On the other hand, if we begin with the witness of our own consciences and hearts, we cannot stop there; for the question naturally arises, what is that witness in men whose spirit and gifts are far purer and higher than our own, and in whom, therefore, we may hope for teachers and guides most worthy of our reverence. Not to wish for the help thus accessible to us would be a self-imposed limitation of spiritual aids, and a strange infatuation of individuality, which, if carried into other pursuits, would make Shakespeare nothing to the poet, and Newton nothing to the philosopher.

In conclusion, we would express the hope that many besides the students of Manchester New College will find this volume of service; and if the supporters of the College look into it for the sake of seeing the nature and spirit of the instruction imparted to its students, we shall be surprised if they are not more than content. THOMAS SADLER.

SCHOPENHAUER'S PHILOSOPHY.

SCHOPENHAUER'S chief work,* the first edition of which appeared in 1818, and the third in 1859, shortly before the author's death, ought long ago to have received the English dress in which it now appears. The translation is on the whole admirably done. Schopenhauer's style is usually uninvolved and lucid, so that the translators have succeeded in combining literal accuracy and readability to a much greater extent than is generally possible in English versions of German philosophy.

This first volume contains the four books which constituted the whole of the original edition, and the two volumes which are yet to come will consist of Schopenhauer's further reflections on the various topics discussed in the first volume together with a critique of the Kantian philosophy, and an abstract of an earlier essay on "The Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason." This last essay is constantly referred to by Schopenhauer, who states that the perusal of it is indispensable to the full understanding of the later and larger work. It is a pity that the form of publication did not allow of its being prefixed instead of postfixed to the present translation, but if any reader of this first volume should feel the need of some previous acquaintance with the earlier treatise, a good summary of it may be found in the English translation of Ueberweg's "History of Philosophy" (vol. ii. p. 258).

Whatever we may think of the pessimistic conclusions which characterise this remarkable work, there can be no question that it displays genius of a high order and will always rank among the world's philosophical masterpieces. If the careful reading of it does not give assurance of the truth of the author's main contention, it will at all events captivate

* *The World as Will and Idea.* By ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER. Translated from the German by R. B. HALDANE, M.A., and J. KEMP, M.A. Vol. I. London: Trübner and Co. 1883. [The English and Foreign Philosophical Library. Vol. xxii.]

and instruct the reader by the many original and brilliant psychological and philosophical ideas which are incidentally presented. The writings of Kant, on the one hand, and the ancient philosophies of the East, on the other, seem to have been the chief external influences which stimulated Schopenhauer's thought; but the many apt quotations which adorn his pages show that he was also familiar with the Greek and Roman classics, and had considerable acquaintance with English and French literature. His starting-point in philosophy is the principle that Nature, or the Object of thought, has neither meaning nor existence apart from the Mind or thinking Subject. With him, as with Kant, Time, Space and Causality are merely the mind's subjective forms, and therefore the phænomena which are presented in these forms correspond to no substance or cause independent of the perceiving mind. Schopenhauer differs from Kant, however, on two essential points (1) as to the nature of the *Ding an sich*, and (2) as to the causality of the same. While Kant declares that the "thing-in-itself" is intrinsically unknowable, Schopenhauer contends that we have actual cognisance of this absolute self-existent reality, and that its essence is Will. Will is the innermost essence, the kernel, of every individual thing. It appears both in the blind forces of nature, in the instinctive actions of animals, and in the deliberate volitions of man. But the Will which is the ultimate reality must not be confounded with the phænomenal forms of it which constitute our individual wills. Our individual wills, like all the energies of nature, can only be apprehended by us under the forms of Time, Space and Causality, but the noümenal Will, the eternal self-existent reality (Schopenhauer's God), is under no such conditions. It is in all individuals and all individuals are in it, yet it has no here nor there, no past nor future; it is the eternal Now, and its activity is characterised by perfect freedom. Nevertheless Schopenhauer does not regard this Absolute Will as wholly unknowable, but declares that as the individual will passes into the higher stages of self-conscious reflection it becomes aware that in one aspect it is a merely individual or phænomenal will, but that in another aspect it is a phase or manifestation of the Eternal Will; and it is upon this two-fold character of knowledge that all Schopenhauer's ethical and religious views ultimately turn.

To pass now to the second point in which Schopenhauer differs from Kant, namely, in reference to the doctrine of Causality. It has often been pointed out that Kant was guilty of gross inconsistency in first maintaining that the category of Causation is merely a form of our thinking, and therefore like all the other categories, inapplicable to aught else than phænomena, and then, in another passage, declaring in opposition to the idealists, that "things in themselves," or noümena, *cause* the sensation that is present in our perceptions. Now Schopenhauer makes a clean sweep of all this inconsistency, but in so doing he commits, we think, the fundamental fallacy which undermines the entire structure of his philosophy. It seems to us that Kant committed an error when he said that the idea of Cause is properly applicable to the relations among phænomena

and that he was right when he referred phænomena to a noümenal cause; Schopenhauer, on the contrary, thinks that Kant was wrong when he applied the idea of Cause to the action of noümena, and he emphatically contends that while this idea is appropriate and necessary in the physical and psychological sciences which deal with objects or phænomena merely, it is unmeaning when applied to the thinking subject or to the Universal Will, for these can never be objects of thought. If, however, causality only holds good among phænomena, and the mind creates its own phænomenal universe, how are we to justify our belief in the existence of other persons than ourselves? We believe in their existence because we cannot otherwise account for the bodily forms, movements, and sounds which we ascribe to them, but these assumed foreign wills do not belong to our phænomenal universe, and so if it be unmeaning to seek for causes outside the phænomenal sphere, it is unmeaning to postulate the existence of other persons. Schopenhauer is evidently quite aware that he is here in a serious quandary, and, being unable to rationally extricate himself, he takes refuge in the assertion that a Solipsist, *i.e.*, one who believes that he alone exists, is not to be found outside Bedlam. Very true: but this only shows that a theory of causality which logically leads to Solipsism effectually discredits itself. It is to be noted that Schopenhauer's idealism is in this respect quite different from Berkeley's, for the latter thinker strenuously maintains that all causation is really referable to noümena, and that it is the will of God acting on our minds which causes these successive mental phænomena that we call the external world.

We have not space to attempt an exposition of the mode in which Schopenhauer in his third book endeavours to explain by the intermediation of the forms of space and time and of supposed real ideas of species (analogous to Plato's), how the Universal Will, which is unintelligent as well as unconscious, comes to manifest itself in the form of separate organisms, and at length through the human brain attains to self-consciousness and to the presentation to itself of the Ideas *(Vorstellungen)* which constitute the external world. This part of the theory has not proved acceptable to Schopenhauer's disciples, and so Von Hartmann replaces it by the doctrine that the Universal Will, which by its striving calls into being the phænomenal world, is in its very nature, though wholly unconscious, yet infinitely wise, and hence the universe which it projects is of all possible universes the most perfect one.

But although Schopenhauer calls the present world the worst possible one, while Hartmann declares it is the best possible, they are both at one in the conclusion that it would have been better if such a world had not come into existence, and that the end of a true philosophy is to weaken and finally destroy in us that will to live which is the perpetual source of delusions and disappointments and is ever creating a tormenting thirst for which actual experience can furnish no complete alleviation. Both on *a priori* and *a posteriori* grounds Schopenhauer labours to show that the miseries of life far outweigh its satisfactions. Will is in its essence a

constant striving, and striving is necessarily suffering. Pain and want are alone positive, while happiness is at the best simply negative. We do not appreciate the greatest goods of life—health, youth, and freedom—so long as we have them, but only after we have lost them. That certain days of our life were happy ones we recognise first of all after they have made room for unhappy ones.

Human life (he says) oscillates between the evil of pain and the evil of ennui; as want is the constant scourge of the people so is ennui that of the fashionable world.

And again:—

Between desiring and attaining all human life flows on throughout. The wish is in its nature pain; the attainment soon begets satiety; the end was only apparent; possession takes away the charm; the wish, the need presents itself under a new form; when it does not, then follows desolateness, emptiness, ennui, against which the conflict is just as painful as against want. That which we might otherwise call the most beautiful part of life, its purest joy, if it were only because it lifts us out of real existence and tranforms us into disinterested spectators of it—that is, pure knowledge, which is foreign to all willing, the pleasure of the beautiful, the true delight in art—this is granted only to a very few, because it demands rare talents, and to these few only as a passing dream. And then, even these few, on account of their higher intellectual power, are made susceptible of far greater suffering than duller minds can ever feel, and are also placed in lonely isolation by a nature which is obviously different from that of others; thus here also accounts are squared (p. 404).

But although human life is here painted in such dark colours there is another side to the picture, and before we reach the end of the volume we find that Schopenhauer, like Spinoza, holds that through wisdom and love the soul may attain to a deep spiritual peace and joy which this phænomenal world can neither give nor take away. The cause of all our unrest and disappointment is that we feel and act for ourselves alone, as though our separate individuality were the real and ultimate fact, whereas the truth is that our individuality is a mere phænomenal illusion, and the only reality is that Universal Will which is in each and all, and which while we are seemingly many is yet ever one and the same. As then we by increasing wisdom see through the phænomenal illusion, we recognise our virtual oneness with our fellow creatures and even with the animal world and, thinking ever less and less of our personal interests and pleasures, we enter into complete sympathy with the sorrows and joys of others. Philosophical insight thus begets spiritual love, and spiritual love, with Schopenhauer as with Paul, is the soul's salvation from the fever and the thirst of this phænomenal world. The resemblance between Schopenhauer's views and those set forth in the New Testament is very striking, and we think most readers of the fourth book of Schopenhauer's treatise will say of it, as Matthew Arnold says of the *Ethica* o Spinoza, that whatever be its errors, it is decidedly "edifying" as well as interesting. The fundamental defect in Schopenhauer's moral and religious philosophy seems to us to lie in his denying to the human will real causality and power of choice. His theory of salvation has close affinity with Calvinism, for he maintains that a man's character is strictly

determined by the original bent of his will; and "what the man really and in general wills, the striving of his inmost nature, and the end he pursues in accordance with it, this we can never change by influence upon him from without by instruction, otherwise we could transform him. Seneca says admirably, *velle non discitur.*"

But Schopenhauer admits that there is one most remarkable exception to this iron necessity in which human nature is bound. So long as our knowledge is merely knowledge of phænomena it cannot fundamentally change the will, but let it once become true philosophical insight—insight that is, which reveals to us the illusory nature of the *principium individuationis* and shows the ontological identity of all beings with the Eternal—then the soul in recognising its substantial unity with the Universal Will participates at the same time in that original freedom which distinguishes the Real from the Phænomenal; and now the whole previous character may be completely suppressed by this change of knowledge. "This change," says Schopenhauer, "which the Christian Church aptly calls the *work of grace* and the *new birth*, is for us the single direct expression of *the freedom of the will.*" This freedom of the will manifests itself in suppressing the will to live, and "he who has attained the denial of the will to live, however poor, joyless, and full of privation his condition may appear, when looked at externally, is yet filled with inward joy and the true peace of heaven." We cannot here criticise this theory, but we must say that it does not correspond to the facts of spiritual experience to say that surrender of the personal self to the Divine Self, *i.e.*, the Father within us, at all quenches the will to live. It quenches the will to work for merely selfish ends, but it quickens the will to work for disinterested ends, and the kind of activity in which the religious soul thus engages is an activity which brings with it unalloyed satisfactions. Spiritual Love is not synonymous with Death but rather with intensest Life. This spiritual life in communion with the Eternal, is the goal towards which humanity aspires, and it is only when this spiritual life declines that pessimistic theories find lodgment and welcome in the mind. But let us add, in conclusion, that with all Schopenhauer's professed pessimism, we believe that the actual tendency of his book is predominantly in the other direction, and as we closed the volume we felt that we had been reading a virtual endorsement and metaphysical justification of the saying of Jesus:—"Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it."

C. B. U.

Recent English Versions of Spinoza's Writings.

WE do not know whether it is due to a happy accident that in Trübner's "English and Foreign Philosophical Library" the translation of Spinoza's *Ethica** immediately precedes that of Schopenhauer's treatise *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, but certainly the two

* *Ethic demonstrated in Geometrical Order and divided into five parts.* By Benedict De Spinoza. Translated from the Latin by William Hale White. London: Trübner and Co., 1883. [The English and Foreign Philosophical Library. Vol. xxi.]

books stand in a very near relationship, and the study of the former is an excellent introduction to the latter. Spinoza owed to Descartes a similar service to that which Schopenhauer owed to Kant, and both Spinoza and Schopenhauer by abandoning the dualism and the free-will doctrine of their respective teachers transformed the Theism of their predecessors into what, for want of a better term, must be called Pantheism. It is to be noted, too, that each of them in the last section of his chief work endeavours to evade the logical consequence of making man a mere phænomenal phase of God's being and activity, and seeks to satisfy the spiritual aspirations of human nature by the assurance that the mind in attaining to true philosophical insight gains a footing in reality and eternity which prevents the spirit from participating in the body's dissolution. Although it is a fundamental principle with Spinoza that the body and the mind are parallel modes of the same eternal substance, yet he somehow manages to reach the conclusion that while the body perishes the better part of us is eternal, and in like manner Schopenhauer after declaring that human wills are only the illusory phænomenal form of the universal will, and therefore wholly under the sway of necessary causation, yet makes bold to maintain that when the human being has become conscious of his essential unity with all other beings his will undergoes a marvellous change, is, as it were, born again, and by a perfectly free and uncaused act of self-denial escapes from the bondage of the phænomenal and enters into the heavenly peace of life eternal. Differ as they may in their premises, all truly great philosophers admit more or less distinctly in their conclusions those fundamental articles of belief which underlie the universal religion of mankind. The logical inconsistency of such thinkers is evidence at once of their close adherence to the facts of spiritual experience, and of the indestructibility of man's faith that his individual being shares in God's eternity and is in no way essentially linked to the particular bodily form with which at any time it is associated. The deep affinities between these two great teachers, both in their errors and in their truths, is manifest in every page of their works; and while it is clear that Schopenhauer was a careful student of Spinoza's writings, it is also probable that the great Jew, if he had lived after the publication of the *Critique of the pure Reason* would have so modified his system that it would have differed little from that which Schopenhauer's book presents. The close relationship between these two writers is not confined to the general character of their systems but extends also to the impulse which set them thinking. In both of them, as in the ancient Epicureans and Stoics, the end in view was mainly ethical and the intellectual philosophy was regarded as subsidiary to this end. Both sought a way of escape from the illusions and the bondage of earthly desires; and the general identity of their methods is confessed by Schopenhauer when, in reference to the noble introduction to Spinoza's unfinished essay *De Emendatione Intellectus* (which is included in Mr. Elwes' excellent translation of Spinoza's chief works*) he says "I can recommend this passage as the most effectual means I know of stilling the storms of the passions."

* *The Chief Works of Benedict De Spinoza.* Translated from the Latin, with an Introduction by R. H. M. Elwes. 2 vols. London: George Bell and Sons, 1883. [Bohn's Philosophical Library.]

It cannot be doubted that Spinoza's writings are now for the first time in this country becoming an important part of the influences which are moulding philosophical and religious thought. To some minds their chief attraction is that ethical power to which we have just referred; and that they really possess some efficacy in this respect will hardly be questioned even by those who, like ourselves, are unable to accept Spinoza's main philosophical principles. It seems probable, however, that their recent rapid rise in public esteem is mainly due to the remarkable similarity, in appearance at least, of Spinoza's doctrine of the complete parallelism of the physiological and psychological aspects of human nature to the views on this subject now put forth by Mr. Spencer, Mr. Bain and others. And of those who dip more or less deeply into the pages of the *Ethica* a few, no doubt, are actuated by the hope that they may there find some clue whereby they may, without sacrificing any of their scientific beliefs, attain to a more substantial and satisfying theology than either Mr. Spencer or Mr. Frederick Harrison are able to offer them.

As to the life of Spinoza, and the critical exposition and estimate of his philosophy, the English public is already singularly favoured in the admirable treatises by Dr. Martineau and Mr. Pollock. If, however, the reader is to use most effectively these excellent works, he must have Spinoza himself at hand, either in the Latin original or in a good translation. Till the books which have suggested this notice appeared, there was no satisfactory English version accessible. The *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* was turned into English before the close of the seventeenth century; but this version has long been unobtainable, and the meritorious translation of the *Tractatus Politicus*, which Mr. Maccall made thirty years ago, is now out of print. There are, it is true, versions by the late Dr. R. Willis of Spinoza's two greatest works; but they are, unfortunately, not sufficiently exact to be safe guides. The two translations to which we now invite attention, give to the English student the same advantage as French and German students of Spinoza have long enjoyed. We have compared several passages in both Mr. White's and Mr. Elwes' version with the original, and have found their renderings accurate. Mr. White strikes us as being rather more graceful in form; but both versions may be recommended as the work of competent scholars. It is often difficult to decide what is the best English equivalent for some of Spinoza's words. The word "affectus," for instance, which describes the subject of the third part of *Ethica*, and occurs very frequently, is rendered by Dr. Martineau "a feeling," by Mr. Pollock "a passion," while Mr. White has recourse to the almost obsolete word "affect," and Mr. Elwes is not very happy, we think, in his choice of "emotion." The *Ethica* is, of course, by far the most important of Spinoza's treatises, and it is well that we have now two good English forms of it; but the *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* is also of great present value, for the sound views which it enounces on freedom of thought and speech, and on the rational interpretation of the Bible, still need to be impressed upon a large section of the Christian world, so that we think Messrs. Bell and Sons are doing

good service to the cause of religious truth in admitting this treatise also into their "Philosophical Library." In re-reading this work we were amused, but not convinced, by the ingenious way in which Spinoza seeks (on p. 63) to reconcile his philosophical necessity with the clear statement in Genesis, that Adam, in eating the apple, acted in direct opposition to God's expressed decree.

Mr. Elwes' version contains also the Political Treatise and the unfinished essay on "The Improvement of the Understanding," and also the greater part of Spinoza's interesting Correspondence. We are sorry that room was not found also for a translation of Spinoza's earlier works—viz., *The Cogitata Metaphysica*, and the treatise, in Dutch, on "God and Man," the MS. of which was discovered a few years ago, and which is now translated into German and French; for these writings are interesting and important as revealing some rather striking differences between Spinoza's earlier and later views. Mr. Elwes prefixes to his version a brief but well-written sketch of Spinoza's life and philosophy, in which he evidently keeps very close to Mr. Pollock. There is a preface of nearly forty pages to Mr. White's translation, in which he comments, with some acuteness and originality, on the nexus of ideas in the *Ethica*, and tries to clear up the difficulties which beset the student when he seeks to harmonise the second half of the Fifth Part with the rest of the work. Mr. White thinks that Spinoza has solid help to give to those who wish for ethical guidance, and our need of such help is, in his view, most urgent, for he adds:—"At present Ethical science, strictly so-called, is non-existent. No preacher preaches it; the orthodox churches are given over to a philosophy of rags, and 'free' pulpits do nothing but mince and mash up for popular ears, commonplaces upon books and passing events."

C. B. U.

Dr. Hunt's 'Pantheism and Christianity.'

As Dr. John Hunt's "Essay on Pantheism," published in 1866, has long been out of print, he has, in answer to numerous requests for its republication, reissued it with considerable modifications and additions under the new title, "Pantheism and Christianity."* The subject is a fascinating one, and, as Dr. Hunt has diligently collected much information from many sources, and has presented it in an attractive manner, we expect that his essay in its new form will be welcomed by many readers. The general character of the book is popular and descriptive, rather than analytic and logical, and, therefore, though it portrays in a series of interesting and on the whole accurate pictures, all those various phases in the history of philosophical and religious thought to which the epithet "Pantheistic" seems in any way applicable, it does not succeed in giving a very clear idea either of what are the characteristic marks of Pantheism

* *Pantheism and Christianity.* By John Hunt, D.D. London: Wm. Isbister. 1884.

as compared with other forms of religious belief, or of the relations in which the different Pantheistic systems stand to each other. Dr. Hunt, indeed, seems to use the terms "Theist" and "Pantheist" as not mutually exclusive, for he evidently regards Spinoza as a typical Pantheist, and yet he remarks that "Dr. Martineau has come to the strange conclusion that Spinoza was not a Theist." His personal sympathy with Pantheism is evidently deep and strong, and this is in one respect an advantage to the reader, for it imparts to the descriptions of the different forms of Pantheistic doctrine a vividness and a warmth which would have been wanting if the writer had not been in hearty accord with the inner spirit of the systems which he depicts. But this very enthusiasm is perhaps in another respect rather detrimental to the permanent usefulness of the book, for it tempts the author to slur over somewhat the real lines of demarcation between Pantheism and Christian Theism. Theism and Pantheism have, no doubt, some striking features in common—features which clearly distinguish them from Atheism and Deism, but it must not be forgotten that there is an ineffaceable difference between them which is all-important when we are speaking of their respective relations to Christianity. Pantheism is accurately described by Emile Saisset as representing "God and Nature not as two beings but as the one sole being under its double aspect—here, the unity which multiplies itself; there, the multiplicity which attaches itself to the unity. On the one side the *natura naturans*, on the other, the *natura naturata*. The true being is not in the finite nor in the infinite, but it is their eternal, necessary, and indivisible co-existence." Christian Theism is at one with Pantheism in maintaining that in God we live and move and have our being, but it distinctly holds, in opposition to Pantheism, that our individuality is not a mere mode of the eternal substance and causality; that man's will and the will of the Father within him may be really at variance, so that Sin on the one hand, and Salvation on the other, are not mere phænomenal illusions, but ontological realities of momentous import both in time and in eternity. Dr. Hunt does not seem to us to recognise this distinction with sufficient clearness and constancy, and hence both in his historical picture of Pantheism and in the suggestive rationale of Christian Theology with which the volume closes he sometimes treats as virtually identical philosophical ideas and tendencies which we regard as intrinsically antagonistic. We have read his able treatise, both in its earlier and in its present shape, with great pleasure and profit, and we advise our readers not to miss the opportunity of travelling over a most interesting region of human thought under Dr. Hunt's genial guidance; but we still think that for a clear idea of the essential nature of Pantheism and of its relation to Theism it will be well for them to read also M. Saisset's "Essai de Philosophie Religieuse," which is to be found in English under the title "Modern Pantheism."

C. B. U.

Creeds of the Day.*

MR. HENRY COKE has written a very able book in a vigorous and sparkling style. He has mastered the current scientific and philosophical, and Biblical theories, and states them fairly, and criticises them acutely, and arrives at the conclusion that no theory is satisfactory, except, perhaps, his own, and of the exact nature of this he leaves us largely in the dark. The book consists of three series of letters. In the first series he deals with Revelation in the Old and New Testaments. In the second series he deals with Natural Theology, and the Argument from Design. In the third series he deals with Transcendental Theology and the Theory of Being. Our readers will see that he must wander here over a wide field, and explore many labyrinths of speculation. He is, however, a competent guide. He knows the country thoroughly, and if we trust ourselves to him, though we shall often be wearied with hard thinking, and now and then shall doubt whether the game be worth the candle, we shall never lose our way. Mr. Coke is a born controversialist, and goes into his work with passionate enthusiasm. We see no signs in these volumes of his being a practical scientist, or of his having made independent investigations into the Biblical narratives. But he seems to have read up nearly all that has been written, and he has certainly grasped the full significance of the systems that he describes. No "reputable thinker" will object that Mr. Coke's presentation is unfair. But when a man writes over six hundred pages of criticism of other people's theories, and accepts something and rejects something belonging to them all, it is evident that he cannot be in a position to state his own final conclusions, especially when he has not taken the trouble to sum them up, and when he indicates plainly enough that no permanently satisfactory conclusions can be reached. We must make our notice, then, of his really interesting and suggestive volumes a kind of index to their contents. We are puzzled to guess why he has provided no index himself. Beyond the three heads we have mentioned, viz., Revelation, Rational Theology, and Transcendental Theology, he has left his readers absolutely without assistance. There are thirteen letters on Revelation, sixteen letters on Rational Theology, and twenty letters on Transcendental Theology. In not a single instance does he inform us in advance what any letter is to be about. The absence of a short summary of contents prefixed to each letter, accompanied by the absence of any general index, seriously diminishes the usefulness of his work. If it should ever reach a second edition we trust that he will remove this grave blemish. And, indeed, it would be well worth his while, as the case stands, to prepare an index, and instruct his publishers to supply it to his purchasers.

In the first series, Revelation, he uses the word in the sense of a miraculous communication from God to man, and considers Revelation,

* *Creeds of the Day*; or, Collated Opinions of Reputable Thinkers. By Henry Coke. In Three Series of Letters. London: Trübner and Co. 1883.

as thus understood, unproven, and not capable of proof. He traces the history of the Old Testament text, the development of the Hebrew religion, the influence exercised upon it by the religions of Egypt, Persia, Assyria, &c., the nature of prophecy, and the growth of the Messianic idea. He quotes freely from recognised authorities of high standing in rationalistic criticism, and concludes by remarking:—

> My aim in the last four letters has been to indicate the vestiges preserved by language of original relationship between the primary stocks of mankind, and to mark how, with the linguistic affinities, mythological agreements also co-existed. From the resemblance of these mythologies and cosmogonies to the cosmogony and to other legends in the Bible, the inference is drawn that the religion of the Hebrews possesses no exceptional features to entitle it to special claims upon our reverence. Critical investigation has brought the Semitic people completely within the legitimate scope of universal history. Henceforth, when this truth is recognised, the Jewish religion will take its place as a fractional phenomenon in the vast integral of civilisation. It grew out of preceding ages as surely and as gradually as any other phase of human belief; and if that which it possesses in common with other systems can no longer be traced to actual or probable contact, we must seek the explanation of similarity in the laws of our common nature (vol. 1, p. 165).

When he comes to the New Testament he sides with the author of "Supernatural Religion," and rejects the miracles of Jesus and the first century origin of the Gospels. He finds much similarity between Christ and Buddha, and thinks that Christianity was an outgrowth of Essenism. While he repudiates, therefore, the superhuman origin of Christianity, and discovers limitations in the teachings of Jesus, he adds:—

> Until our mental vision has been trained to penetrate the glamour of divinity we shall never discern the grandeur of the man whose life has elevated, and whose death has given hope to so many generations. We cannot duly venerate or sympathise with Jesus until we recognise his defects as well as his greatness, and apprehend in both the stamp of his intense humanity (vol. 1, p. 220).

In the second series, "Rational Theology," he criticises the Design Argument in relation to Darwin's doctrine of Natural Selection, and Herbert Spencer's doctrine of Evolution. He states these doctrines at considerable length, and with clearness, and illustrates them with the variations of Haeckel, Tyndall, Huxley, and others. In the material universe he says that "the mass and weight of evidence that may be advanced in favour of Evolution is so overwhelming that, for my part, I am unable to look upon the theory as any longer debatable" (vol. 1, p. 290). Is the doctrine, however, equally true in the mental and moral world? Can we explain the spiritual nature of man by Evolution as well as we can explain his physical nature? Is consciousness a mere function of a congeries of protoplasmic cells? Is mind itself not mind but simply matter in motion? Is the moral sense a developed selfish instinct, and virtue only educated egoism? On the whole, Mr. Coke inclines to Evolution here also, though, if we understand him truly, the Evolution starts with a primitive mental fact, and sympathy is an original factor in human nature. As to the way in which the Design Argument is affected by Natural Selection, he thinks that "Natural Selection clashes with the

Design Argument at no single point. There is neither concinnity nor conflict between them. Darwinism leaves Natural Religion where it found it" (vol. 2, p. 100). As to Evolution itself we must remember that Mr. Coke is really an Idealist, and only uses scientific and materialistic language for purposes of reasoning. He permits himself "to talk as if the 'Dirt Philosophy' were the one limpid fountain of truth, as though there were no truth beneath this pitifullest of delusions." But when he goes back to the starting-point of Evolution, or the point to which thought carries him in its last attainable analysis of force or matter, he finds that the properties of ultimate atoms are themselves ultimate, and not the product of any other atoms, or of the combination of other atoms. If the atoms in the universe had been originally alike, perfect equilibrium would have existed from eternity. We are driven back to the originally unlike. As Du Bois Raymond says, "The laws of organic nature cannot work towards an end unless the material was adapted to the end from the beginning." We will let Mr. Coke tell the outcome of this original unlike in his own words—

> Upon this outcome, Kosmos and nothing less, and upon this complex beginning, I, as an hypothetic Evolutionist, repose my faith. My senses and my reason teach me that the entire visible universe has been evolved—the solar system, the earth, the life upon it, and so forth. Am I asked, if this be true, is it not true of Mind, and all *we* have to do with Mind? Well, I answer; here was a beginning in time. This earth's age we compute at a hundred millions of years or so—five, ten times as much if you please; if our science were more "exact" you could have it in weeks or seconds. And if I rightly comprehend the reasoning which gets atheism out of its materialism, precisely so many minutes ago conscious existence was first hatched into being. Before that, eternal unconsciousness; out of which an eternity of labouring evolution at last brought forth Man, who (by the blessed aid of science) has become aware of *this* and nothing less; and knows (also with scientific certitude) that, besides his *human* intelligence, there is none other in the universe to take thought either of universe or itself. In other stars, perhaps? Also beginnings in time; also computable in minutes. No! I look out upon the stellar firmament and say, Not in any of you resides Eternal Consciousness. Yet to think that such was *not* till this or that speck of star-dust began to be, is not possible. *To think that thought had a beginning is not possible. To think that eternal thought is made up by a regress of finite evolutions of thought is not possible.* To think that evolution perfects all, only to plunge perfection in a sea of death, is worse than impossible. Rather than such teaching (for me) I follow (if any man's) the creed of the greatest of our latter days. As Goethe, in the fulness of years and knowledge and wisdom, watching the sinking sun, "he was a while lost in thought," and then broke silence with—"Untergehend sogar ist's immer die selbige Sonne. . . . Death! Me the thought leaves in perfect peace, for I have the firm conviction that our spirit is a being of quite indestructible nature; it is an unceasing activity from eternity to eternity. It is like the sun, which seems to sink to our earthly eyes only, yet which in truth never sinks but shines unendingly" (vol. 2, p. 120).

From Mr. Coke's standpoint the crucial questions all arise in the three series, when he discusses "Transcendental Theology and the Theory of Being." In these letters he breaks loose from the criticisms of the Old and New Testament, which, sound in the main as they are, are sometimes disfigured by grave wants of taste, and where he speaks dogmatically

about many matters which are still *sub-judice*. He also emancipates himself distinctly in this last series from the arrogant assumptions of materialistic science, which have apparently too great a sway over him in the series of letters on "Rational Theology," notwithstanding the eloquent passage that we have just quoted. His watchword now becomes Kant, and he cannot, in our opinion, have a better watchword. Kant provides adequately for the satisfaction of all objective rights, and yet reserves subjective supremacy. Things in themselves have a real existence to him, but of their real nature, apart from their relation to the constitution of the human intellect, we know nothing and can know nothing. We only know them as they are present in consciousness. For us the knowledge, although relative, is still real, and it is all we have. There is a necessity of thought imposed upon us, and we have to settle the boundary lines where the limit of knowledge ends, and where the domains of unverifiable theory begin. These domains begin much nearer to ordinary life than many people imagine. Nevertheless, they leave a large residuum of indisputable fact, and they leave an open door through which we may enter infinitude, eternity, and, to us, necessary truth. In this series Mr. Coke is at his best. He carefully recapitulates the positions of the Materialists and the Realists, and does ample justice to the force with which they appeal to the popular mind, and the unlikelihood of Idealism expelling them from their entrenched citadel. Materialism and Realism are easily picturable to the imagination. They rest on the testimony of the senses, and make a direct appeal to common sense. In Metaphysics, however, Mr. Coke thinks that common sense is common nonsense. He subjects Herbert Spencer's Realism to a searching investigation, and is severe on the inconsistencies into which Professor Huxley and Professor Bain fall when, Idealists as they both are, they use materialistic language. But Mr. Coke falls into similar inconsistencies himself, although not to the same extent. Necessary truths, free will, and all the problems connected with innate ideas or innate tendencies, and the origin of knowledge, as they appear in the pages of "reputable thinkers," from Plato to John Stuart Mill, are here summarised and weighed in the balances of impartial judgment. When we add that he prefers Descartes and Leibnitz to Locke, praises the unparalleled acuteness of Hume, and in the end chooses a general agreement with Kant rather than the absolute Idealism of Fichte or the Ideality of Contradictories of Hegel, our readers will be able to understand his whereabouts for themselves. But they must make a guess at his exact position after all, for he is by no means so definite as he might be. We quote the clearest confession of his own faith that we have come across:—

> Do I then believe, like Berkeley, that the external world is a purely mental fact? Do I reduce the order of nature to a subjective illusion? To "an orderly phantasmagoria generated by the Ego unfolding its successive scenes on the background of the abyss of nothingness?" No, I do not espouse this extreme form of Idealism, here formulated by Professor Huxley, and once taught by Berkeley and Fichte. I recognise the distinction between the actual and the ideal; but as to external or internal, or causes as I know

them, I abstain from any judgment respecting either the existence or the principle. I maintain it to be quite as thinkable that space and time may have no extra-mental being as that extension may have more. As for the order of nature, how far it is illusory depends on the use of that word. I am as well aware as Berkeley that the ideas of sense "have a steadiness, order, and coherence, and are not exhibited at random, as those which are the effects of human wills often are, but in a regular train or series." But I do not conclude with Berkeley that because these things have no dependence upon my will, "there is, therefore, some other will or spirit that produces them." I believe that order and coherence, as I apprehend them, are mainly due, like everything else apprehended by me, to the constitution and laws of my own mind or spirit. As to other minds, and a world in which "order" inheres, I have no option whether I shall believe or not in their bare existence. But as the existence of mind must for ever remain a mystery, it is impossible that I or any human being can ever know how far this necessity of thought is due to the mind's own laws, how far to things in themselves. As to the *independent* existence of an external world, the idea is self-contradictory. The thought of anything, since it connects the thing with the thought, *ipso facto* cancels the term independent (vol, 2, p. 224).

And again,

It is not the facts of such knowledge (i.e., ontological), but the mystery of their possibility which Kant undertook to investigate. If he failed to serve Philosophy by clearing up the mystery, he served religion by everlastingly establishing it (vol. 2, p. 324).

We venture to add that Kant served Religion even to a farther extent than Mr. Coke himself appears willing to admit. These necessities of thought, in our opinion, justify affirmations on many points where Mr. Coke is content to remain in doubt. If it be true, as he says, that "the wrong side on which to approach mental problems is the biological or material side," then we contend that, approaching them from the mental side, we can legitimately deduce God, free will, immortality, and universal truths in thought and morals. So far as we understand him, Mr. Coke does not deny any of these. Neither does he assert them. The utmost extent to which he goes is that although they may be necessities of thought it is an open question whether or not they are verities.

Among the "reputable thinkers" whose collated opinions furnish the Creeds of the Day Mr. Coke includes Lewes, Huxley, Mill, Clerk Maxwell, Whewell, Hume, Spencer, Bain, Tyndall, Kant, Herbart, Cousin Du Bois Raymond, Haeckel, Berkeley, Locke, Wallace, Darwin, Sidgwick, Max Müller, Tylor, Comte, Hamilton, Descartes, Leibnitz, Lange, Buchner, and a host of others. But we also miss many names which ought to have been there. The intuitive school of morals is badly represented by Whewell, and modern Theism is not represented at all, except by Kant, Descartes, and Cousin, who are not adequate representatives in the present stage of thought. There are, also, some slight references to Professor Flint. But the collated opinions of reputable Theistic thinkers are altogether too few. And this, and the absence of an index, constitute almost the sole demerit of the book.* For the rest it is well written, carefully digested, and eminently fair. WILLIAM BINNS.

* Since writing the above, we have received an Index and Table of Contents. The publishers will supply these to purchasers. They add to he permanent value of the work, and make it useful for reference.

NOUVELLES PAROLES DE FOI ET DE LIBERTÉ.*

IT is a year since in these columns we were happy to commend the first series of M. Bouvier's '*Paroles*,' so full of insight and *esprit*, and in such vital and even delicate *rapport* with the genius of our time. These three brochures are no less stamped with the fine 'inwardness' of the author and his power of spiritual diagnosis in dealing with the symptoms of the age. There is no evangelical agency so needful to the present day as this power of spiritual discernment, and nothing is more disheartening than the general lack of it. The pursuit of physical research has absorbed the energy that should, in part, at least, have gone to refine the spiritual instinct and cultivate the true tact of social religion. Agencies that would be unhesitatingly condemned if we had but the power to forefeel their ultimate and mischievous results receive at least a silent approval where in the largest and truest interests of the spirit they should be severely exposed and withstood. There is a passion for externalism and an impatience of the true slow movements of spiritual process, as unhealthy as that 'over-pressure' in our education which has probably a good deal to do with both. Two examples of what is here meant cannot fail to strike us, both noisy, both hasty, both outward and both fatal to the inward man. We mean the Socialist gospel and the gospel according to Booth. The first is a gospel of readjustment instead of regeneration, and in one sense is not selfish enough; the second is a gospel of self instead of sacrifice, and is not social enough; and both are in their tendencies materialist, violent, and in danger of hell fire.

M. Bouvier is just the man to feel the fatal externalism of such movements and the danger with which they are charged to his central reality —the divine in man. Neither M. Bouvier nor his present reviewer is likely to despise the intrinsic Socialism of Christianity, but judgment must begin at the house of God and the outward change flow from a changed temper and fidelity in the public soul. We hear enough about Christian Socialism, but too little about the socialism of the cross. We have too few demands of a lofty nature made upon those whom Socialism is designed especially to benefit, and nothing would give us more hope for the future than the growth of apostles like our author, who should press the *cultus* of unheroic but scrupulous justice into the very soul of the community. There is one factor conveniently omitted by many who thirst for the social paradise. It is Christ. And the false and fatal note in much of our social reform is the absence of what for M. Bouvier is central—a spiritual power to dominate and transform that egotism of nature which is not less dangerous, but more, when it is the egotism of many thousands deluding themselves with the mere name and spectre of fraternity. Well does this writer say "The grand social peril is

* *Nouvelles Paroles de Foi et de Liberté.* Par AUGUSTE BOUVIER. 1883. (Genève : Cherbuliez ; Paris : Fischbacher.)
I. Le Salut Social. II. Le Salut Religieux. III. Du Progrès et de la Conciliation en Théologie.

the peril of corruption; it is far more formidable though less clamorous than that of revolution." And how is the great new time to come? "By men of genius? Surely. But more still by the force of conviction and the people's *will*. . . . The Kingdom of God is built by a million arms."

These inadequate remarks of ours may serve to show the quality of the address that has suggested them. Would that more of the Lord's people were prophets like this, who took into their pulpits the questions men discuss on the streets, in the clubs, at the taps, and at the dining-tables of the day, with the same spiritual power of judgment and the same resolve to 'question the Master on the laws of His Kingdom.'

The second of these addresses deals with the externalism which ravages the soul in the most popular theology and evangelistic methods. Fear and falsehood, as M. Bouvier well hints, cannot be looked to as the parents of real and final good. Too much is made of "the wisdom that begins with fear." The only fear that can issue in wisdom is the fear that is legitimate in the presence of judgment and truth. The fear that is inspired by melodramatic and blasphemous falsity is bad and sterile. It can easily be surmised how M. Bouvier deals with the false theology which is the *point d'appui* of Salvationism and the ruin of salvation. We wish we had space to quote some admirable remarks which translate 'the blood' into the love of Christ and the love of Christ into something the least mechanical, the least outward, the most striking and searching, of all the spiritual influences we know. Why does not some one of the many leisurely and cultured ladies to whom French is as easy as breathing, and a reasonable piety as natural as light, give the English public a taste of M. Bouvier's best quality in a translation of say the first series of the '*Paroles*'?

We can say but a word about the last and longest of these brochures. Unlike the others it is not an address, but an article written in reply to some magnanimous strictures by M. de Pressensé. The controversy is of the noblest, fairest sort, full of all mutual respects in thought and word. We take leave to doubt, as we did a year ago, the soundness of M. Bouvier's metaphysics. We are not sure that he allows enough scope to 'apriorism' in that region, and we think induction is not the true speculative method. We are sure he is right in saying that in theology the question of method is everything, and we shall begin to have hope for English Theology when that comes to be recognised. But what does M. Bouvier mean by referring to the philosophy of evolution as having been '*preparée par Hegel et Comte et formulée par Spencer*'? Spencer's formulation is not to be unduly disparaged, but what is it compared with the architectonic formulation of Hegel? We think Pressensé's *a priori*, "abstractions" contain more metaphysical truth perhaps than any mere postulates on which we are forced by induction. But we also think M. Bouvier is justified in criticising his antagonist's unresolved Supernatural Dualism, and his refusal to concede anything to the action of critical scholarship on the New Testament. We should

also say, with M. Bouvier, that it is impossible to deal faithfully with modern thought on the basis of mere traditional church metaphysics, but we cannot think that on this deck his guns are heavy enough.

Let us part with a benediction and say how fully we agree with this claim of M. Bouvier's on behalf of himself and others. "He is a Christian who, after examining the matter, declares himself to be such."

P. T. FORSYTH.

RECENT WYCLIFFE LITERATURE.

"HAD it not bin the obstinat perversnes of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of *Wickleſ*, to suppresse him as a schismatic and *innovator*, perhaps neither the *Bohemian Husse* and *Jerom*, no nor the name of *Luther*, or of *Calvin* had been ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had bin compleatly ours."* Milton's meaning has been remarkably borne out by recent investigations. It has long been agreed that, whatever were the extent and permanence of Wycliffe's influence in England, his services to the cause of reform here proved insignificant in comparison with the effect which his teaching, as propagated through Hus and his associates, produced in Bohemia. "The immediate importance of Wyclif in the history of the world," says an accurate and penetrating student of his age, "lies in the fact that in the remote country of Bohemia his writings became one element of the first great national movement towards a new religious system."† It has been left however to Dr. Johann Loserth, historical professor in the university of Czernowitz, to determine the precise relation in which the Bohemian reformer stood to his English master; and the conclusion is a decisive proof that Wycliffe's teaching is not merely "one element" in the Hussite movement, but that, so far as the doctrinal foundation of the latter is concerned, it is the one and only element worth consideration. How much indeed the success of Hus's aims depended on the transparent sincerity and singlemindedness of his personal character, is another question, and one to which Dr. Loserth does not address himself. Still this consideration should not be forgotten when we are confronted by the discovery that all the essence of Hus's writings is directly borrowed from Wycliffe. The fact emphasises a judgment which has long been accepted, namely, that Hus was not specially a scholar and was in no sense a man of creative intellect: what he possessed was the power of giving life to the thoughts of others and of making them tell on the minds of his hearers. Which is the greater of the two gifts, of the two types of mind, it is not necessary here to discuss.

Dr. Loserth's book‡ opens with a study of those teachers in Bohemia

* *Areopagitica*, p. 68 (Arber's reprint, 1868).

† M. Creighton, History of the Papacy during the period of the Reformation, i. 307; 1882.

‡ *Hus und Wiclif:* Zur Genesis der Husitischen Lehre. Prague: F. Tempsky; Leipzig: G. Freytag. 1884.

whose work is commonly regarded as representing a parallel current to that of Wycliffe in England, Conrad of Waldhausen, Milicz of Kremsier, and Matthias of Janow. The author examines the character of their teaching, to a great extent with the help of fresh manuscript materials; and he certainly succeeds in substantially reducing the importance of their direct influence on Hus. We may indeed be inclined to doubt whether Dr. Loserth has not unduly depreciated the services of the "so-called pioneers of the Hussite movement" (as he calls them, p. 40) in creating an atmosphere of feeling antagonistic to the position of the church as it then was—an atmosphere, the existence of which was essential for the free operation of Hus's own teaching; but Dr. Loserth is solely concerned with objective facts and with Hus's written works. Within this limited sphere he may be said to have proved his case; only we must not deceive ourselves into the belief that he has exhausted the conditions of the question. That Hus could have written all he actually wrote without knowing anything of the work of Matthias of Janow or the others may now be taken as certain; but we are still at liberty to hold that he could hardly have found a reception for the doctrines he preached had not the ground been prepared, had not a general impression of dissatisfaction with the present state of things been created, by his less adventurous predecessors.

The real business however of Dr. Loserth's book is concerned not with the negative aim of determining the sources from which Hus cannot be proved to have drawn, but with the positive and more valuable purpose of placing beyond the range of doubt the fact and the extent of his indebtedness to Wycliffe. In this department of his enquiry the author is entirely successful. He has laboriously searched through all accessible writings of Wycliffe, most of them still remaining in manuscript in the libraries of Prague and Vienna; and he has discovered an amount of correspondence between them and the works of Hus for which no previous theory or assumption of general indebtedness had prepared us. The greater part of nearly a hundred pages is filled with quotations in parallel columns of passages from Hus and their originals; and we may take Dr. Loserth's statement without reserve, that these are only selected specimens of an appropriation which runs through almost everything that Hus wrote. Had Dr. Loserth been in a position to consult all the manuscript literature, a task which we could hardly expect even the most indefatigable specialist to undertake, we should no doubt be able to fill up a variety of lacunæ and establish a series of coincidences covering practically the whole field of Hus's writings. But still the result already obtained is sufficiently remarkable. It is well known that the work which from the council of Constance downwards has been accepted as typical of Hus's attitude towards the ecclesiastical power, the work on which his reputation as a writer against the papacy mainly rests, is his book *De Ecclesia*. Dr. Loserth has now shown that this production is to a great extent a mere *cento* of extracts from Wycliffe's work (MS. at Vienna) bearing the same title, and that where we do not find substantial or even

verbal quotations, the arguments and the choice of illustrations, etc., are still almost entirely drawn from the original (whether the *De Ecclesia* itself or other writings) of the English master. A single instance will indicate the way in which Hus went to work. In discussing the right of the king of England to endow the church to the prejudice of the nation at large, Wycliffe once states* that "more than a fourth part of the kingdom has passed into mortmain" and argues therefrom that the king cannot be, strictly speaking, king of all England but only of less than three-quarters of it. Hus adopts the passage nearly *verbatim*, but changing the "king of England" into the "king of Bohemia" leaves the assertion about the amount of church-property in the land unaltered; so that the sentence has actually been taken as a piece of evidence for the ecclesiastical condition of Bohemia at the time. Dr. Loserth has certainly inflicted a heavy blow upon Hus's literary reputation: not, of course, that his demonstration at all damages the reformer's good fame (for plagiarism as a crime can hardly be held to have any existence in the middle ages); but no future historian will be able to number Hus among those who have created the "seminal" truths upon which a religious movement must be set. Hus could not have done his work without Wycliffe. At the same time it will be acknowledged that *with* Wycliffe he was able to effect a revolution far exceeding anything that his exemplar could have even thought of effecting. Dr. Loserth's researches thus, instead of contradicting previous views, only prove, as we have said, that the traditional criticism upon him is just, and that Hus's true distinction lies not in the world of thought but in that of action.

We have been able to say very little about the details of Dr. Loserth's treatise. It is indeed not a book that appeals to any but the closest students of religious history; nor will it be found even by this small public an easy piece of reading. For however thorough and conscientious its method may be, the author certainly fails in grouping his facts and bringing out their complete significance. He has collected the evidence, but has left to the reader the task of forming a judgment upon its relative and cumulative value. In conclusion we may notice what seems to us an error in regard to the often discussed question as to the channels by which Wycliffe's works reached Bohemia. Æneas Sylvius, it is well known, in his *Historia Bohemica*, cap. xxxv., mentions a certain Faulfisch as having brought some of these books (which he specifies) from Oxford. Dr. Loserth discredits this notice (pp. 79 f.) on the ground that it rests on "a confusion with that Nicholas Faulfisch, who in company with another student brought a document to Prague, in which the university of Oxford on the 5th of October, 1406, declared Wycliffe's orthodoxy." We hardly see how this fact conflicts with Æneas' statement; the presumption appears to be clearly the other way; but can Dr. Loserth be unaware that the manuscript of Wycliffe's treatise *De Veritate S. Scripturæ* at Vienna (Cod. 1294 f. 119 *b*)† actually bears a note of its

* Loserth, pp. 202 f.

† See Lechler, *Johann von Wiclif*, ii. 113, note 2.

having been corrected by the hand of this very Nicholas Faulfisch? It seems in fact impossible to doubt that the man who is said by a writer barely half a century later to have brought books of Wycliffe from Oxford, and the man who is known to have corrected one book of Wycliffe's at Prague and also to have brought from Oxford a document favourable to Wycliffe's character, can only be one and the same person.

We have left ourselves little space to record the appearance of the first two volumes issued by the Wyclif Society.* They form a collected edition of the reformer's *Polemical Tracts*, and are all, with a single exception, now printed for the first time. Of the mechanical performance of the edition it is difficult to speak in too high terms. It represents the seven years' recreation-work of a Saxon schoolmaster, Dr. Rudolf Buddensieg, and is a model of accurate criticism. The text has been constructed from a collation of all the known manuscripts, sixteen in number, the various readings of which are minutely given in the volumes before us. Possibly those who are not such enthusiastic Wycliffites as Dr. Buddensieg may doubt whether the tracts were worthy of an unstinted devotion commonly paid only to literature of which the style as well as the matter is of importance. The English reader, for whom Dr. Buddensieg loses no opportunity of expressing his immense contempt, will be apt to think that a fair text, printed from any manuscript that is complete as regards any particular tract, with occasional corrections and selected various readings from any other available copies, would have satisfied the requirements of the theological student. For one cannot reasonably attach the least importance, except in very rare cases, to the *ipsissima verba* of Wycliffe's hyperbarbarous Latinity. Still it is ungrateful to complain because Dr. Buddensieg has given himself more trouble than we think he need have done; especially since it is this mechanical work for which he is peculiarly fitted. Indeed when he strays into theological fields he generally betrays the onesidedness of his training and sympathies; he loses himself in exaggeration and evangelical declamation: in a word, he writes as a protestant for protestants. When he has occasion to mention Mr. Thomas Arnold, to whom we owe the edition of Wycliffe's *Select English Works*, Dr. Buddensieg cannot restrain himself from asserting that "his theological point of view seems to have had some influence on his selections," and adds a violent note about Mr. Arnold's conversion to the Catholic Church.† We do not suppose that this scholar needs any defence against Dr. Buddensieg's coarse charge; the fact that Mr. Arnold has printed what he has, is of itself sufficient evidence of his impartiality as an editor. Dr. Buddensieg's intellectual confinement, it is true, vitiates only a portion of the introduction and the notes; but the literalism which is a natural concomitant not only of his theology but also of his critical habit, goes through the whole work. He

* *John Wiclif's Polemical Works in Latin.* London: Published for the Wyclif Society by Trübner and Co. 1883. Two Volumes.

† Vol. i., intr. p. iii.

attacks, for instance, the opinion of Dr. Shirley and Professor Lechler (who, he bluntly remarks, "must submit to correction" *) that Wycliffe did not take up the position of hostility against the mendicant orders previously occupied at Oxford by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh, immediately upon that prelate's death in 1360. But his sole argument depends on a passage in Wycliffe's tract *De Ordinatione Fratrum* in which he speaks of having "entered into the labours" not of FitzRalph only but also of Ockham, William of St. Amour, and Grosseteste;† so that any notion of direct, personal succession is out of the question. We believe moreover, with Dr. Lechler, that it can be shown that Wycliffe remained on good terms with the friars for at least ten years after FitzRalph's death; but this cannot be absolutely decided until we are certain of the date of some of Wycliffe's unpublished works.

With reference to the tracts printed in the volumes before us, we are inclined to think that Dr. Buddensieg would have done better to have attempted something like an approximate chronological order, than to have arranged them simply according to subject; for as a matter of fact no one will read them for the sake of their arguments irrespective of their author: their sole value consists in the light they throw on Wycliffe's own religious history. But this is a matter of minor convenience. The tracts themselves, it must be admitted, do not show Wycliffe at his best. They are directed against the friars and the papacy, and all their works; they abound in vituperation and unsparing denunciation. Wycliffe in them has passed the stage of seeking after truth; he has found it, and is triumphantly intolerant of any opposition. The incidental light thrown in them upon contemporary events is perhaps less than might have been expected; but historians will find here for the first time the suggestion of a new and somewhat surprising "combination," in the fact more than once alluded to,‡ of a conspiracy having been made against John of Gaunt by those very friars who have hitherto been thought§ to have relied upon him as their political mainstay. We should add that Dr. Buddensieg's volumes, though they inevitably suffer from having a foreign author and printer, are very creditably brought out, on fair paper, and in readable type; and misprints, except in English words, are decidedly rare when we consider the amount of minute correction the book must have required.

R. L. P.

THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.‖

THE conditions under which this book was composed and is now given to the public make it difficult to approach its criticism in an impartial temper. Mrs. Green has described her husband's work when

* Vol. i., intr. p. ix. † Vol. i., p. 92. ‡ Vol. i., pp. 95, 227.

§ See Shirley, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, intr., p. xxvi., and apparently every other writer on this subject.

‖ *The Conquest of England.* By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. London: Macmillan and Co. 1883.

"the days that might still be left to him must henceforth be conquered day by day from death" in a preface to which we would rather leave our readers to refer for themselves. It is the record of a noble struggle, of one who manfully faced the certain prospect of death, and working to the last mapped out his work so that at least one section of it should not be left unfinished. Thus he wrote, and outlived, "The Making of England." The volume before us on the other hand remains a fragment, yet a fragment which every student must welcome as a contribution to our real knowledge of early English history such as only Mr. Green could have given us. It is a fact familiar to those who have followed Mr. Green's career from the "Short History" to the "History of England" in four volumes, and from this to "The Making of England," that it is one of constant, patient, unswerving progress. The first book was disfigured by a great deal that one could hardly call anything but affectation; it seemed almost wantonly directed against traditional views of history; above all, it teemed with errors and inaccuracies, often far from unimportant, especially in its later chapters. Consequently critics were inclined to forget its solid and, in some sense, unique value in a repulsion from its eccentricity of treatment and looseness of detail. The book, it was felt by responsible teachers, could not be recommended to immature students. Nor did the larger "History" succeed altogether in reversing this judgment. True, it was far more moderate, far more accurate, than its predecessor; but still Mr. Green's omission of any notes or references was taken as evidence of his constitutional inexactness; he would not, it seemed, justify himself even in those cases when he diverged most widely from the common tradition. Besides, it is understood, the book did not meet with a wide circulation, and with the general public the "Short History," of which by this time nearly a hundred thousand copies have been sold, remained the work upon which the historian's fame rested. Undoubtedly the "Making of England" did much to modify preconceived opinions of Mr. Green's skill, in regard not only to the period embraced in that book but also, by inference, to later periods. For the author had by this time so far changed his method as to satisfy the most exacting judge in the matter of references and authorities. It now became evident that very much of that which even careful critics had been apt to set down to caprice or imagination had a definite basis in actual statements found in unsuspected sources. Many of the theories of that book remain arguable,—it would be surprising if it were not so; —but it has become impossible to cast them aside as merely fanciful. It is not too much to say that while Mr. Green's name as a creator of historical pictures was established by his "Short History," his reputation as a minute investigator of facts found its first witness in the "Making of England."

The path thus opened is worthily pursued in the work before us. Possibly the best piece of historical exposition which Mr. Green produced is contained in its first chapter,—a sketch of the English people at the beginning of their struggle with the Danish invaders,—the last pages of

which "were the last words ever written by his hand—words written one morning in haste, for weakness had already drawn on so fast that when in weariness he at last laid down his pen he never again found strength even to read over the words he had set down" (Preface, p. xii.). From Ecgberht the history is carried on to the completion of the Norman conquest, but the value of the several chapters is very unequal. Strictly speaking the present work only reaches the death of Edmund Ironside; the rest is a production of much earlier date (apparently 1875) and ranks in character, as in method, with Mr. Green's earlier histories. His widow lets us understand distinctly that these portions "stand on a different footing from the rest," and we can only express our gratitude to her for the ability and care with which she has put together the various fragments, some previously printed, others "very rough and imperfect," of which they consist. They are in fact an expansion of the corresponding part of the author's "History," highly suggestive in many ways but not pretending to the minuteness or maturity of the first eight chapters of the new work. These latter therefore form the essence of the whole; and they unquestionably portray the character and conditions of our ancient society with a vividness and lucidity to which hardly another book will supply an equal. The life of Alfred is of course a difficult subject to treat with originality; but the account here is fresh and thorough. Danish affairs have been left too much to specialists, and Scandinavian scholars will detect a lack of first-hand knowledge in their discussion here: but even these critics will allow that nothing so elaborate or complete has been previously attempted by English historians. The peculiar value of Mr. Green's work however lies in his mastery over topographical details, his instinct for seizing the significance of this or that feature in the "lie" of the country and drawing it into connexion with the march of conquest or settlement. By this means he is able to trace the stages by which Alfred won back a portion of the central districts of England in an entirely new and convincing way. The Peace of Wedmore in 878 he shows to be a distinct treaty from the "Frith between Alfred and Guthrum" of which the text is preserved, and which can only have been made eight years later. This is perhaps the only positive innovation of importance that the present volume contains, and it seems to us that it may be accepted without hesitation as fact. In sketching the social changes during this period Mr. Green is always illuminating, and his exposition of facts is generally sound and to be trusted. In particular we would draw attention to the care with which he has written the early history of some towns, as London, Oxford, and Chester,* or described the state of village or royal court.† Constitutional questions are not indeed handled with the same firmness of grasp; but here too we notice many points in which the present work compares advantageously with its predecessors. The author now seldom if ever forsakes the guidance of Dr. Stubbs. Sometimes indeed Mr. Green trusts himself to walk alone; but it is in those

* See the whole section, pp. 436—466.

† Pp. 328-335, 30-33, 180-182, &c.

departments of constitutional history which trench upon fields in which he is more at home. In questions, for instance, of the growth of local organisation,—of the shire, &c.,—he adds much to the clearness of our notions in respect to a very obscure subject. To conclude, every section of the "Conquest of England" is in different degrees fruitful of interest for the student. It remains to say that the general correctness and homogeneity of the book is surprising when we consider the circumstances under which it is put forth. Among occasional slips we notice on p. 191, note 4, the promise of a chronological adjustment in the history of Aethelflaed which is not in fact carried out in the text (p. 207). There is also an error of date in the first note on p. 200.

R. L. P.

Mr. Bateson Wright's Book of Job.*

MR. G. H. BATESON WRIGHT, of Queen's College, Oxford, but now Head Master of the Central School, Hong Kong, sends us, as his "first literary attempt," a new translation of the Book of Job, accompanied by an admirable introduction, textual criticism, notes, grammatical and expository, and everything else which the careful and curious reader will desire. I must, in the first instance, give a hearty welcome to this new expositor of the Old Testament, in whom we observe a desire to be, above all things, thorough in his treatment, using the best labours of his predecessors, and thinking out conclusions for himself. He shows a wise discretion in referring to the chief expositors of recent times, whose principles accord with the latest principles of historical and grammatical criticism—such as Ewald, Delitzsch, Renan, and Merx—and in neglecting books like Schultens, which, though exhibiting considerable learning in their day, are now quite out of date, and have scarcely any but an historical interest for us. The book at first sight bears the most striking resemblance to Ewald's interpretations of Old Testament books, Job among the number, commencing with an able introduction, which discusses all that the reader most wants to know—the nature of the book, its style and relation to other books, its probable date and object—and then proceeding to the translation, which, by a skilful division into large sections and subdivisions, exhibits the form and intention of the original work as we have never known it, either in the Hebrew or probably in any translation; and ending with notes, critical and expository, and other aids which make a book far more valuable. And I observe much of Ewald's peculiar treatment—subjects considered in the introduction, and a mode of dealing with the text, which would not have been adopted had not Ewald, or some of his followers, preceded our author. So great may be the influence of one great scholar on the succeeding generations! In the present instance, the young author, while adopting the lucid and highly-practical arrange-

* *The Book of Job.* A new critically-revised Translation. With Essays on Scansion, Date, &c. By G. Bateson Wright, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1883.

ment of his senior, has added much valuable matter, and set right things about which Ewald seemed to some to take a perverse course. Especially commendable is the list of various kinds of corruptions of the original text:—"(*a*) Imperative changes; being such as are corroborated by similar phrases in the context or parallels. (*b*) Different texts, observable in the rendering of the versions, pre-eminently the Septuagint, Syriac, and Targums. (*c*) Self-suggestive changes, being such as the sense requires, though unsupported by further evidence." In all these cases Mr. Wright adopts the emended text in his translation. But are there not also sentences which cannot be made grammatical, or, if that be possible, then cannot be construed so as to yield any sense? He tells us nothing of any such; yet they exist, as in 1 Sam. iv. 18, and it must be supposed that he would emend them conjecturally, and try to include them in his category (*c*) as "self-suggestive changes," though the suggestion of the true reading might tax the ingenuity of a Biblical Bentley, or G. Hermann. If conjectural emendations are to be admitted into the text (whether Hebrew or English), they ought to be noted as such. In treating the speeches of Elihu (ch. xxxii.—xxxvii.), and the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan (xl. 15—xli. 26), as "Later additions to the Book of Job," and printing them in an appendix, Mr. Wright follows Ewald; but an exposition of his reasons for treating them as spurious, would have been desirable, especially as this conclusion appears to have been reached after the introduction was written, in which verses of these chapters are often cited as specimens of Job's style. In passages of exceptional difficulty, like xix. 25—29, although Mr. Wright carefully avoids the disturbing inaccuracies of other versions (*e.g.*, the A. V.), he is perhaps least satisfactory, and his conjectures there are barely intelligible, and certainly not to be taken as anything but wild guesses, meritorious only because they avoid Ewald's enthusiastic belief, that they attest Job's declaration of the immortality of the soul, which is nowhere else repeated, and is in itself highly improbable. The beginning of chapter xxviii., obscure and perhaps corrupt, is similarly not really well explained. But the chief merit of Mr. Wright's version, in my opinion, is the skill with which he grapples with the difficult problem of the poetical form, and finds larger divisions (cantos), and smaller ones (stanzas and stichi respectively). He says of his predecessors: "Delitzsch and Merx seek uniformity in the stanzas, and ignore the canto; Ewald and Davidson abandon the idea of uniform division and print in cantos, marking parallelisms, but ignoring the stanza." I admire Mr. Wright's skill in discovering the threefold division, which seems to be based on fact, though I doubt whether the canto is to be found wherever he finds it. But the stichus, or half-verse, of about eight full syllables, is essential for understanding the beautiful symmetry of the original, and I have always so read it myself.

I have already outrun my limits, and can only say, in conclusion, that Mr. Wright assigns the book to the age of Jeremiah, and displays a strong proclivity towards claiming that prophet as the author. The

acquaintance with Egypt, displayed in the book, is one main temptation to this judgment; though if the section on the crocodile (leviathan) is removed as spurious, and the word horabith, in iii. 14 (which Ewald explained as Egyptian pyramids), is changed back again to the old interpretation, "desolate places," the references to Egypt are not numerous. But Mr. Wright has recourse to the evidence of style, which supplies him with remarkable similarities with that of Jeremiah. Altogether, though not a perfect and mature book, this has great ingenuity, originality, and firmness of grasp of the subject, which entitle us to hope for further labours on the same field.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

AN OLD TESTAMENT COMMENTARY FOR ENGLISH READERS.*

THE continuation of this Commentary, to which the attention of readers of this *Review* has been already drawn (*Modern Review*, October, 1883, p. 844), deserves a further notice. The third volume includes the historical books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and the Book of Esther. In the fourth we pass from Job through the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, to the Book of Isaiah. As in the previous volumes, the task is distributed over several different hands. Circumstances of convenience may have determined the allotment of the various books; but it is to be regretted that works which are clearly continuous, such as the Books of Kings—or, to take another group, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah—should not have been assigned to the same commentators. There is, however, this slight advantage, the arrangement affords an opportunity for the expression of divergent views; and the principles laid down by Dr. Ellicott, in his Introduction, re thus practically illustrated. Nothing can be clearer, for example, than Mr. Ball's statement in his preliminary essay on the Chronicles, of the grounds for treating Ezra and Nehemiah as parts of the same literary whole. He places them with great moderation somewhere between 330 and 300 B.C., plainly inclining towards the later date (iii. p. 210). Two hundred and fifty pages further on, the Rev. Dr. Pope, in a general introduction to Ezra and Nehemiah, attempts to reinstate Ezra in the authorship of the book bearing his name, and contemptuously waves aside "a certain class of critics"—Mr. Ball is perilously near them—who "have invented a later editor, who, living in the time of the Greek Dominion, constructed the Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, as one series of historical works" (iii. p. 457).

On the whole these volumes compare very favourably with their predecessors, especially in their recognition of the connection of different books, or parts of books, with different phases of the national life. There is in some of the contributors, at any rate, a much clearer sense that they are dealing with works which form part of a great continuous

* *An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers.* Edited by CHARLES JOHN ELLICOTT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Vol. III., 1883; Vol. IV., 1884. London: Cassell.

literature, produced under varying conditions, and hence reflecting successive phases of thought and feeling. Mr. Ball's introduction to the Chronicles, and Mr. Aglen's notes on the Psalms, reveal this perception very plainly. Thus Mr. Ball describes the aim of the Chronicles in these terms: "The writer has produced not so much a supplement of the older histories as an independent work, in which the history of the chosen people is related afresh in an independent manner, and from a new point of view. That point of view has been characterised as the *priestly-Levitical*, in contradistinction to the *prophetical* spirit of the ancient writers" (iii. p. 211). The Chronicler, he admits, "wrote with a distinct purpose, and his aim was not so much history for its own sake as edification." He makes his characters, as Mr. Ball recognises, talk in language appropriate to the time of Alexander the Great: "In the description of ancient religious solemnities, he has reasonably enough been influenced by his minute professional knowledge of the ritual of his own day." All this is excellently said: it is to be regretted, however, that the commentator's touch is less firm than the essayist's. Thus, *à propos* of the share assigned by the Chronicles to the Levites in the revolution which dethroned Athaliah, and restored Joash, Mr. Ball remarks, on 2 Chron. xxiii. 2, "the parallel text (in 2 Kings) is nearly, if not altogether, silent as to the part played by the Levites in the Restoration; and the Chronicler appears to have supplemented that account with materials derived from other authorities, and perhaps from Levitical traditions." Not until the fact is frankly acknowledged that the distinction between Priests and Levites, as it appears in Chronicles, had no existence under the monarchy will the true relation of Chronicles and Kings be understood. Again, in his commentary on 2 Kings, Mr. Ball somewhat halts between the treatment of the book as a record which must at all costs be justified, and its character as a compilation, in part from ancient legends, in which the original facts have been distorted beyond recognition. Thus he observes that 2 Kings vi. vii. "rest upon oral tradition, so that it would be a mistake to press subordinate details." But he apologises for the story of the bears and the forty-two children, who mocked at Elisha, with the observations (it is clear it makes him rather uncomfortable) that, "at all events, the narrative is too brief to enable us to judge of the merits of the case; and what is related belongs to that dispensation in which judgment was made more prominent than mercy." In the same way, he accepts the tale of the axe-head, though he tries to minimise the miracle by remarking "the iron axe-head did not swim, it simply rose to the surface." Still, the miracle is there: "the properties of material substances depend on God's will for their fixity, and may be suspended or modified at his pleasure." This same weakness is manifest in some of Dr. Barry's work on 1 Kings. He points out, for instance, that the version of the fulfilment of Elijah's doom on Ahab in 2 Kings ix. 26 is different from that in 1 Kings xxii. 38; but, he adds, "the reconcilement is, with our knowledge, difficult, if not impossible." Why is any reconcilement necessary at all? We must

not stay, however, to press these cases. Dr. Barry's work strikes us as decidedly thinner than Mr. Ball's. Thus there is no allusion in 1 Kings viii. to the editorial process by which, as Wellhausen has shown, the text has been adapted to later Levitical usage; no hint is given of the relation of Solomon's dedicatory prayer to the conceptions of the Deuteronomic school: there is no warning of the ideal character of the description of Solomon's empire, 1 Kings iv. 24, when compared with the enumeration of the losses sustained during his early years in xi. 14—25. Dr. Pope's commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah is thinner still. The topography of Jerusalem is very imperfectly treated. In the identification of Artaxerxes (Ezra iv. 7) with the Pseudo-Smerdis, there is no sufficient statement of the extreme difficulties of this hypothesis. The points of the covenant in Neh. x. are by no means made clear. Mr. Ball, on the other hand, has a much stronger grasp. His Assyriological parallels are careful and interesting, and his note on 2 Kings xviii. 13, on the value of the contemporary Assyrian Eponym Canon compared with the later compilation of the books of Kings, and the still later character of the text now in our hands, after many transcriptions, deserves careful consideration by those who are tempted to ascribe superior accuracy to a Bible-book, *because* it is in the Bible.

In the poetical books we enter on another field, but it is a field in which the literary and historical judgment is as necessary as in the discussion of the national records. Such a judgment hardly seems to be among the qualifications of Dr. Stanley Leathes for the treatment of the book of Job, or he would never have argued that as Job must have been about 200 or 210 years old at the time of his death, therefore he must have been contemporary with the patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And, further, that if the book was not written by Job himself, its author must have been Moses, because "there is no one else who can have written it!" Nor can it be said that Mr. Nutt supplies a very much sounder estimate in attributing Proverbs i.—xxix., with its highly developed conceptions of wisdom, and its advanced notions of personal religion, to Solomon. The traditional view is frankly abandoned by Dr. Salmon, who cautiously affirms that Ecclesiastes must have been composed more than two centuries B.C., and even more completely by by Mr. Aglen in his admirable commentary on the Psalms. The titles are set aside as destitute of historical validity, and it is plainly said, "the task of discovering individual authors for the Psalms must be given up" (iv. p. 83); the completion of the collection is postponed till after the reign of the Asmonean Queen Alexandra; and room is thus found for many poems assigned to the Maccabean age. Further, it is clearly seen that a large number of the Psalms are not really concerned with the circumstances of single individuals, but with the character and destinies of the collective Israel.

The covenant ideal in its bearing on individuals and on the nation at large in its relation to other nations, may be said to furnish its purpose to the Psalter. This theocratic ideal was not born into the heart of the

people at once, but was developed by a long and painful discipline after many failures and much suffering; and all this finds its reflection in the Psalms.

According to the two aspects under which it is viewed, this covenant ideal appears in the portrait of the perfectly just and upright individual, or in the picture of a prosperous and happy nation. The latter, however, is often represented in the person of its anointed King, or Messiah, to whom, even in the darkest and saddest days, the eyes of the race can hopefully turn. This identification of the ideal people with the ideal sovereign must always be borne in mind in reading the Psalms. It follows of necessity from the *locus standi* so commonly assumed by the writers, who under their own personality really present the fortunes of the community, its sufferings and trials, its hopes and fears. Thus the changeful destinies of the race are represented as involved in the fortunes of one individual, and this individual is very often the perfect King (iv. p. 84).

We cannot pause to follow Mr. Aglen in his treatment of single poems: the brief introductions are often full of suggestive remarks; the notes are enriched with illustrative quotations both classical and modern, from Thucydides, and Horace, to Browning, Matthew Arnold, and Whittier; while the Commentary, though intended for popular use, contains many references likely to be useful to students who have no large range of technical works at their command. It is much to be desired that this portion of the volume could appear in a separate form.

It remains to say a few words on Dean Plumptre's handling of the Book of Isaiah. It is marked by his well-known literary skill. Here are felicitous parallels from Homer, Dante, Spenser. Here are many happy touches from Assyrian inscriptions, many apt adjustments of the turn of a phrase. There is deep sympathy with the prophetic spirit; there is a keen eye for tracing analogies, more or less remote, with other religious conditions. These qualities make the result of Dean Plumptre's investigations into the composition of the book all the more surprising. He still regards it as essentially a unity. He does not think that the immense difference in *tone* between the later and the earlier prophecies indicates any diversity of authorship. In his brief introduction he states the heads of the argument on either side with an earnest desire to present a fair view of the case; but it is confined within such narrow limits that the evidence, which is essentially cumulative, cannot be set forth in such a way as to carry its due impression. This necessarily detracts from its value, and is satisfactory to neither side. While following, however, in the main, the general lines of traditional interpretation, Dr. Plumptre never attempts—*e.g.*, in his commentary on chap. liii.—to lay undue stress upon particular details; at the same time, he is far less clear than Ewald and Cheyne in his recognition of the connection in Isaiah's mind between the purification of Israel and the advent of the ideal king, on the one hand, and the Assyrian invasions, on the other. This is a matter which has, of course, a profound bearing on the question of the authorship of Isaiah xl —lxvi.; it is to be regretted that Dr. Plumptre has not grasped it more firmly. In fact, the Commentary betrays here and there some haste in its preparation, as indeed the author himself admits. Occasional inaccuracy must be thus accounted for: thus on

vii. 6, Tabeel is identified with Tibil in the Assyrian inscriptions, which, it is said, give us his actual name as Azariah. The reference is to Schrader, who, however, repudiates the combination of Tibil with Azariah, thus assigned to him, while in the last edition of his treatise (*Keilinschriften*, 1883) Schrader withdraws Tibil altogether, and informs us that the name has not been found at all. Tabeel, however, turns up again twenty years later in a note on xxiii. 1, where Dr. Plumptre identifies him with Tuba'lu of Sennacherib's inscription, king of Tyre. This is quite gratuitous, as this prince is well known to be Ethbaal (Schrader, K. I. pp. 104, 200, &c.). Again, in ix. 6, among the great names given to the wonderful child is *El gibbor*, on which Dr. Plumptre remarks that "*El* is never used by Isaiah, or any other Old Testament writer, in any lower sense than that of absolute Deity." This is certainly unfortunate, for in Ezek. xxxii. 21 we hear of the plural *Eley gibborim* "the mightiest of the heroes" (A.V., "the strong among the mighty"), and in Ezek. xxxi. 11, the title *El goyim* (A.V., "the mighty one of the heathen") is actually applied to Nebuchadnezzar!

The varied contents of these volumes render it difficult to pass any judgment on them as a whole; still, their average standard appears to us in advance of their predecessors, and some portions, as we have indicated, have a really high value for the general readers to whom they are addressed. J. E. C.

Dr. Freeman Clarke's 'Ten Great Religions.'*

It can hardly be necessary to introduce to English readers Dr. J. Freeman Clarke's well-known essay in Comparative Theology. The first volume, at any rate, has won ample recognition in the rapid series of editions through which it has passed in a comparatively short period. The first of the Ten Great Religions selected for description is the Chinese, including the philosophies of Confucius and Lao-tse; this is followed by Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism, the great East-Aryan faiths. The track then passes through Egypt, to Greece, Rome, and Scandinavia; while in Judaism and Islam the student is confronted once more with religions of Asiatic growth. As the work is not a methodical treatise, the order is of comparatively little moment; no attempt is made, for instance, to link the Indo-Germanic religions together; the author's object is not to trace a historical or philosophical development, but to portray the leading ideas of each great religion in the highest forms realised by it during its course.

The second volume has a different purpose. It proposes as its task a "comparison of all religions." Starting with a classification of them as Tribal, Ethnic, and Catholic, it proceeds to briefly analyse and compare their leading ideas,—of God, of the soul, of the origin of the world, of

* *Ten Great Religions.* By James Freeman Clarke. Part I. Twentieth Edition. 1883. Part II. Second Edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. 1884.

prayer and worship, of inspiration and art, of morals, of a future life. The author travels with ease through the vast mass of his materials, gathered in more than a quarter of a century of study. He brings to their treatment a singularly broad and genial sympathy; he has a quick and generous eye for whatever is noble in character and elevated in thought; he has no prejudices or hostilities to distort his view. Here are everywhere the signs of a large and gracious spirit; no one can read these books without fulfilling one hope of their writer, and winning a "fuller sympathy with all forms of human nature, and all shades of human belief." Few minds, perhaps, would range over so wide an area, amid the strange medley of images which fill so many pantheons, and emerge from the temples of the idols with a conviction so serene that all forms of religion have their roots in human needs and minister to the education of the race. This is a precious trust: and in impressing this on his readers, Dr. Clarke renders them a service whose full value it will take them a long time to understand.

The themes of the second volume are of necessity more intricate and complex than those of the first. The writer passes from history to philosophy; and is compelled often to decide topics of great importance in a few sentences. The point of view, however, is everywhere the same,—clear and distinct Theism, and a belief in the fundamental trustworthiness of the moral and spiritual instincts. With these to guide him, Dr. Clarke is able to give what we are persuaded is its true place to the animistic interpretation of nature, as a kind of primitive philosophy, leading by successive steps of intellectual purification up to the monotheistic explanation of the universe. In pre-scientific days "the human soul put spirit into all things, saw spirit everywhere. This we now call superstition, and consider ourselves wise because we only see matter and motion. But it is a question whether the old Paganism which filled the world with life, thought, and love, is not at least as true as the modern Paganism which makes it only a dead machine" (p. 115). But while Dr. Clarke freely recognises animism as the earliest stage of religious belief, we are not at all sure that his statement of its intellectual foundation as a mode of thought is not open to serious question. "The only source," he observes, "from which man's belief in spirits could have been derived is the consciousness that he is himself a soul, a soul with a body for its present organ, but capable of existing without this organism. Apart from this consciousness, it is difficult to see how his belief in disembodied spirits could have come" (p. 157). The idea of existence apart from our bodies may be a belief, a hope, but it cannot be a matter of direct consciousness. We may infer it from other independent phenomena; we cannot state it as within the scope of our present self-knowledge. Dr. Clarke does not distinguish between a lower and a higher animism. The lower animism simply regards external objects as self-moving, without separating them into a body and a spirit. The steps by which this partition is at length effected lead to the higher animism which recognises a clear division between the material and the immaterial. The evidence for the

method of this advance collected by the anthropologists Dr. Clarke does not notice; but it is not to be set aside by an appeal to consciousness concerning that of which we can have no personal experience. Thus there is here and there a looseness of phrase; while our author's desire to present his successive religions under certain well-defined conceptions sometimes leads to contradictory estimates. On the one hand it is said, "If India saw God wholly above Nature, as an absolutely supernatural being, Egypt beheld Him immersed in Nature,—a perpetual Creator pouring life and beauty into visible things" (p. 57). But a little way further on we read "If the Vedic polytheism represents God *in* Nature, worshipping the manifestation, the ancient Egyptian polytheism represents God *behind* Nature" (p. 89). These divergences may in part arise from the necessity of large generalisations, in which the whole phenomena of one religion are summed up under given heads. This practice, however, leads often to the danger of misrepresentation, where the course of religious development through many centuries and in many lands has produced very different results. Dr. Clarke's treatment of the Greek religion and of Buddhism seems to us to suffer especially from this tendency. In the same way Vedic hymns and Egyptian texts of obviously distinct periods are quoted as of equal value all along the line. But however the critic or the student may occasionally dissent from Dr. Clarke's judgments, or feel inclined here and there to revise his statements of facts in the light of the freshest investigation, he can never cease to be grateful to him for the brave and cheerful faith with which he confronts the philosophers who see in the record of religious belief only the most dismal chapter in the history of human error. No one can take the lessons of this book to heart, and not view with a more generous comprehension even the strangest freaks of thought, the most perverse distortions of conscience, in the name of religion.

J. E. C.

The Buddha Legend and the Life of Jesus.*

In this short essay Professor Seydel replies to the criticisms of his larger work, previously noticed in this Review (1882, p. 620), on the relations of the Gospel to the Legend and teachings of the Buddha. The greater part of his present work is occupied with a vindication of the priority of the chief features in the legendary presentment of the Buddha over the Gospel narratives. As he justly observes (p. 57) that no Pali scholar questions this in the case of the Southern Canon, there is no need for any detailed notice of his array of proofs. The main difficulty of his previous treatise remains unremoved. In order to prove the dependence of various incidents of the Gospel tradition on their parallels in the Buddhist stories, it is necessary to show first that they could not have arisen within the cycle of western ideas, and next that there were clear channels

* *Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien.* Von Rudolf Seydel. Leipzig. 1884.

of communication through which the new influence can be directly traced. Neither of these conditions does Professor Seydel in our judgment fulfil. The limits of a short notice do not permit us to follow him point by point through the analysis, for example, of the story of the Presentation in the Temple: we can only state our belief that the general motives of it are perfectly explicable from Jewish and Christian sources. Under the second head no fresh evidence is adduced. The Evangelists did not, in his view, know or use the Buddha-legend direct: they employed a Christian poetic Gospel, set in a Buddhist frame, and constructed upon Buddhist themes. But how could such a version of the Christian tradition have arisen? 'Give me only a little quiet intercourse,' says Professor Seydel, 'between my Christian poet in Alexandria, Ephesus, or Antioch, and a Buddhist missionary (p. 88), and I will show you how the thing was done.' Apart from the largeness of this demand, we have yet to learn how the influence of one religion could operate so rapidly on the tradition of another, as to be at once universally accepted, and become the mould in which all subsequent versions of it were to be cast. Professor Seydel does not deny the radical differences of view which separate the teachings of Gotama Buddha from those of Jesus. How was it that in spite of these incompatibilities, the incidents of the one legend should exert transforming and indeed creative power over those of the other? How was it that the new handling of the tradition which must by hypothesis have taken shape at a distance remote from its principal depositories, should have so quickly displaced the received version current in centres of apostolic teaching? These are the questions which rise at once in connection with a theory of Buddhist influence on such a narrative as that of the temptation common to the first and third Gospels. Until Professor Seydel can offer much more satisfactory evidence than his general assumptions, we must declare his thesis "not proven."

J. E. C.

Professor Allen's Studies in Christian History.*

MR. ALLEN has now accomplished the very serious task he set himself. He has given us in three volumes a connected series of studies in Christian history, in its three great periods, the period of origin, the middle period, and the modern. Nay, he invites us to place at the outset of the series his 'Hebrew Men and Times,' and at the close 'Our Liberal Movement in Theology,' thus covering in five several works, each complete in itself, the whole range of religious and philosophical evolution, from the Patriarchs to the most advanced preachers of our own day.

We can only offer Mr. Allen our most hearty congratulations on his success, though we must retain the impression that he is stronger as the

* *Christian History in its Three Great Periods.* Third Period: Modern Phases. By Joseph Henry Allen. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883.

historian of the past than as the commentator of the present. The present volume, like its immediate predecessor, appears to us singularly rich in suggestion and just in appreciation. The motives of the great intellectual and spiritual movements of the period embraced are displayed with precision and lucidity, while the men who guided those movements or were swayed by them pass before the eye in vivid individuality stamped with the impress of truth. The chapter on Calvinism illustrates Mr. Allen's remarkable power of co-ordinating the social and moral forces of a period and bringing out their resultant in the actual course of history. In this same chapter the reader is arrested by the remark that the decay o Calvinism, intellectually inevitable and manifest, 'is a very serious thing, and one not altogether, perhaps, to be received with cheers and shouting.' Mr. Allen wants to know whether Liberalism is going to produce the like strenuous moral fibre in persons and communities.

We doubt whether in so small compass any other work is calculated to convey so wide and discriminating a knowledge of the intellectual and spiritual development of the Church these eighteen hundred years, or so vivid a realisation of the persons who have illustrated that development, as Mr. Allen's 'Christian History;' and certainly no competing volumes convey that knowledge in a more pleasant fashion.

R. A. A.

Some Recent Books on Political Economy.*

THE purpose of Mr. Sidgwick's book cannot be better explained than it is in the words with which the table of contents opens :— "1. During the last thirty years Political Economy in England has risen from the state of controversy on fundamental principles and method into that of an apparently established science, and again relapsed into the state of controversy (1—7). 2. My special aim is to eliminate needless polemics by a guarded restatement of traditional doctrine, with due recognition of the advances made in economic theory by recent writers (7—11)." This announcement, taken in connection with Mr. Sidgwick's well-established position as a thinker and writer, ought to be enough to make all students of Political Economy turn eagerly to this book. The "traditional doctrines," to which J. S. Mill gave such an appearance of symmetry and compactness as to secure almost unquestioning submission through "half a generation," have indeed been assailed on every side during the last ten or fifteen years, and it must be a matter of almost equal interest to those

* *The Principles of Political Economy.* By Henry Sidgwick, Author of "The Methods of Ethics." London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

Political Economy. By Francis A. Walker, Author of "The Wages Question," "Money," "Money, Trade, and Industry," &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

Methods of Social Reform, and other papers. By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

Problems and Exercises in Political Economy. Collected, arranged, and edited by Alfred Milnes, M.A., Author of "Elementary Notions of Logic," &c. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1882.

who have and to those who have not followed in detail the varied lines of attack, to know how much of the once-accepted body of economic doctrine so careful a thinker as Mr. Sidgwick, who is no way committed by any previous utterances, thinks capable of substantial restatement in the face of recent advances in economic science.

The backbone of J. S. Mill's economic system appears to me to be his "wage-fund" theory, with its associated doctrine of Malthusianism. It is well known, however, that Mill himself before his death modified this very doctrine so importantly that his remarks on the subject were generally accepted in substance as a recantation; but in this recantation (as Mr. Sidgwick points out) Mill's most illustrious disciples declined to follow him. Briefly stated the theory in question was this: That average wages are determined by the ratio of the number of labourers seeking employment to the (predetermined) amount of capital set aside to be paid in wages. Since Mill's time the stream of economic opinion has been flowing powerfully against this theory; but as far as I am aware no economist of established position, before Mr. Sidgwick, has struck at the very root of the theory by systematically demonstrating that wages are not advanced out of "capital" at all. This position, however, is taken up quite uncompromisingly by Mr. Sidgwick. It is the position with which the general public has recently been familiarised by Mr. Henry George, and, as no reference is made to him or his work by Mr. Sidgwick, we are authorised in supposing that the latter regards the new theory of the relations of capital and wages as the natural outcome and completion of recent economic thought, quite independently of its statement by Mr. George. If this is so, then Professor Jevons' hope that English economists would (with especial reference to the doctrine of wages), "fling aside, once and for ever, the mazy and preposterous assumptions of the Ricardian school" * is on the highway to realisation. With the fall of the wages-fund theory Malthusianism loses one of its chief supports, and Mr. Sidgwick's "restatement" of this celebrated doctrine is so very "guarded" as to relegate it to an altogether subordinate position, and to make the stress laid on it by Mill monstrously disproportionate, to say the least of it. It hardly seems too much to say then that in this "restatement" of the traditional doctrines, the key-stone of the arch is withdrawn, and if Mr. Sidgwick is to be taken as the exponent of the present position of Economic Science we might almost adapt to Ricardo, Mill, and Cairnes the words which Mill himself uttered with reference to Malthus, Chalmers, and Sismondi when he said, "This error has been, I conceive, fatal to the systems, as systems, of the three distinguished economists to whom I before referred . . . all of whom have admirably conceived and explained several of the elementary theorems of political economy, but this fatal misconception has spread itself like a veil between them and the more difficult portions of the subject, not suffering one ray of light to penetrate" (*Polit. Econ.*, Bk. III., chap. xiv., sec. 4). Other portions of Mill's system, only less essential than those we have

* *Theories of Political Economy*, p. xlix.

already dwelt on, are either rejected or completely remodelled. Much of the argument by which Mill supports the celebrated paradox that "a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour" is according to Sidgwick "quite erroneously stated." His theory of value and exchange needs a searching review in the light of Jevons' investigations. Even his chapters on International Trade (pronounced by so severe and hostile a critic as Jevons himself to be the most satisfactory portion of his treatise) suffer from the radical defect of ignoring what is really the differentia of the trade in question.

On this latter point it is only fair to say that Mr. Sidgwick hardly seems to do Mill's argument justice, and indeed his own book needs, and will doubtless receive, searching criticism and revision. We may welcome it, however, as a contribution to economic literature of the highest importance, singularly well calculated to rouse the disciples of the traditional doctrines to the urgent necessity of reckoning with recent advances in their science, and especially characterised by a profound and subtle analysis of fundamental terms and conceptions, the value of which is to a great extent independent of the special conclusions arrived at in every case.

Space obliges me to confine myself to this general indication of the importance of the work, and to abstain from the tempting task of criticising it in detail.

Mr. F. A. Walker's hand-book is characterised by all the excellences which readers of his previous works will expect from it. No man has a firmer grasp of economic principles, or a more accurate and extended knowledge of industrial facts, than Mr. Walker. The catholicity of his mind is indicated by his evenly-balanced admiration for Cairnes, the last great exponent of the Ricardo-Mill school, and Jevons, the most formidable and relentless of its opponents, while his own independent vigour of thought preserves him from running even the smallest risk of falling into a colourless eclecticism. The book he has now given to the world is an elementary treatise, and suffers from the inevitable limitations of such a work. In passing from the profound and instructive discussion of fundamental ideas and methods, which occupies so much of Mr. Sidgwick's space, to the rather jaunty introduction in which Mr. Walker disposes of all such matters it is impossible not to feel something of a shock; but when we come to the substance of the work Mr. Walker's force and lucidity assert themselves in all their supremacy, and we feel that we are at last in possession of a comprehensive text book of Political Economy worthy of the science as it now is. The most antiquated books will be used and accepted as authorities until superseded by equally convenient manuals abreast of the times, and from this point of view it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the service which Mr. Walker's new book is likely to render to Economic Science.

Perhaps the most original, and in some respects the most striking portion of the book, is that (Part IV., pp. 196-288) in which the author works

his well-known views on "Wages" into the framework of a complete theory of "Distribution." He shows that just as agricultural rent, in the economic sense, normally rises from the difference in the capability of soils, the conditions of production on the worst soils measuring the exchange value of the product, and the surplus product of the good soils going as rent, so business "profits" (as distinguished from interest) normally rise from the difference of capacity in employers, the conditions of production under the least able managers whose services are required measuring the remuneration of the workman, and the surplus product secured by able management going as "profits." Thus the workman, in reality, makes what terms he can with landlord, capitalist, and employer, and then keeps what is left of the product for himself; whereas in appearance it is the employer who makes what terms he can with landlord, capitalist and workman, and keeps what is left of the product for himself. For the working out of this theory I must refer my readers to Walker himself. It hardly seems over-bold to prophesy that this section of the book will be epoch-making, and that for some time to come all fruitful researches in this branch of the subject will have to take Walker's exposition as the point of departure.

There are several passages in the book which I cannot help thinking would have been modified had the author been able to study Mr. Sidgwick's "Principles" before going to the press, but the only real blemish in his work is the confused and superficial treatment of the vexed question of "Population." In the pages devoted to this subject (pp. 808—812) the most elementary distinctions are ignored. The "Arithmetical and Geometrical series" argument, which is abandoned and even ridiculed by the most competent defenders of Malthusianism, is brought forward with a naïve minuteness worthy of Malthus himself, and we are shown that "it would require more than a million terms to carry the former series to the point reached by the latter in twenty-one terms." I may save the necessity of any weaker comment by quoting Mr. Walker himself, who has recently declared, in another work * (which I may take this opportunity of heartily recommending, in spite of its occasionally intolerant tone) that "probably there is no way in which a man can so quickly and so conclusively show himself unfit to be listened to, as by appealing to geometrical progression for the proof of an economical or social theory." If Mr. Walker would but take his own teaching in this respect to heart the next edition of his "Political Economy" might almost defy the critics.

The volume of collected essays, by the late Mr. Jevons, deserves a far more elaborate notice than can be given it here. The variety of subjects covered is considerable, and the love of detail which was characteristic of one aspect of Mr. Jevons' work will limit the class of readers to whom several of the papers appeal. On the other hand the masterly series of

* *Land and its Rent.* Macmillan. 1883. (Directed in great part against George's "Progress and Poverty.")

essays on the conditions and limitations of the successful organisation of industries by the State is in the highest degree opportune. According to Mr. Jevons, some of the best and some of the worst managed industries in the country are under Government authority—witness the Post Office and the Dockyards. The question rises, then, whether we can determine the conditions of successful State management of industries, so as to be able to form some conception of whether a proposed new department is likely to approximate to one or the other of the extremes above noted. "It seems to me," says Mr. Jevons, as the result of his acute analysis, "that State management possesses advantages under the following conditions: 1. Where numberless widespread operations can only be efficiently connected, united, and co-ordinated, in a single, all-extensive Government system. 2. Where the operations possess an invariable routine-like character. 3. Where they are performed under the public eye, or for the service of individuals, who will immediately detect and expose any failure or laxity. 4. Where there is but little capital expenditure, so that each year's revenue and expense account shall represent, with sufficient accuracy, the real commercial conditions of the department."

The application of these tests to the Government management of telegraphing, parcel-delivering, and railway industries, is in the highest degree instructive, and although the State-socialism of the late Karl Marx and his followers contemplates a "State" such as we have not yet seen, its advocates cannot afford to ignore Jevons' weighty words on the subject of State management, and they ought to attach the more weight to them inasmuch as they come from an enemy of the *laissez faire* system hardly less pronounced than themselves.

Mr. Milnes has collected and constructed over two thousand "Problems and Exercises" in Political Economy, drawn for the most part from various examination papers, adding, when he thinks it necessary, references to books in which a clue to the treatment of the questions may be found. Such a book may have many uses, and above all may serve as a test of the firmness with which the student has grasped the principles of his science. It is easy for a reader of Political Economy to think he has penetrated to an underlying principle when in reality he has merely pictured to himself some concrete example of its working. Mr. Milnes's book furnishes him with the means of indefinitely varying the conditions under which he must apply the principles of his science, and so discover whether or not he has really mastered them. Even if the student of the newer Economics thinks he perceives a certain scholastic and unreal character in some of the sections he will nevertheless be glad to have brought together in so convenient a survey the authentic records of the scope and spirit of the traditional schools of Economics, and to be able to test the thoroughness of his acquaintance with them.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

THREE CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

THE Rev. C. W. Stubbs, M.A., is already well known for the earnest practical Christianity of his "Village Politics; Addresses and Sermons on the Labour Question," and we have now to thank him most warmly for his new volume, entitled "Christ and Democracy."* Its key-note is struck in its dedication "to those Churchmen, whether conformist or Nonconformist, who, sharing the belief that of the unsolved problems of society and the individual Christianity still holds the key, find for the present, in the common work of social reform, the truest mission and most splendid destiny of the Church and Democracy." We have only to add that by Christianity Mr. Stubbs means the Fatherhood of God, to commend the book to our readers. "Christ and Democracy," "Christ and Property," "Progress and Poverty," are the titles of three sermons preached before the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; it must have been a grand opportunity of speaking to the highest culture of our day, and the words are well suited to the occasion. The rest of the volume chiefly consists of addresses to Secularists, and are noble contributions from the school of Churchmen who are determined to bring the religion of real Christianity plainly before the masses of the people, and see if that will not win their confidence and affection. In a sermon on Christian Secularism, Caleb Garth, in "Middlemarch," is referred to as almost an ideal Christian, to whom an offer of work that he can do well, something "that those who are living, and those who come after, will be the better for," comes as "a great gift of God." "The object of the Christian religion is to make men conscious of God's presence always and in everything. . . We want more of this Christianity nowadays . . . a religion which would consider it no more profane to speak of Christ on the Stock Exchange, Christ in the Education Office, Christ in the counting-house, than to speak of Christ at the carpenter's bench at Nazareth. The truth is, we manufacture our profanity with great care. We utterly isolate our work from Christ, and then tell Christ that our work is not fit for Him to touch."

In another handy little volume,† Mr. Stubbs gives us an interesting record of facts and experiments in cottage farming and co-operative agriculture. Believing that example is better than precept, he divided some of his own glebe land into half-acre allotments, and let them at a rental of 68s. an acre. He also kept one acre in his own hands, cultivating it on just the same system as the labourers did their allotments. The average net annual profit on this acre for six years was £3 8s. 9d., or about 28 per cent. on the capital invested. This capital represented in 1881 the following outgoings: Labour, £6 7s. 9d.; seed, &c., £1 8s. 8d.; manure, £1 10s. 0d.; rent and taxes, £3 6s. 0d. These results

* *Christ and Democracy.* By C. W. STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Granborough. London: Sonnenschein and Co. 1884.

† *The Land and the Labourers.* By C. W. STUBBS, M.A. London: Sonnenschein and Co. 1884.

Mr. Stubbs justly considers very satisfactory, and he defends them most successfully against the criticisms of a neighbouring farmer. A Co-operative Sow Club, which has recently developed into a Cow Club, proved a valuable aid to thrift in the village. Most interesting, too, is his account of the famous Ralahine Co-operative Farm, a story of almost idyllic beauty in its contrast to the usual tales of Irish wrongs and crimes, but ending, alas! in one of those cruel perversities which come like a hideous curse on so many of Ireland's budding hopes of brighter days. But the most significant fact is this: that after the wonderful success of the experiment, and though it came to grief entirely through external circumstances, no one for fifty years has followed the example it set.

We have only space just to notice Mr. Sedley Taylor's interesting and timely book on "Profit-Sharing."* On the Continent, industrial partnerships have prospered better than here, and the *Maison Leclaire* in Paris is a splendid monument of what was done by a man who, having worked his own way up from poverty, was determined that all who subsequently worked with him should share his prosperity. A very full account, too, is given of the arrangements at Briggs' Colliery, which was so long referred to as *the* instance of a successful industrial partnership, and the collapse of which was in consequence so discouraging. It worked well in ordinary times, but fell owing to difficulties connected with the coal crisis of 1873-4. There is everything in its history to encourage the hope that similar arrangements will work well under ordinary circumstances. What *is* evident, however, here and everywhere, is that the limit to successful co-operation is a moral limit. H. S. S.

Religious Thought and Life in India.†

THE Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford has a well-established reputation not only as a Sanskrit scholar and an adept in the other languages which are requisite for any genuine original study of the great religions of the East, and as a skilled expert in Oriental lore, but also as a lucid interpreter, mediating between the student or specialist and the "intelligent reader" who is desirous of receiving some of the fruits of modern Oriental research, but who has neither the time nor the necessary equipment for mastering elaborate scientific treatises, or for sifting "the confused mass of information—accurate and inaccurate—spread out before him by innumerable writers on Indian subjects." It was in the interests of such readers that Mr. Monier Williams published, nine years ago, a work entitled *Indian Wisdom*, the object of which was to give a general idea of the character and contents of the sacred

* *Profit-Sharing Between Capital and Labour.* Six Essays by Sedley Taylor, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co. 1884.

† *Religious Thought and Life in India.* Part I., Vedism, Brahmanism, Hinduism. By Monier Williams, M.A., C.I.E. London: John Murray. 1883.

literature on which the Hindū religion is founded, and thus to convey some genuine and fruitful knowledge of that religion itself. In the volume now before us, this same object is pursued in the way of more direct and systematic exposition. It is the first instalment of a work which is designed "to present trustworthy outlines of every important phase of religious thought and life in India, whether Hindū, Buddhist, Jain, Zoroastrian, or Muhammadan." And we may say, at once, that the author appears to us to have been eminently successful in his endeavour "to give such an account of a very dry and complex subject as shall not violate scholarlike accuracy, and yet be sufficiently readable to attract general readers." Since the earlier work, to which we have referred, was written, Professor Monier Williams has made two journeys to India, and travelled over the length and breadth of the land; and he writes as one who has made a life-long study of the literature of India, and personal investigations into the creeds and practices of the natives of India, in their own country, and, as far as possible, in their own homes. The portion of his work now published is complete in itself, and is devoted to "the three most important and difficult phases of Indian religious thought," distinguished here as Vedism, Brāhmanism, and Hindūism. These terms stand for three main stages of development. Vedism is that which is represented in the older books of the Vedas, the worship of the deified forces or phænomena of Nature, either represented as separate divine powers, or gathered together under one general conception, and personified as one God. Brāhmanism merged all the forces of Nature into one only real Entity. It was essentially a pantheistic system, with four main branches, the ritualistic, the mythological (with the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana for its bible), the philosophical, and the nomistic. Of Vedism and Brāhmanism, so defined, a concise and lucid account is given; and then in successive chapters, making up the bulk of the book, the varied and complex developments are distinguished and described of that "rank and luxuriant offspring of Brāhmanism" which is here called by the comprehensive name of Hindūism, in contradistinction to the earlier and better-defined periods. "It was Brāhmanism, so to speak, run to seed and spread out into a confused tangle of divine personalities and incarnations;" the Pantheistic system of Brāhmanism being interwoven variously with the Theistic system of Hindūism even in its most materialistic forms. The author does not profess to evolve an order and consistency out of creeds, philosophies, and rituals, which set order and consistency at defiance; but he succeeds in disentangling the main characteristics of the different systems, and singling out the representative types of the innumerable sects of Hindūism; and he has the art of extracting from even the drier, technical parts of his subject an intelligible, human interest and significance, and in fixing our attention on the most noteworthy aspects of the religious life he describes.

The leading features of Hindūism are set forth in ten chapters, dealing first with the prevailing types of Śaivism, Vaishnavism, and the corre-

sponding tenets of Śāktism; and then with the worship of Tutelary Deities, the worship of Demons and Spirits, of Saints, Heroes, and Ancestors, of Animals, Plants, and Trees, and other natural objects. Several of the later chapters are devoted to a description, based largely on personal observation, of the religious life of the Hindū of the present day, the daily religious observances, the Fasts and Festivals, the Temples, Shrines, and Holy Places. The chapter on Caste is an interesting and instructive one, recognising its advantages as well as its disadvantages, and offering suggestions as to the best method of dealing with it. The author concludes his book with an account which, as well as the substance of some other chapters, has already appeared elsewhere, of Modern Hindū Theism, from the origination of the movement by Rāmmohun Roy, to its later phases under Chunder Sen, and its latest development in the Sādhāran Samāj, the fullest and most recent account of which is contained in the article by Miss S. D. Collet, in our last number ("Outlines and Episodes of Brahmic History"). Mr. Monier Williams remarks of the Sādhāran Samāj, that "there appears, in fact, to be no one man at present among its members who has the religious genius of either Keshab Chandar Sen, or of Debendra-nāth Tāgore, or the literary culture which characterises the best productions of Mr. P. C. Mozoomdār and Rāj Narāin Bose. But there are a larger number of secondary leaders—men of good sound sense, religious earnestness, and plain practical ability, who accomplish a great deal of useful work together, and will probably hereafter make their society the leading Samāj of India." We cannot help hoping that Mr. Mozoomdār, who, while remaining a staunch adherent of Mr. Sen during all his later departures from the singleness and purity of his Theistic creed, has, for the most part, carefully kept them out of his own teaching, may at this juncture have the will and the power to remove the causes of the present schism, and to unite again the forces of Hindū Theism, if not in one and the same organisation, at any rate in harmony of brotherly feeling and active co-operation.

Pulpit Commentary on the Book of Acts.*

MOST of those who are likely to make any serious use of the Pulpit Commentary, will probably consider it a recommendation that in the critical and expository part of the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, the Bishop of Bath and Wells has not strayed at all beyond the approved orthodox lines, and has established to his own satisfaction the absolute historic accuracy and trustworthiness of the book. He almost apologises for spending any time in considering the critics who dispute the authenticity of the document, or discriminate between the historical

* The Pulpit Commentary. *The Acts of the Apostles.* Exposition and Homiletics, by the Right Rev. Lord A. C. Hervey, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells. Homilies, by Rev. P. C. Barker, Rev. R. A. Redford, Rev. E. Johnson, Rev. R. Tuck, Rev. W. Clarkson. 2 Vols. London: Kegan Paul. 1884.

value of different parts of the narrative. Baur's "conciliation" hypothesis is "based upon the imagination of the inventor of it," and he is contrasted, to his disadvantage, with Renan, who is complimented, on this occasion, as being "one of the ablest of the freethinking school," because he has expressed his unhesitating belief that Luke is the author of the Acts. Our orthodox critic, however, omits, in this connection at least, to state that Renan, while attributing the book to Luke, has not the slightest hesitation about freely challenging its historic credibility in very much the same respects as those in which Baur challenges it. Luke's purpose of conciliation (he says) led him to falsify the history of Paul. "L'auteur des *Actes* fut, mais avec une naïveté qu'on n'égala plus, le premier de ces narrateurs complaisants, béatement satisfaits, décidés à trouver que tout dans l'Église se passe d'une façon évangélique." If this is the way in which a document may be treated, which is regarded, nevertheless, as an authentic production of Luke, it is not much to the purpose to set off Renan against Baur, and it does not much matter to the student of history whether the Acts was written by Luke or by an anonymous author of somewhat later date. It is only fair to add that the reader "who desires to know all that can be said by hostile criticism against the credibility or authenticity of the Acts, and the truthfulness and trustworthiness of the author," is referred to "the writings of Baur, Schrader, Schwegler, Credner, Overbeck, Zeller, and many others." He will certainly get the very slightest and most superficial idea of the criticism in question from any representation of it made in this commentary. The exposition, on all points which do not require any special critical acumen or historic insight, is useful and satisfactory as far as it goes; and for the rest we need only say that in the Homiletics and Homilies, the whole book, verse by verse and line by line, is used for purposes of edification, and that a preacher beginning now at the first verse, and using in the way of expansion and dilution all the condensed sermons here provided, and preaching two every Sunday, would find that he was only approaching the end of his material in the year 1891.

A Hand-book to the Synoptical Gospels.*

"THIS little book is intended to illustrate the first three Gospels. Its object is to present, in as short a compass as possible, such an account of the people from whom Jesus sprang, as shall enable readers of the Gospels, who have not access to larger works, to frame some notion of the society in which he laboured, and the ideas and institutions with which he had to deal." The author, who thus defines the purpose and the scope of his work, remarks that the materials amassed by scholars are so ample that his task has been only to weigh and select what seemed most suitable. This weighing and selecting, however, is itself no easy task,

* *Life in Palestine when Jesus Lived*: A short Hand-book to the Synoptical Gospels. By J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. London: Sunday School Association. 1884.

requiring for its due performance scholarship of the same rank as that by which the materials themselves were prepared, together with critical insight and literary skill in arranging, combining, and refashioning. Professor Carpenter has all these qualifications, and he has not been content to draw up a mere précis of facts, concise and dry, but in a clear and attractive style has given us a comprehensive view, first of the Country, and then of the People, their national characteristics, their occupations and culture, their current beliefs, their social and political condition; reference being specially made to the points which illustrate the Gospel narrative. The second half of the book deals with Religion in Palestine, its public institutions, the different orders, sects, and parties, and (in an interesting and important concluding chapter) the Messianic Ideas, with a brief estimate of their influence on the Gospel Tradition. The questions suggested by this view of the Messianic hope take us, as Mr. Carpenter says, "into the heart of the criticism of the Gospels; they involve delicate and difficult inquiries; but they can no longer be ignored." We hope that the present admirable manual is only the first of a series (to which it will be the best possible introduction) dealing with the Gospel history itself, the life and teachings of Jesus, and the origins and early developments of Christian doctrine, with the same historic grasp and spiritual insight, and the same power of clear and picturesque presentment which characterises this little book. Not the young people only in whose interests the work has been specially undertaken, but many a mature reader who has neither the time nor the training needful for the study of scientific critical treatises, or to whom fuller sources of information may not be accessible, will be grateful for instruction and guidance given in such a simple, intelligible and attractive form.

Clifton College Sermons.*

WE are sure that Mr. Wilson's school sermons will be read with genuine interest and profit by not a few, both young and old, in the larger circle to which he now addresses them. They dwell, he says, more on elementary truths than is perhaps advisable or possible in parochial sermons addressed to adult and permanent congregations. Certainly they present these elementary truths, whether of religion or morals, in a more simple and direct form than is usual in the average pulpit discourse, at the end of which we may often have reflected how much more to the purpose, and how much better remembered, the lesson would have been if it had been given in a few plain, earnest words, instead of being amplified, adorned, and extended to the proportion of the conventional sermon, planned to fill up the allotted half-hour or so in the service. One of Mr. Wilson's objects in publishing these sermons is to give those whom it may concern an opportunity of knowing something about the religious influences to which the boys at

* *Sermons preached in Clifton College Chapel*, 1879–1883. By the Rev. J. M. Wilson, M.A., Head Master. London: Macmillan. 1884.

the Clifton College will be submitted, and he has endeavoured, he says, to make the selection as representative as possible. The teaching which they do represent is religious in the truest sense of the word—manly, practical and devout, and pervaded by the spirit of that genuine liberality, the source of which is as far removed as possible from indifference, and as closely allied as possible with strong and earnest personal convictions. In one or two instances, as in the sermon for Trinity Sunday, we should be inclined to say, from our point of view, that the "elementary truth" which is presented, would have been better disentangled from the connection with a metaphysical formula; but perhaps we ought to be well satisfied with an argument so nearly reducing the doctrine of the Trinity to one or two "elementary truths," which almost any Christian Theist would admit, though he might demur to the form in which they were expressed, and to certain of the inferences drawn from it. At any rate we are able heartily to commend the book both to the young people whose experiences and thoughts and moral needs it primarily regards, and to the older reader who is likely to be more appreciative than our preachers would seem often to suppose of such direct and practical plain-speaking and simple religious teaching, as is contained in these good, earnest, useful, and short sermons.

The Bible Word-Book.*

DR. ALDIS WRIGHT'S Bible Word-Book was so good and so carefully done when it appeared eighteen years ago, that the most diligent revision could hardly lead to any substantial or vitally important changes in it. Dr. Wright's occupation, however, as Secretary to the Company of Revisers of the Old Testament, while it has long delayed the appearance of the new edition, has been the occasion for a microscopic study of the language of the Authorised Version, and has resulted in the addition of four hundred new items to the Glossary; and though, as might have been expected, they do not include any matters of leading interest, they all combine to give an impression of the absolute completeness with which the work has been carried out. The Bible Word-Book explains, and illustrates by well-selected quotations from our literature, every word and phrase in the Authorised Version and in the Prayer Book which is not in current use in present-day English, calling attention even to very slight shades of difference in the form of a word, and in its meaning and application. It is the fullest and most detailed glossary of the archaisms of the English Bible and Prayer Book; and it will have a new use as a help to the intelligent literary criticism of the Revised Version.

* *The Bible Word-Book.* A Glossary of Archaic Words and Phrases in the Authorised Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. By W. Aldis Wright, LL.D. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged. London: Macmillan. 1884.

Memorials of Charles Perry.*

THIS volume, containing twenty-three sermons, preceded by a memoir by the Rev. R. A. Armstrong, and a funeral sermon by Professor J. E. Carpenter, will, we hope, find many readers beyond the circle of Mr. Perry's own congregation and his personal friends. There have probably been few ministers who have exerted so powerful and so permanent an influence, in a ministry of such short duration. It is impossible to imagine any one either hearing or reading these sermons without being brought to a clearer consciousness of the power of religious communion with others, and, at the same time, to a deeper sense of the strength and grace that are given by a living personal religion. It is remarkable to find in a minister called directly from the college classroom to so important a charge as that of Hope Street Church, Liverpool, a clearness of insight into the problems which such a charge presented, which is usually only attained after many years of experience and careful observation of life and character. Truly "honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years; but wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age." All the discourses are well worth reading, whether by young or old, and they will no doubt be read and re-read, in quiet hours, by those who delight to renew and strengthen their own religious life in close communion with some strong, pure, sympathetic soul; but more especially parents who are anxious about the religious training of their children, and young men and women who are perplexed by the problems of their own religious life, as almost all who are earnest and thoughtful must be at the present day, will find much to help them in the discourses on "Organisation," "Religious Education," "Worship in the Home," "Sin and Punishment," "To Young Men and Women," "Advent Sunday," and "The Supremacy of Christ."

F. H. J.

Orville Dewey's Autobiography.†

THE name of Orville Dewey will be familiar to many of our readers as that of one of the conspicuous figures in the group of American Unitarians of which Channing was the centre and representative. He produced a great effect, in his day, by the eloquence and the combined intellectual and emotional power of his pulpit discourses, especially those in which he set forth Christianity as the great quickening and regenerating force in humanity, and vindicated the true dignity of human nature against the aspersions cast at once upon it and its Divine Originator by the doctrines of popular orthodoxy. The style of preachers and the taste of hearers change, and it may be that the

* *Discourses.* By the late Charles John Perry. With a Memoir by the Rev. R. A. Armstrong. Liverpool: Henry Young. 1884.

† *Autobiography and Letters of Orville Dewey, D.D.* Edited by his daughter, Mary E. Dewey. Boston Roberts Brothers. 1884.

discourses into which Dr. Dewey threw his best energies, with an unreserve which wore him out prematurely, would attract less notice now. But in these latest days, when religion and morals and the whole structure of society are being stirred to their foundations by revolutionary forces, it will still be found, we think, that there are earnest and eloquent words of his which are worth listening to, and that he can give us some good counsel, if not as to the practical ways in which our social problems are to be solved, at least, as to the spirit and aim with which their solution is to be sought. We are glad of the opportunity of making a more personal acquaintance with the preacher in the pages of the autobiographical sketch which he prepared, at his daughter's request, for the pleasure and advantage of his family and friends, and portions of which we are now allowed to read, together with a considerable number of letters, written chiefly to certain intimate friends, conspicuous among them Dr. Bellows and the Rev. William Ware.

The autobiography is simple and unpretending in form, filling, as here presented to us, little more than a hundred pages of good-sized type. There are pleasant remembrances of the writer's childhood, and his education at home and at school, and some of the scenes and personages f an old-fashioned time. His very early religious impressions appear to have been vivid enough, and of anything but a cheerful kind. They were, in fact, the impressions of a sombre Calvinism, out of which he gradually struggled into the light. At college the two events which were of chief moment to him were, he says, "the loss of sight and the gain of insight." An affection of the eyes prevented him, for five years, from devoting more than an hour a day to reading; and he had to resign the prospect of gaining distinction as a scholar. Dr. Channing's remark to him was, "You were made for better things;" and he recognised, then and afterwards, the way in which a discipline that he had not chosen, and the long-enforced hours of self-communion and solitary musing, had all gone to prepare him for his special work in the world. It was thus that a vital change was wrought in his inmost religious life, which he describes in a passage which we are glad to quote:—

> Religion had never been a delight to me before; now it became the highest. . . . A new day rose upon me. It was as if another sun had risen into the sky; the heavens were indescribably brighter, and the earth fairer; and that day has gone on brightening to the present hour. I have known the other joys of life, I suppose, as much as most men; I have known art and beauty and music and gladness; I have known friendship and love and family ties; but it is certain that till we see GOD in the world—GOD in the bright and boundless universe—we never know the highest joy. It is far more than if one were translated to a world a thousand times fairer than this; for that supreme and central Light of Infinite Love and Wisdom shining over this world and all worlds, alone can show us how noble an beautiful, how fair and glorious they are.

It was after the growth of this nobler and happier religion in his life that Orville Dewey decided upon his vocation, and he entered Andover as a divinity student. His theological training there was mainly on the

orthodox lines; but he had been working out his doctrinal position for himself, and he left the seminary with doubts on such cardinal subjects as the doctrine of the Trinity and everlasting punishment. It was not long before he was summoned by the Presbytery of New York to answer a charge of heresy; on which he took the final step of departure from his old connection, and began his new ministerial life under bright auspices at Boston, as assistant to Dr. Channing, of whom he has set down some interesting impressions and reminiscences. After a couple of years he settled as minister of the church at New Bedford, and remained there ten years, before the end of which term the high pressure of his work had unhappily brought on a nervous disease of the brain, from which he was never afterwards free. Some subsequent years of ministry at New York and Washington were several times interrupted, and were finally closed by the break down of his health; and he was obliged to retire from the duties of a settled charge. The last twenty-five years of his life were spent in a quiet and beautiful home at Sheffield in Pennsylvania—the chief fruits of his leisure from regular pulpit duties being the two published courses of "Lowell Lectures" on "The Problem of Human Destiny," and "The Philosophy of History and Humanity." The autobiography was written in the early days of the life at Sheffield. It is supplemented largely by the letters which Miss Dewey has collected, and has illustrated or explained by a brief narrative where it has been required, giving many particulars of her father's life which are extremely interesting. Everywhere there is evidence of both the depth and the breadth of his religious faith. His generous and tolerant spirit, and his consistent devotion to religious freedom, were shown, amongst other ways, by his opposition to the action of the Unitarian Association in devising a doctrinal test of membership, and by his deep regret at the consequent secession of some of the "radicals" who had hitherto had their legitimate place on its platform.

Of the letters, which occupy two-thirds of the volume, we have no room to speak further. They have, perhaps, no very salient points of interest, but they are letters which it must have been very pleasant to receive, and which are interesting to read, as familiar and unaffected revealings of the same thoughts and views of life, of men and books, of society and politics, as we had made acquaintance with in the autobiography. The reader who looks only for lively incident and amusing anecdote, or for sharp criticisms and vivid descriptions of the objects of his admiration or aversion, will be disappointed probably with what he will find in the book. But we can safely recommend it to anyone who can appreciate the interest of a sincere record of the thoughts and experiences of a man of cultivated and original mind, who has taken life seriously and earnestly, not without keen enjoyment of its true happiness, who has met with a good many noteworthy people and likes to talk about them, and whose genial temper and bright, hopeful faith and large-hearted charity are never at fault.

Mr. Schütz Wilson's Studies in History, Etc.*

THE paper which we have read with the most interest and pleasure in Mr. Schütz Wilson's new volume of "Studies" is the one, appearing now for the first time, which has Madame Roland for its subject. The picture of that noble woman is drawn with a firm and sympathetic hand, and was well worthy of the care and skill which have been bestowed upon it. The romantic story will be enjoyed of Elizabeth Stuart "Queen of Bohemia, and Queen of Hearts," which, as well as the "Facts and Fancies about Faust," made its first appearance in our own pages, and which, therefore, it is not for us to weigh in the critical balance. In quite another vein is the amusing sketch (in which Mr. Wilson very successfully assumes the character and style of the popular *raconteur)* of the adventures of the famous robber-knight Eppelein von Gailingen. The author would have done well we think to have placed these attractive chapters in the forefront of his volume; and we should not have quarrelled with him if he had decided not to reproduce, in this connection, the papers dealing with such ugly and repulsive subjects as those to which the two studies are devoted that meet the reader on the threshold. An attempt having been made by Gregorovius to rehabilitate the character of Lucrezia Borgia, or at least to show that she was not so black as she has been painted, Mr. Wilson undertook the unpleasant task of studying for himself the contemporary annals of various infamy, of lust and treachery and "spiritual wickedness in high places," and his object here is to show that it is only by tearing out the more odious pages of the evil history, and selecting others which might be pieced together into a sort of plausible unity, that any case can be made out for a more favourable verdict than history has hitherto pronounced. No doubt the truth about Lucrezia Borgia has its own intensely painful interest to the student of human nature, or of the terribly vile chapter in the history of the Papacy and of the public and private life of Italy in the early years of the fifteenth century, in which it fills some of the most lurid pages. But whether his readers generally will be grateful to him for fixing their attention perforce on such a base and shocking page of human history we may be excused for doubting. Almost as disagreeable, and with less heroic measure of wickedness, is the wretched story of Count Struensee and the unhappy Caroline Mathilde of Denmark. If this must needs be told as a chapter in that history of which it forms an evil episode, we should never at any rate have selected it to recount to the general circle of readers whom Mr. Schütz Wilson here addresses. We recognise, however, the pains and thought expended on these investigations. Each of the five pieces which make up the volume has its own literary flavour and effect, and is the fruit of careful and independent study. The story is, in each case, well and

* *Studies in History, Legend, and Literature.* By H. Schütz Wilson. London: Griffith and Farran. 1884.

succinctly told, with power, as we have intimated, to horrify and repel the reader, or strongly to attract him and excite his sympathy and admiration. The former sensations we confess we do not court; and if Mr. Schütz Wilson would have given us the two interesting articles on Wallenstein which appeared, not long ago, in the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Westminster Review*, we would gladly have spent over them the two half-hours which are here devoted to the chamber of horrors.

Charles Dayrell.*

A "NOVEL with a purpose," with an express and clearly-stated purpose—and such is *Charles Dayrell*—will be considered either more or less than a novel proper, according to the taste of the reader. In whichever light Mr. Solly's last literary venture is regarded, it is a case in which we willingly deviate from our usual rule of not reviewing current works of fiction, in order to say a word or two, at any rate, on the leading idea of the book, with which we are in hearty sympathy. This may be defined as the "Worship of Joy," and of its cognate elements, Freedom, Beauty (whether in nature or in art), and Love, in its highest and purest forms. Much that is most true and excellent has been said about the "Worship of Sorrow"; but to dwell on that by itself is to ignore an equally characteristic element of the true spiritual life of humanity. Mr. Solly has endeavoured to show how, in the "Youth of the World," as in the childhood of individual human beings, this enthusiasm of joy springs up naturally and healthfully; and he takes the Dionysiac cult, as embodied in its higher poetical and religious forms in the "Bacchæ" of Euripides, for a *point d'appui* for the development of his central idea. At the same time he has specially desired to show how no joy is permanent, and (after childhood) no recreation, no pursuit of amusement and pleasure, is *safe*, except so far as it is brought under the influence of the religion of the Cross; unless the spirit of self-denial, and self-sacrifice, is infused into this worship of joy.

As to the form in which Mr. Solly has presented this excellent and seasonable doctrine, there is no doubt that people will read a novel who will not look at a serious essay or a sermon And if Charles Dayrell gains a hearing where Henry Solly, speaking in his own person, might not have done, we shall heartily rejoice in his success.

German Love.†

IT might seem that a new edition of *Deutsche Liebe*, in its English form, required nothing more than a brief acknowledgment of its appearance, with a word or two about the outward form in which it is put

* *Charles Dayrell.* A Modern Bacchanal. By Henry Solly. London: Elliot Stock. 1884.

† *Deutsche Liebe* (German Love). Fragments from the Papers of an Alien. Collected by F. Max Muller. Translated from the sixth German edition, by G. A. M. London: Sonnenschein. 1884.

forth by its latest publisher. But no doubt there may still be some of our readers who do not know this most charming and delicate little spiritual romance, which shines out among love stories with its own peculiarly pure and tender light. It is a beautiful prose poem, in which everything harmonises perfectly with the exquisite gems of verse, Wordsworth's 'Highland Girl,' and Mr. Matthew Arnold's 'The Buried Life,' which are embedded in two of its most touching chapters. The story is told in the form of "recollections," which touch upon many deep things of the religious life, and reveal the inner thoughts of two innocent and loving hearts; and it is all suffused with a peaceful atmosphere of tender feeling, of deep, quiet joy, and of sorrow as quiet and deep. We associate it with the fragrance and delicate hues of the spring flowers, or the tranquil beauty of summer twilight. If we were asked with what other books we should compare it, we should be inclined to mention several which might seem very dissimilar, yet which have some undefinable element of poetry and spiritual significance in common,—"Undine," "The Beleaguered City," "The Little Schoolmaster Mark,"—or, again, the "Theologia Germanica" (much spoken of in it), and "In Memoriam." Whoever has been variously touched and charmed and taught by these books, will be ready to yield to the charm of "German Love." The new edition is a reprint of the one published seven years ago by Mr. Strahan, from the same stereotype plates, with the advantage of larger margins and a more tasteful binding.

Theodore Parker's Prayers.*

THIS little book, which many of our readers must have long known and prized, appeared, not long ago, in a new and attractive form; and we mention it here for the sake of those who do not know this beautiful and precious aid to devotion, glowing, as it does, with a radiant spirit of thankfulness and confiding trust in the absolute goodness of God, and full of a strong, uplifting rapture of aspiration. It is not a book to criticise; and we have pleasure, instead of attempting further to characterise it, in quoting the following sentences from Miss Alcott's touching and sympathetic preface. She speaks of the effect produced upon her by the first sermon and prayer of Parker's which she listened to:—

> It was unlike any prayer I had ever heard . . . It was a quiet talk with God, as if long intercourse and much love had made it natural and easy for the son to seek the Father, confessing faults, asking help, and submitting all things to the All wise and tender, as freely as children bring their little sorrows, hopes, and fears to their mother's knee. The slow, soft folding of the hands, the reverent bowing of the good grey head, the tears that sometimes veiled the voice, the simplicity, frankness, and devout earnestness made both words and manner most wonderfully eloquent; and the phrase "Our Father and Mother God" was inexpressibly sweet and beautiful, seeming to invoke both power and love to sustain and comfort the

* *Prayers by Theodore Parker.* A New Edition, with a Preface by Louisa M. Alcott, and a Memoir by F. B. Sanborn. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1882.

anxious overburdened hearts of those who listened and went away to labour and to wait with fresh hope and faith.

The edition, with Miss Alcott's preface and Mr. Sanborn's very brief biographical sketch, may be obtained at the rooms of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, as may also a volume containing the Prayers, together with "Ten Sermons of Religion."

WE have room left for only a very few words about the following sermons and addresses, which invite much fuller consideration:—*Sermons of Sympathy*, by J. PAGE HOPPS. (Williams and Norgate.) Brief addresses, simple, earnest, and tender, containing thoughts on life and death which will be comforting and strengthening to many who are saddened by their own experience, or oppressed by the sense of the suffering and evil that are in the world.—In five vigorous and stimulating sermons (published by William Reeves, 185, Fleet Street) Mr. PHILIP H. WICKSTEED essays to answer the question, *Is Christianity Practical?* Mr. Wicksteed's hearers or readers, whether they entirely agree with him or not, cannot but listen with close attention to what he has to say; he is always so thoroughly in earnest, and takes so deeply to heart the questions he discusses. In these discourses he fearlessly applies the tests which the Christian ideal provides, to the actual conduct of social life, of trade and politics, and, in a concluding address, he takes his stand for *redemption*, not *elimination*, as the law of human progress in the struggle for the means of material existence.—*A Law of Development;* an Essay by CAROLINE HADDON (J. Haddon, 8, Bouverie-street), contains an elucidation of some points of Mr. James Hinton's teaching in its practical bearings. It includes some important explanations of certain features of Mr. Hinton's doctrine of Immortality and of the Personality of God which appear to have been misapprehended, in consequence of the terms in which Mr. Hinton sometimes expressed them.

Of the following books, which are unavoidably deferred for future notice, several reached us too late for review in this number:—*The Life of F. D. Maurice* (Macmillan); *Outlines of Psychology*, by JAMES SULLY (Longmans); *Practical Essays*, by Dr. A. BAIN (Longmans); *Leibnis*, by J. T. MERZ (Blackwood); *The Life of Christ*, by Dr. B. WEISS (T. and T. Clarke); *Beliefs about the Bible*, by M. J. SAVAGE (Williams and Norgate); *Intellectual Principles*, by J. H. GODWIN (J. Clarke and Co.); *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, by J. E. THOROLD ROGERS (Sonnenschein); *W. Vatke in seinem Leben*, von H. BENECKE (Bonn: Strauss); *Professor Knight's Wordsworth*, Vol. IV. (Paterson).

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THE FALSE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL.

THE subject does not seem an attractive one! Perhaps our pleasure in hearing more of the great men who preached the word of Yahveh to Israel may be regarded in some quarters as the measure of the dislike with which we should approach the worthless impostors who seduced Israel age after age. Would it not be better to hand over the clan to forgetfulness, and bury the few names that have survived in silence?

Assuredly, if there were nothing to say of the so-called false prophets but that they were monsters of deceit, impiety and viciousness, it would hardly be worth while to devote much attention to them. But the very question we have to decide is whether the current opinion concerning them is just. That opinion is doubtless supported not only by the older theologians, but by thorough scholars of more recent times. Knobel, for instance,—to be content with citing a single weighty name—in his book on Prophecy has insisted upon an absolute contrast between the true and the false prophets. As for the latter, he thinks they were all of one alloy. They were bad, and bad only; they were without enlightenment and without inspiration. "Their whole trade was simply deception."*

* *Prophetismus* I, 106, 228, sq. 234.

This opinion, however, is no longer shared by every one. Kuenen, for instance, judges otherwise. While wishing not to "idealise the 'false prophets,'"* he nevertheless parts company with Knobel in his estimate of them. He is far from casting doubts on the sincerity of all these men without distinction. "The so-called false prophets," he writes, "do not differ from their opponents in that they arrogate to themselves in bad faith what the latter possess in reality. As regards sincerity of conviction and good intention, they rather stand, generally speaking, on a level with them."† We find Duhm,‡ Schultz,§ and Stade‖ expressing themselves in the same sense; whereas Maybaum¶ once more passes an unqualified condemnation upon these men. He puts them all on the same level too, though in other respects his judgment departs from that of the older scholars.

This difference of opinion amongst theologians of the same school gives the subject a part of its special interest just now. It calls for a closer investigation. And, moreover, our estimate of false prophecy cannot fail to exercise a marked influence on our views of prophecy in general.

Those who feel with me in this may perhaps be willing to bestow some attention upon the following pages.

I.

Let us begin with a historical review. Our chief knowledge of the so-called false prophets is drawn from the writings of the canonical prophets. But even before the time of Amos we read in the book of Kings** of four hundred of these false prophets in the reigns of Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah (say about 900 B.C.). The two monarchs were contemplating a campaign against the Syrians, to take the transjordanic city of

* *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, p. 581. † L. c., p. 582.
‡ *Die Theologie der Propheten*, p, 229.
§ *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 124-5.
‖ In the *Zeitschrift für A. T. Theologie* I., 8.
¶ *Die Entwikelung des Isr. Prophetenthums*, p. 124, sq. ** 1 Kings, xxii.

Ramoth in Gilead. Under the guidance of a certain Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, the four hundred prophets whom the allies consult prophesy the best success. "Go up and you shall prosper," they cry. "Yahveh will give the city and the foe into your hand!" And, as if to enforce the prophecy, Zedekiah, after the symbolic fashion of the times, made himself iron horns, by which he gave it to be understood that the Syrians would be utterly overthrown, that is to say, defeated and destroyed.

But the matter did not rest here. Jehoshaphat had his misgivings about these four hundred prophets. In spite of their repeated assurances that all should be as they said, he asked whether there was no other man of God whom they might consult. The King of Israel said that there was still a certain Micah,* the son of Imlah, who was a prophet; but he shrank from consulting him, since he seemed to take a delight in always prophesying evil. But Jehoshaphat was not to be scared, and still pressed for this Micah to be heard. He was sent for; and when asked what would be the result of the proposed attack, he answered at first, in accordance with a strong hint which had been given him on the way, in the same sense as the others. But the tone of his voice evidently betrayed the forced nature of his reply. When called on to be more explicit, and to give his honest opinion, he declared that the result of the expedition would be disastrous. "I see Israel scattered on the mountains," he said, "like sheep who have no shepherd." This image allowed of no two interpretations. Ahab spoke bitterly of the prediction, and appealed against it to the favourable utterances of the rest; but Micah did not hesitate to declare that they were misleading the King, and that, too, because they were themselves misled. No wonder! for, strange as it might sound, they had been led astray by no less an one than Yahveh himself. The God of Israel had deliberately sent out the spirit of prophecy to compass Ahab's fall; and it

* I adopt the better known and shorter form of the name Micaiah or Micah.

had become a lying spirit upon the lips of Zedekiah and the rest. While they believed themselves to be uttering the truth, they were, in fact, speaking nothing but lies. Let not Ahab believe them!

This assertion was naturally as little to the taste of the four hundred prophets as to that of the King; and Zedekiah, conscious, as he thought, of his righteous cause, was so enraged that he struck Micah on the cheek, and asked how the spirit had left himself (Zedekiah) and gone to him (Micah) to tell him all about it. The result, however, confirmed Micah's gloomy forebodings. The allied army of Israel and Judah was defeated, and Ahab perished on the field of battle.

It is a story full of life and interest; and we have ample cause to admire the writer's talent. But we cannot keep back the question so often called to our lips by the historical books of the Old Testament. "Is all this pure history, or has it been coloured by the influences of later times?" For we must remember that this is not the narrative of a contemporary and eye-witness of the events, but of a prophetic writer of later days, who may have been giving expression in this scene to his own ideas of prophecy.

It would lead me too far from my subject were I to explain, at length, the grounds which appear to me to justify this latter suspicion; nor is it needful for my present purpose that I should do so. Whether we see a pure reflection of the truth in this story, or detect the results of later experience in it, in any case it is historical in one sense or the other, and, therefore, worthy of our attention, and capable of yielding us instruction. For, in either case, it shows us how the so-called true prophets, here represented by Micah, judged their adversaries. Here, as always, the former are in the minority, and are disregarded by the princes and magnates. Their words find little faith, and they are hated for prophesying evil while the others prophesy peace and prosperity. And, again, in this first glimpse of the conflict between the prophets, we come at once upon traces of the chief reasons which urged this

minority to oppose the majority. The latter prophesied good to godless princes, such as Ahab, and to the people who strayed from the path of Yahveh. This, thought the others, was in conflict with the law of righteousness that linked its punishment to every sin.

If we now go on to the prophetic writings themselves we hardly find any mention at all of the false prophets in the oldest of them. Amos and Hosea frequently speak of "the prophets," but, for the most part, in a favourable sense. The celebrated answer given by Amos to the chief priest of Bethel, when he bade him leave the temple and the land, has, indeed, been taken in proof that he had a low opinion of the prophetic order in general. But I cannot read this meaning in the words. "I am no prophet," says Amos, "nor a son of the prophets."* It is simply a statement of fact. Amos did not belong to the consecrated order. He came forward, so to speak, *extra ordinem*.† It would be far from impossible that he should have despised the official prophets on that account; but there is nothing to indicate that he actually did so. He never says anything to their disadvantage, but, on the contrary, mentions them with sympathy whenever he speaks of them at all. This is true, not only when he has the former men of God in view, but also when he is thinking of his own contemporaries. "The Lord Yahveh does nothing," he declares, "without first having revealed it to his servants, the prophets (nebiim)."‡ Such a saying is a high tribute of honour to the guild. The following remark, too, is intended as a rebuke, not to the prophets but to the Israelites, whom Amos is addressing: "I raised up out of your sons for prophets, and out of your young men for nazirites; but you give the nazirites wine to drink and bid the prophets not to prophesy."§

* Amos vii. 14.

† If, as is generally assumed, every one was a prophet (nabi), who took upon himself the prophetic function, then the saying, "I am not a nabi," would have no sense in the mouth of Amos.

‡ Amos iii. 7.

§ Amos ii. 11.

Hosea, too, who sprang from Northern Israel (about 750 B.C.) is severer upon the priests than upon the nebiim or prophets of the school. Some of his oracles have been very unjustifiably treated as containing attacks upon the latter. The fact is quite the other way. "The prophet becomes witless and the man of the spirit mad," he cries;* but this implies praise rather than blame, for it is meant to sketch the despair that lays hold of these men in their wrath over the sins of the people. Far from enjoying the confidence of the wicked they are opposed and despised by them. "They lay snares in all their ways," † and that is why the office of prophet has become, by God's command, an instrument of judgment. "I hew them [the Israelites] down by the prophets. I slay them by the words of my mouth." ‡ There is but a single passage in Hosea's prophecies that seems to throw an unfavourable light upon his colleagues or at any rate a part of them. It is the place in which he says that disaster will fall not only upon the people, but upon the priests and prophets as well. "Thou shalt stumble and fall in the day of judgment, and the prophet also shall fall with thee in the night." §

The writings of Isaiah and Micah give us more insight into the state of the prophetic guild in Judah during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. It is evident that the mass of nebiim had remained at the level above which Isaiah and Micah themselves had risen. The difference between them is strongly marked. The faults with which the nebiim are charged are those of their order, but Isaiah and Micah, like their great predecessors, have been raised above them by an altogether new conception of their calling. In consulting the deity, in uttering oracles and especially in catching the sacred inspiration, it was a common practice to excite enthusiasm and prophetic insight by the artificial stimulus of music or of strong drink. Thus a state of excitement was produced which was open to just suspicion in proportion to its frequency. "They stagger with wine and stumble in the vision," says Isaiah. "In the very

* Hosea ix. 7. † Hosea ix. 8. ‡ Hosea vi. 5. § Hosea iv. 5.

temple they are beside themselves, and the tables are filled with their excess. They can but stammer and can speak no plain word."*

Micah speaks of them in similar terms,† and finds yet other grounds of complaint against them.

> " Your prophets speak for a reward,
> And trusting in Yahveh they ask:
> ' Is not the Lord in the midst of us?
> Evil shall never o'ertake us.' "‡

For centuries it had been customary to demand a fee for oracles,§ and no one had seen any harm in it. But Micah and those that felt with him denounced the practice, especially when, as was often the case, the character of the oracle depended on the payment!

> " When they have something to fix their teeth in, they prophesy peace,
> But if any one fails to fill their mouths, they shout out war upon him." ||

Thus they degraded prophecy to the contemptible level of soothsaying, and deserved to receive no answers from God.

Our most copious sources of information, however, concerning the so-called false prophets belong to the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries, to the period that is usually known as the *Chaldean*. This is partly due to the fact that we have more abundant literature from this period than from the preceding ones, but partly also to the circumstance that at this time the false prophets became more numerous than ever before, or rather that the distinction between them and their colleagues grew more and more pronounced. The contrast had become sharper, and the chasm gaped ever deeper and wider between them. We gather this from the writings of Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, as well as from the

* Isaiah xxviii. 7—13. † Micah ii. 11.
‡ Micah iii. 11. § Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 7 sq. || Micah iii. 5.

book of Deuteronomy, which belongs to this same period. It is a very remarkable fact that in the reign of Josiah even the law-giver felt the necessity of laying down regulations concerning an order which had hitherto developed itself in perfect freedom. The regulations in question were chiefly restrictive. Much was condemned that had had the sanction of previous usage but had now begun to fall into discredit amongst the servants of Yahveh *pur-sang*. Thus the law-giver denounces soothsaying in all possible forms,—ventriloquism, whispering, charms, conjuration, and calling up and interrogating the dead, which had never been officially prohibited before.*

The new code is no less emphatic in its condemnation of the consultation of foreign gods and of prophesying in their name. All this is unlawful or false prophesy. It does not follow that the writer sympathised with all the prophets of Yahveh. On the contrary, he expressly declared that amongst those who spoke in the name of Israel's God there were many to whom he was convinced that Yahveh had never spoken. It is with reference to them especially that he feels the necessity of giving some criterion by which to distinguish between false and true prophets.

On two several occasions the law-giver deals expressly with this subject,† which evidently lay near his heart. And if we note further that no precepts concerning prophecy are to be found either in the earlier "Book of the Covenant" or in the later "Priestly Codex," we cannot help suspecting that just at the time of the composition of Deuteronomy this was a burning question such as it had never been before and could never be again.

In this suspicion we are confirmed by the study of the prophetic writings of the period. Violent indeed is the strife in which Jeremiah and Ezekiel engage against many of their colleagues, who in their turn fully reciprocate their

* According to 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 9, etc., Saul had forbidden soothsaying long ago. But the narrative is too late to justify any great confidence on such a point. See Wellhausen in Bleek's Einleitung, p. 220.

† Deut. xiii. 1—5, xviii. 9—22.

bitterness. It would be impossible within the limits of such an essay as this to transcribe all the passages which refer to this contest. Whole verses and chapters are filled with complaints about "the prophets," and the name is but seldom used by Jeremiah in a favourable sense to designate those with whom he is in sympathy.* Jeremiah has but few supporters. Men such as Urijah and Baruch are the exception. The majority occupy a totally different position, and are taxed by Jeremiah with every kind of wickedness. The prophets, he complains, prophesy in the name of idols,† still practise the heathen arts of soothsaying,‡ and invent visions and revelations.§ In their lives, too, he finds much to rebuke. They are light,‖ impious,¶ and immoral** in their conduct; nay, they are shamelessly mercenary,†† and are guilty of adultery‡‡ and even of murder.§§

But the special and constantly recurring accusation is that the prophets, instead of coming forward as preachers of repentance, announce peace and prosperity to men who have deserved God's punishment by their sins:

> "They strengthen the hands of the wicked
> So that they turn from their wickedness no more.
> They perpetually say to those who despise God
> 'Peace shall be yours. It shall go well with you.'
> And to those who walk in arrogance of heart
> To them they say, 'No ill shall befall you.'" |||

This was so utterly opposed to the teaching of Jeremiah in Jerusalem, and of his ally Ezekiel on the banks of the Chebar, amongst those already in exile, that neither prophet could avoid perpetual references to the divergence

* In Jeremiah ii. 30 it is so used. † Jer. ii. 8, 26 sq., xxiii. 14.

‡ Jer. xiv. 14, xxvii. 9, xxix. 8. Ezekiel xiii. 17 sq. (against prophetesses who act as soothsayers).

§ Jer. xiv. 14 sq., xxxiii. 16. Ezek. xiii. 2, 7, 17, xxii. 28.

‖ Jer. vi. 14 sq., viii. 10 sq. Zephan. iii. 4. ¶ Jer. xxiii. 15.

** Jer. xxiii. 11. †† Jer. vi. 13 sq., viii. 10 sq. Ezek xiii. 19.

‡‡ Jer. xxiii. 10, 14, xxix. 23.

§§ Lamentations iv. 13—16. By Jeremiah himself this accusation is not made, but "the prophets" are amongst those who on one occasion demand his death. Jer. xxvi. 8. ||| Jer. xxiii. 14, 17.

of the ordinary preaching from his own. And most of all in the hour of danger, at the terrible crisis of the siege of Jerusalem, this difference of view came into the foreground. "Never submit! never surrender the city! Resist Nebucadrezar and the Chaldeans to the last!" cried Jeremiah's opponents; for the danger was pressing, and "the sword aimed at the life." Humanly speaking all resistance seemed hopeless, but the prophets still trusted in God. "Is not Yahveh in our midst?" they cried. "How, then, can evil come over us? Is He not Israel's King, with power to save his people? Is not his dwelling, his temple, here?"*

Jeremiah and his allies protested emphatically against this language of faith. It was rocking the people to sleep, they said. Yahveh would indeed rescue and help his people. He was still the living God, mighty to save. But there was one indispensable condition, and this the prophets had overlooked. The people must first be converted, and by a holy life show themselves deserving Yahveh's favour. If not, then Israel's Holy One would reject his people.

"Make your ways and your doings good.
Do right between a man and his neighbour,
Oppress not the stranger, the orphan and the widow,
Shed no innocent blood in this place;
Then will I make you to dwell in this place.
In the land that I gave to your fathers."†

But, inasmuch as this condition was not fulfilled, Jeremiah had no hesitation in preaching with ever-growing emphasis that all trust in Yahveh was idle. Jerusalem must fall; Judah must be carried away captive. Not till the people had been purified by suffering and exile would God once more have pity on them.

The prophet went all lengths in this matter. When the enemy was encamped before the gates he counselled submission without any attempt at resistance, since Yahveh had given over the city and its inhabitants, together with all other people and nations, into the hand of the King of Babylon. The best thing to be done was to surrender as

* Jer. vii. 4. † Jer. vii. 3, 5—7; xxvi. 13.

soon as might be, or, if that were impossible, to go over to the enemy, and so escape alive.* This last piece of advice was actually followed by a number of the men of Jerusalem,† which perhaps indicates that the prophet really had more influence than we should be inclined to suppose from his constant complaint of his complete isolation. But what could be more natural than that fiery patriots should see nothing but treachery and cowardice in such preaching, and should be filled with indignation against the prophet ? ‡ Unless all love of home and altar had died away, it was simply impossible that every one should at once support Jeremiah. The fact was far otherwise; and some of Jeremiah's fellow-prophets were amongst the most vehement in opposition to him. Hananiah, in particular, a prophet from the neighbourhood of Gibeon, came forward in the Temple, in the hearing of the people, with a very different exhortation.§ He tore the wooden yoke, that Jeremiah wore as a symbolic enforcement of submission to Babylon, from his neck, and cried, as he broke it to pieces, "Thus shall Yahveh break the yoke of the enemy and shatter the Chaldeans, within these two years." But Jeremiah would not be driven off the field. "You can break this wooden yoke," he said, "but not the yoke of iron that Nebucadrezar will lay upon every neck." The same conviction was upheld by Jeremiah against all who opposed him—the priest Pashur, and the prophets in Babylonia who kept the spirit of opposition alive among the exiles, Ahab the son of Kolaiah, Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, Shemaiah the Nehelamite,‖ and others. He answered all their revilings, and the bitter letters which he received from Babylonia, by predictions of the utmost gloom, accompanied by violent threats. Sometimes accidental circumstances lent force to his discources. Within the year announced by Jeremiah the above-mentioned Hananiah died; and, of course, his fate was accepted by his opponent as the execution of the sentence of death he had passed on

* Jer. xxi. 8—10. † Jer. xxxviii. 19; xxxix. 9; lii. 15.
‡ Jer. xxxvii. 13; xxxviii. 4. § Jer. xxviii. ‖ Jer. xxix. 21, 24.

him.* If this prediction was really uttered by Jeremiah—as to which there is room for doubt†—he was more fortunate in this instance than in foretelling that Jehoiakim should not have an honourable burial, and should not be succeeded by his son.‡ In both respects the event contradicted his expectation.§

Meanwhile, the exasperation of "the prophets" still grew. They urged the temple police to exercise their authority and discharge their duty by putting this "raving" and stubborn fanatic under restraint. What counsel he was giving the exiles! Telling them to build houses and plant trees, and, in a word, quietly settle down in Babylonia and reconcile themselves with their lot, instead of joining the prophets who were there with them in keeping their hope and courage alive amidst their misfortunes!

The result justified Jeremiah. It was long before Yahveh took pity on his people; and when at last, at the coming of Cyrus, he seemed once more to have made bare his arm and revealed his might, most of the exiles still doubted. The second Isaiah again was in the minority. Even amongst the prophets there were many who no longer believed in the return or in the future of Israel. The reproaches now cast upon them are the exact opposite of those of half a century before. If Jeremiah had taxed his fellow-prophets with expecting too speedy redemption and succour from the God of Israel, the charge now made against their successors is that they have no faith in the deliverance by the hand of Cyrus. They gave signs, indeed, and practised soothsaying,‖ but they understood nothing of the signs of the times, nor did they proclaim the blessing already visible on the horizon. Sunk in the traditional conception of their calling, running in the ruts, and slaves to mere routine, they took no note of the dawn of a new

* Jer. xxviii. 16 sq.

† The spelling of the proper names in Jer. xxviii., especially that of Nebucadrezar (viz., Nebucadnezar) betrays a later hand. On this point Graf (*Jeremiah*, p. 345) is in error.

‡ Jer. xxii. 19; xxxvi. 30. § 2 Kings xxiv. 6. ‖ Isaiah xliv. 25.

era. "Blind are the watchers of Israel," cries Isaiah, "and knowing nothing. Dumb dogs are they that cannot bark. Slumbering they lie down and love to dream and sleep. Shepherds in name but not in deed, for they know not how to watch." It is only their own gain for which they care; for prophecy is a trade with them, and they well know their interest in it. Like their predecessors, they practise soothsaying for money, excite themselves with wine to get an inspiration, and are equally greedy and impotent.*

No wonder, then, that the prophets fell into bad repute. The post-exilian writers, in their turn, have but little good to say of them. In the book of Zechariah the abolition of the order is looked forward to as desirable in the Messianic age because of the spirit of uncleanness which it had spread over the land. It would be far better, the writer gives us to understand, for a man to work in the fields than to throw the prophetic mantle upon his shoulders.† Gradually the time came when these men no longer existed as an official order. The book of Daniel knows them only out of the books of the fathers; and a Maccabæan Psalmist laments that they no longer are.‡

But before Prophecy finally disappears from the scene it figures for a considerable time after the return of the Jews from Babylonia as a living fact. I refer not only to the books of Haggai, Zechariah, some of the later chapters of Isaiah, and Malachi, but also to the opposition offered by certain members of the prophetic order about the middle of the fifth century B.C. to Ezra and Nehemiah. To some extent these two reformers were supported by the prophets of their time. Indeed, a report was circulated that Nehemiah had arranged for some of the men of God to proclaim him king.§ But there were others who opposed the reformers and endeavoured especially to thwart Nehemiah, in the measures which he deemed necessary for the preservation of Israel's purity and separation from other peoples. A life in strict observance of the Law, a rigidly

* Isa. lvi. 10—12. † Zech. xiii. 2—6. ‡ Psalm lxxiv. 9. § Nehemiah vi. 7.

enforced distinction between the clean and the unclean, the rupture of marriages contracted with foreign wives, the exclusion of the laity from the sanctuary, were the chief points in the programme which this zealot for the Law desired to carry out. His opponents, however, included many pious men. The author of the book of Ruth tried to show that Moabitish women might be exemplary wives, and might bring a rich blessing to Israel; and others made a last attempt to vindicate the priesthood of *all* the believers, and an unqualified universalism.

We cannot be surprised to find prophets and prophetesses amongst the champions of these conceptions, and in opposition to Nehemiah.* We can only regret that—if we are to believe the reformer—their personal character left so much to be desired. They were open to bribes, he declares, and tried to move him to actions in violation of his own principles simply in order that they might reproach him with them afterwards.† Thus one of them, Shemaiah, the son of Delaiah, strove to entice him into the Temple on the pretext that his life was not safe elsewhere.‡ But Nehemiah did not fall into the snare, and branded as a false prophecy the oracle delivered in the name of Yahveh.

Perhaps the intentions of these prophets were not really so discreditable; but we certainly form no high conception of their character. The data in the book of Nehemiah, however, are too meagre to furnish the materials for an impartial estimate of the so-called false prophecy after the Captivity, and although I have not wished to discard such hints as it contains, we may well congratulate ourselves that we have more ample information concerning the prophecy of an earlier age.

With the historical survey before us we will now attempt to form some judgment of the phenomenon that is known as "false prophecy."

II.

In order to be fair we must keep one thing clearly in view, namely, that the same reproaches are not urged in

* Neh. vi. 14. † Neh. vi. 11. ‡ Neh. vi. 10.

every case against all the prophets. It is true that the Old Testament writers speak of "the prophets" in general. But without denying that in the mass the character of these men and their relations to those who reprove them may be brought under one general view and treated under the same heading, yet I must insist that they could not all be guilty of everything that on one occasion or another is laid to the charge of the whole order. Only consider the list of these sins! Idolatry, soothsaying, greed, indifference, cunning, falsehood, lies, deceit, intemperance, immorality, adultery, and murder. It would, indeed, be frightful if all but the canonical prophets had been guilty of all these sins indiscriminately. But any such idea would be contradicted by well-known facts.

Thus, to take a single point, we hear from Jeremiah that the prophets of the northern kingdom practised idolatry. "They prophesied by the Baal," he says.* Yet we know, from the book of Kings, that not only Elijah, Elisha, Micah ben Imlah, and Jona, but also the Zedekiah ben Chenaanah that we have already met, and his four hundred companions, all spoke in the name of Yahveh,† and were regarded as inspired by his spirit.‡ And though Jeremiah elsewhere casts the same reproach upon the prophets of Judah,§ his own oracles, as well as others, prove beyond all question that many of his opponents were as faithful to Israel's God as he was himself. The book of Deuteronomy recognises this fact. It distinguishes between those who deny Yahveh in their oracles and those who go to the people in Yahveh's name, but with words of falsehood on their lips.

Now, when once we have learned, in an important instance such as this, that we cannot apply the sayings about the prophets too generally, we shall admit the possibility of its being the same with regard to other grievances and accusations. We sometimes hear of the indifference and indolence of "*the* prophets." But it does not

* Jer. xxiii. 13.
† 1 Kings xxii. 11.
‡ 1 Kings xxii. 22 sq.
§ Jer. ii. 8.

follow that all, without distinction, were low-minded hirelings without true inspiration. The fiery Hananiah certainly does not strike one as regarding his office as a sinecure; and no more do the prophets who were carried away with Jehoiakin and who sealed their fanatical testimony with their blood.* We may blame Jeremiah's opponents for wishing to put him to death on account of his preaching against the city and Temple,† but, at any rate, we cannot charge them with want of zeal in the defence of what they regarded as most holy. Nor can all those who attempted to compass Nehemiah's fall have been feeble and insignificant creatures, for in that case they would have caused no alarm to "such a man as he," to use his own phrase.‡

The accusations of greed and drunkenness are, alas! more frequent than we could wish in the interests of the prophetic order. But it does not appear that the four hundred under Ahab, for instance, were open to them. These vices, however, inasmuch as they were connected with the calling itself in its older form,§ were unquestionably more widely spread than the immorality which Ahab and Zedekiah alone are charged by name with practising in Babylonia.‖ I think it is pretty obvious that Jeremiah would have charged Hananiah and Shemaiah with this vice likewise, had they been guilty of it, for he was not accustomed to spare his foes, or to refrain from making the most of their faults.

We must be specially careful to distinguish between different cases in dealing with the charge of lying. Many prophets were indifferent, and preached to prince and people whatever they wanted to hear. Such men were justly charged with "prophesying out of their own hearts." They did not utter God's word, and they had not so much as inquired after it. But there were not a few who were genuinely convinced, or, at least, were under the firm impression that Yahveh had sent them, or, in other words, that they were speaking the truth. Ezekiel was aware of this. "They themselves," he says, "are looking for the

* Jer. xxix. 22. † Jer. xxvi. 11. ‡ Neh. vi. 11.
§ See below. ‖ Jer. xxix. 23.

fulfilment of their word."* What can this mean, but that they were sincere? The same impression is left concerning many of those who resisted Jeremiah so earnestly. "Yahveh is in our midst. He will not forsake his people. He will not give up his city and his temple. In the extremity of danger Zion shall still be the rock that defies every power." Such was the teaching of those men, like that of Isaiah† and Nahum‡ a century before, like that of Habakkuk§ and Zephaniah‖ in their own day. Have we any right in this case to say, *duo quum dicunt idem, non est idem?* Why should we assume that the canonical prophets spoke from conviction, while the others only meant to flatter prince and people? Does the accidental inclusion of the prophetic books in the sacred Scripture make their authors pious men, in distinction from those who happened not to leave a line behind them, so that we can only know them through their adversaries?

Such meeting with two measures can have no influence upon an impartial mind. Nor does the Old Testament itself at all countenance it; for it finds more than one occasion for declaring that Yahveh himself from time to time lays the word upon the lips of the prophets who utter lies.¶ If this means anything it means that not a few of those who misled the multitudes were first misled themselves, or, in other words, were perfectly sincere however mistaken.

There are some who would go still further. They pass a far more favourable judgment upon Hananiah and his friends than upon Jeremiah. The former, they declare, were genuine patriots, and surely their love of their country deserves more appreciation than it has received from their opponents or from later theologians. Their imprudence cannot be denied. Israel was no match for a great power

* Ezek. xiii. 6.

† Isaiah xiv. 32; xxviii. 16; xxix. 7, 8; xxx. 17 sqq.; xxxi. 5—9; xxxiii. 10—12; Kuenen's "Prophets, &c.," p. 170.

‡ Nah. i. 7—12; ii. 1—3. § Hab. i. 12; ii. 4; iii. 13. ‖ Zeph. iii. 15 sq.

¶ 1 Kings xxii. 20—24; Ezek. xiv. 9—11; cf. Kuenen's "Prophets," p. 582.

such as Babylon. But their confidence was fed by the ancient prophets, and apart from that we cannot but admire the heroism of a small people determined to defend its independence to the last drop of blood; and history furnishes striking proofs that such obstinate resistance is not always baulked in the end.

Those who have formed such a favourable opinion of Jeremiah's fellow-prophets declare, at the same time, that his own utterances were anything but manly. "Throw down your arms and go over to the enemy, for there is nothing else to be done," is an exhortation, the constant repetition of which still sounds in some ears like treason and cowardice. Such a scholar as Max Duncker has not hesitated to speak out plainly, and declare himself against Jeremiah, while highly commending the courage of those who opposed him.

For myself I do not feel able to subscribe to this illustrious historian's judgment, for it seems to me anything but fair. Gladly as I pay my tribute to the good intentions of the prophets who would have driven things to the last extremes, I must recognise Jeremiah as their superior, not so much in political insight as in true patriotism and religious feeling. No doubt he based his argument on a doctrine of retribution which was not altogether true. According to him Jerusalem was doomed to fall because of the people's sins, whereas in fact it was because it was too small and weak to resist. However pious the Judæans had been, they could not have held out against the numerous and disciplined armies of the Chaldees.

Thus Jeremiah, like many another religious man, attempted to establish a connection between facts which did not stand to each other as cause and effect. And yet his position was a very lofty one; for he preached, under defective forms, the eternal truth—overlooked in his day, and, alas! not in his day only,—that an immoral people must fall, and that no blessing rests upon unrighteousness. And thereto linked itself this other unquestionable truth: that no redemption is possible without previous conversion. In

a word, it was not the nationality but the holiness of Israel that was prominent in his mind. It cost him much to break with Isaiah's faith that Zion *per se* could not be overthrown, because Yahveh lived there and would take pity on his people. It was only after a severe conflict that he recognised the truth of the preaching of the prophet Micah—not a citizen of Jerusalem, observe—who, in opposition to Isaiah, had dared to face the possibility of Judah's fall. "Zion shall be ploughed as a field, Jerusalem shall be a heap of rubbish and the mount of the temple a forest." *

That the kingdom of God itself did not depend upon the sanctuary was one of the noblest of prophetic utterances, but we cannot wonder that few could receive it. It was too high for them. It is no great blame to the ordinary prophets that they could not rise to such a thought, but it is all the more striking as a proof of Jeremiah's own elevation of spirit that he was able to conceive of the relation between Yahveh and Israel so differently from the multitude of his colleagues. It was this that made him the preacher of a new covenant in spirit and in truth, in which the whole system of temple worship ceases to play the chief part. Such a flight is all the more wonderful when we remember that Jeremiah came of a priestly stock, and was therefore educated in traditions which all tended the other way.

Were we as well informed in detail concerning all the so-called false prophets as we are in the case of Jeremiah's opponents, we should perhaps be able to pass as fair a judgment on some of them; and though the meagreness of our materials unfortunately makes this impossible, as a rule, yet what we do know justifies the belief that they were far from being all of them men of worthless character, though their ideas were often different from those of the majority of the prophets known to us.

I do not mean to deny that there is, in one respect, a common point of view from which all these groups of

* Micah iii. 12.

so-called false prophets, including the best and most truth-loving amongst them, may be regarded. As against the so-called true prophets they represent the conservative principle of routine. They are given over to the traditions of their order, and consequently they often miss the true consecration, inspiration, and higher insight.

Finally a great deal may be explained by the prophetic schools or guilds, and the old trade of soothsaying. There were always hundreds of men traversing the land with the prophet's mantle. They took it for granted that the trade would bring its skill with it. But true inspiration is always rare. It was easy for the godless and the hypocrite to slip in; and even when there was no evil intention, oracles for which fees were paid lent themselves but too readily to every kind of deceit. The function of prophesying or "seeing" was, at bottom, soothsaying, and was followed principally as a trade. Naturally the vast majority never got any further; and if we find them announcing to those who gave them money what they thought they would like to hear, it is only what we should expect.

In public, too, their appearance as preachers at first resembled that of a sort of flagellants or dervishes."* The furor of inspiration was demanded of them, and was often sought by artificial means. Music and wine or spirits were employed to bring on the "raving" ecstasy. This explains why the prophets are reproached with drunkenness, especially in the temples in which they delivered their oracles and discourses. But the abuse of spirituous liquors on such occasions by no means shows that these men were all of them sots or drunkards; and if they were it was in consequence of the ancient conception of their calling, which induced the use of stimulants as a means of reaching the desired disposition. Once more, almost everything laid to the charge of the prophets may be explained by the nature of the guild and the dangers inseparable from it. This is true at any rate of their greed, their indifference and their untruthfulness.

* Cf. Robertson Smith, "The Prophets of Israel," pp. 86, 391.

Compelled as they were to live by their oracles, they tried to make as much as they could out of them. Called upon to utter the word of God at all times, even when their souls were not attuned to it, they sometimes uttered it without much thought or feeling. In the service of a certain traditional doctrine, they preached this word without always asking whether they themselves had any great faith in what they were saying.

We must not think it was an act of presumption in any of these men to come forward as prophets. Whoever belonged to the prophetic order might and must be a seer or nabi. For Amos to advance entirely on his own authority and without connection with the order was a distinct innovation. But then Amos really had something to say to his pepole, although his message, like his independent appearance, was quite opposed to the older prophetic traditions. With him opens a series of men of God who shook themselves loose from soothsaying, and no longer looked for their power to the old methods. They too were excited to a "raving" condition, but it was by the spirit of Yahveh and not by any artificial stimulants. It was the moral corruption of their contemporaries that made them beside themselves.* In their eyes it was folly to trust in God without at the same time serving him with all the heart, and in the true manner. To them is due that saying that has become classical, "Righteousness is better than sacrifice, and to do the will of Yahveh than the blood of bullocks." It seems that the ordinary prophets neither discovered this truth nor, when it was discovered, preached it with any emphasis. They too —in as far as they served no other gods—preached the Holy One of Israel; but whereas the higher prophecy insisted most on the first element of the designation, their attention rested on the second. Yahveh, they declared, was *Israel's* Holy One, and therefore Israel could not perish. He was enthroned in Zion, therefore the city could not fall. To have exposed this faith as superstition is the noblest

* Hosea ix. 7.

triumph of the true prophecy. But what exaltation did it not need to rise to such a thought! Even an Isaiah and a Habakkuk, a Nahum and a Zephaniah, shrank back from its extreme consequences. Can we wonder, then, that the mass of the prophets altogether failed to respond to its spiritual and moral purport? They exercised their calling in good faith, but they were without any higher development and were incapable of a lofty flight. And thus they exhibited the defects of their order in a more or less marked degree and did nothing towards ennobling it.

III.

If the foregoing remarks are just, then we have already found the test by which to determine prophetic worth. Other criteria have been devised, all of which start from the distinction which we have rejected between absolutely true and absolutely false prophets; but since there is much to be urged against these tests even on their own ground, we will now analyse them successively. Of these proposed criteria, the three following are the chief:—1st, the agreement of the man of God with accredited predecessors, and with the Mosaic law; 2nd, miraculous gifts; 3rd, the fulfilment of predictions.

Now, in spite of all the emphasis with which these tests have been urged, not one of them will really hold. Let my readers judge.

1st. A prophet, it has been said, must be known by the conformity of his discourses to the traditional standards. If they agree with the oracles of recognised men of God, and with the Mosaic Law, then the prophet is a true one, if not he is false. As far as the Law is concerned, the Old Testament itself has not a word about it in this connection; and no wonder, for the Pentateuch, as a whole, is later than the last of the prophets, and even Deuteronomy was not written till the time of Jeremiah. Agreement with a code which most of the prophets did not possess could hardly be insisted on!

There remain, then, the oracles of predecessors. Unquestionably they are appealed to by the younger prophets, such as Zechariah, and (though we cannot properly include him among the prophets) the writer of the book of Daniel. Jeremiah, too,* reminded Hananiah of the fact that the prophets who had been before him had always foretold disaster, war, and pestilence; and no doubt this implies a belief, on his part, in the inheritance from his spiritual kindred of a certain prophetic tradition affecting the main purport of his oracles. But Jeremiah does not exalt this into a criterion of truth, and with good reason. For how was the truth of the prophetic tradition shown? That was the underlying question. Some one must have begun it, and since this first preacher could not have appealed to any predecessor, the ultimate test of the truth of prophecy must be sought elsewhere.

Add to this that the prophets in question, though taking the same general line, often differ from each other in important details. I have already pointed out that if Jeremiah could appeal to his predecessor, Micah, in support of his belief in the fall of Jerusalem, his contemporary, Habakkuk, could cite Isaiah in support of the opposite belief with quite equal justice, for he had emphatically taught that Zion was indestructible. In other respects, too, the opinions of the earlier and later prophets, as well as those of contemporaries, differed. It cannot be denied, for instance, that the pre-exilian prophets are far less bound to the official cultus centred in the temple than their post-exilian successors. Between Jeremiah and Ezekiel themselves a marked difference in this respect is at once discernible. Concerning the Messianic future, they are far from all entertaining the same ideas. While the older writers link that future to the Davidic house, the second Isaiah and Daniel think of the theocracy as a republic. They no longer believe in a king, but in a "servant of God," that is to say, in a collective Israel, or a "people of the saints of the Most High." According to

* Jer. xxviii. 8.

them, no princes or magnates would hold sway in this state, but the teachers and the devout would rule.

The criterion of agreement, then, would cause nothing but confusion if we attempted to apply it. Moreover, it is quite at variance with the spirit of true prophecy, which demands independence of insight. Not what the men of a former time had said, but what was true, holy, and good, was the first and chief question. The new was sometimes better than the old, and development underlay the whole course of genuine prophecy.

2nd. *Miracles* and *signs* have also been put forward in this connection. Even yet some scholars lay special stress on them. Thus in Riehm's "Handwörterbuch"* we read "the special legitimation of prophecy lies, in the first instance, in accompanying signs . . . then in miraculous deeds." The writer himself, however, admits that the Old Testament does not propose this criterion. The book of Deuteronomy positively combats it, for it goes on the supposition that the false prophets who attempt to seduce the people to idolatry make amplest use of miraculous signs. It, therefore, utters a warning note, and exhorts the people to be on their guard against them.† Nor must we suppose that the law-giver is speaking of *pretended* miracles. No! he is thinking of genuine miracles, and of signs that really take place.

If the book of law thus pleads against rather than in favour of the criterion of signs and miracles, we shall also find that the writings of the prophets themselves appear to attach no value to it, and do not in any way compel us to take it into account. On the contrary, the nobler and purer prophecy becomes the more completely it breaks with this as with other survivals of earlier superstition. While Isaiah still gives a sign on one special occasion—though a sign that has little of the miraculous in it‡—we no longer find anything of the kind recorded of Jeremiah. We may, therefore, fairly ask how it comes, if prophecy was authenticated by miracle, that such miracles

* P. 1235 *b*. † Deut. xiii. 2, 3. ‡ Isaiah vii. 14.

are only mentioned in the legends about Elijah and Elisha, and in no single one of the prophetic writings themselves. If miracles had served as the seal of divine authority, then the greatest wonder-worker would have been the greatest prophet. But seeing that just those prophets whom we hold to be the greatest and best were the most sparing in giving any such signs, we can hardly avoid the opposite conclusion, viz., that they were characteristic of the lower, rather than of the higher prophecy. It will be observed that I do not raise the question whether miracles are possible. Arguing simply *e concessis* we are led by criticism and exegesis to the conclusion that miracles have no significance with reference to the matter in hand.

3rd. The only question that now remains is, What importance we are to attach to the third of the criteria mentioned above, that from the fulfilment of prophecy? On this, too, great stress has always been laid,* more indeed than upon any of the others. No thesis seemed more unassailable than this: "The genuine prophet is known by his predictions coming to pass, whereas the false prophet is exposed by the event giving him the lie." And no doubt this view is supported by sundry utterances of the Old Testament. In fact the Book of Deuteronomy expressly teaches it. It represents the Israelites as saying, "How are we to know when the word that a prophet speaks in the name of Yahveh is not really from him?" And the answer runs: "If that word does not come to pass, then it is a sign that the prophet took Yahveh's word upon his lips presumptuously and without his mandate. Such a prophet you must not honour as a messenger of God." † Jeremiah expresses himself in a like sense against Hananiah, declaring that the sign of true prophecies in general is that they predict misfortune, and that if any one proclaims prosperity, the result alone can show that Yahveh has really sent him. ‡

Now I do not deny that there is a truth of permanent significance contained in such utterances as these, but I

* By Knobel and Maybaum, amongst others.

† Deut. xviii. 21 sq. ‡ Jeremiah xxviii. 8 sq.

must still maintain that the criterion, as such, was of very little avail in former times, and can by no means give us trustworthy results now.

What could the contemporaries for whom the prophecy was intended make of such a rule? Generally speaking a very considerable time must elapse between the prophecy and its fulfilment. "After many days" or "in the latter days" the prediction should be accomplished. This is often the form of prophecy concerning the great judgment and the Messianic golden age. One of Jeremiah's most remarkable predictions is that the Chaldean exile should last for seventy years, through the reigns of three Chaldean monarchs, after which redemption should dawn on Israel.* Apply the rule in question to this prophecy, and it follows logically that only the later generation, which lived to see its fulfilment, could feel convinced of Jeremiah's divine mission, while his contemporaries must still have been in doubt about it. One sees at once how aimless this makes the prophecy. It would be given for the benefit of a posterity that had little need of it, inasmuch as the events themselves would be before its eyes.

Will it be urged that a prophet's contemporaries might be convinced of the truth of those predictions which referred to a distant future on the strength of the fulfilment of others that they themselves had witnessed? But this is in direct opposition to the principle of the Deuteronomist and Jeremiah, that each oracle must be judged on its own merits.

But, not to insist on this, we must face another difficulty. How many a prediction of the canonical prophets whom no one would refuse to call "true" remained unfulfilled! Tried by this test, there is not a single Old Testament prophet who could stand. To prove too much is to prove nothing. So judged, Jeremiah would be a false prophet, since he was mistaken as to the fate of Jehoiakim, to whom exactly the opposite of what he had foretold came to pass.† To Zedekiah, too, he announced a far happier end than was

* Jer. xxvii. 11 sq.; xxix. 10; xxvii. 7. † See above, p. 428.

really in store for him.* In like manner Amos foretold a violent death by the sword to Jeroboam II., who nevertheless died in peace.† The same might be said of all the prophets whose writings we possess, and whom we reverence as men of God. They were far from infallible in their forecasts of the future. Not one of them is an exception to the rule *errare humanum est.* Hosea is mistaken in supposing that the northern Israelites will be deported not only to Assyria, but also to Egypt ‡; Isaiah in expecting Samaria to fall at once § and Tyre to be taken ‖; Haggai in declaring that the second temple will outshine the first in splendour. ¶ Properly speaking, not one of the predictions concerning the restoration of the Davidic house and the Messianic glory that was to accompany it was fulfilled. The ideals of the second Isaiah were by no means realised. The great day of judgment never broke; Jerusalem never became the city to which all the heathens came on pilgrimage to do honour to Yahveh with sacrifice.

The importance of these remarks becomes evident when we observe how deeply the best prophets themselves were convinced that all predictions were conditional. Even Elijah's word to Ahab, "the dogs shall lick up your blood,"** and Micah's declaration, "Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins,"†† were afterwards withdrawn.‡‡ Jeremiah formulates this principle in set terms. It sometimes happens, he says, that Yahveh prophesies against peoples and kingdoms that they shall be devastated and overthrown; but should it be that such a people turns from evil, then Yahveh repents of the misery that he had framed, and brings it not upon that land. And the contrary of this may likewise be.§§

All this is very true. The writer of the book of Jona perceived it, and perhaps thought it well, in the interests of prophecy, to justify the non-fulfilment of the oracles on this

* Cf. Jer. xxxiv. 4 sq. with 2 Kings xxv. 5 sqq.
† Cf. Amos vii. 11 with 2 Kings xiv. 29.
‡ Hosea viii. 13; ix. 3, 6; xi. 11.
§ Is. xxviii. 4; cf. 2 Kings xviii. 10. ‖ Isaiah xxiii.
¶ Haggai ii. 8 sq. ** 1 Kings xxi. 19. †† Micah iii. 12.
‡‡ 1 Kings xxi. 29; Jer. xxvi. 19. §§ Jer. xviii. 7—10.

principle.* We cannot but feel how unsafe all this would make the criterion of fulfilment.

Accordingly we see that the prophets themselves, who were perfectly aware that their predictions did not always come out true, never allowed this fact to drive them off the field, but went on prophesying undisturbed, modifying, if necessary, their former utterances. A remarkable instance is furnished by Ezekiel, who announced the fall of Tyre before Nebucadrezar. † When the result disappointed his expectations he frankly declared it. The king had, indeed, "served a hard service" against the city of the sea; but, in contradiction to Ezekiel's anticipations, he had "received no wages for it." But the prophet is certain that in some other way the promise will be fulfilled. "Behold, Yahveh gives Egypt to Nebucadrezar, and it shall be his reward for the service he did against Tyre."

If, then, we are driven, on the grounds set forth, to reject the ordinary criteria, the question remains how we ourselves are to distinguish the true from the false prophecy. I answer: The only test is that on which the prophets themselves lay chief stress, viz., the religious purport and the moral value of their oracles. When Jeremiah, as we heard but now, says to Hananiah that "good prophets foretell nothing but evil," his words at first repel us. But we are more reconciled to them when we perceive that they embody the feeling which we should prefer to express as follows:—"A prophet must not flatter prince or people, but must preach the truth without respect of persons, however hard that truth may be. 'Evil brings its punishment, and unrighteousness its curse,' must be the burden of prophecy, and must be impressed ever anew upon the conscience."

In preaching such as this, prediction ceases to be the main thing. That which is the goal to soothsaying becomes to prophecy a mere means of elevating and ennobling the people. The true prophet's ideal is not the accurate forecasting of future events, for though he is constantly thinking

* Jona iii. 10; iv. 11.

† Ezek. xxvi., &c. Cf. Kuenen, "Prophets, &c.," pp. 108, 109.

of the future, it is not for the satisfaction of an idle curiosity; and the truth of his prophecy depends, as he himself perceives, on the moral standard of his preaching more than on anything else. And when he reproaches others who likewise wear the prophetic mantle with exercising their calling unworthily, it is, as we have seen, especially because they seem to him to lack the earnestness and consecration which alone can make a man a true teacher of Israel.

"I am full of the might and the spirit of Yahveh," says Micah, "and therefore can I proclaim his sins to Jacob and his trespasses to Israel." Such is the language of conviction which is ready to maintain what it regards as truth, if need be, against all the world. At the right time it would fain console, but not by speaking pleasant words to men at the cost of their moral life.

All honour to the true prophets who thus exalted the standard of religion for all ages to come! The forms they used were often imperfect, but their purpose was always noble. "Honour Yahveh by righteousness. Religion and vice cannot go together." Who will deny that they were right in this their cry? But few could rise to such a height as always to perceive this truth, and proclaim it fearlessly. Fear of men, ambition, greed, and other weaknesses dimmed the vision and sapped the courage of most. The life of the prophet and the functions of the soothsayer, as they had been understood for centuries, led to special abuses. In many cases the only fault was that of running in the old groove, even after some few had found a better way. But, once again, it cannot surprise us that the loftier conception only slowly found acceptance, and to the end was shared by very few. What we call false prophecy was no deliberate imposition or impiety, but a lower phase of development. Its defects are made obvious chiefly by contrast; and, in so far, the impression we receive of it speaks well for Israel. We should, perhaps, hardly note this shadow did it not stand out so strongly against the light that shines from the lives and teachings of the great prophets.

Amsterdam. J. C. MATTHES.

"TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES."

THE historian Eusebios (d. 340) in enumerating the writings of the New Testament (E. H. iii. 25) distinguishes broadly between those which in his time were acknowledged and those which were disputed. As a subclass of the latter division he specifies some which in his own judgment are certainly spurious (ἐν τοῖς νόθοις). He thus characterises the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle which purports to be by Barnabas, and "the so-called *Teachings* (διδαχαί) *of the Apostles*." St. Athanasios, in his 39th Festal Letter (A.D. 367), the genuineness of which has been doubted but is usually allowed, gives the Canon of both Testaments, and adds a list of other books, not canonical, nor yet apocryphal, but authorised (τετυπωμένα) by the Fathers for the instruction of catechumens. These are the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Esther, Judith, Tobit, the *Teaching* (διδαχή) called *of the Apostles*, and the Shepherd. An ancient but undoubtedly spurious *Synopsis* of Holy Scripture which is printed with the works of St. Athanasios mentions the following as disputed books of the New Testament, selections from which were translated and read, as approved by the ancient Fathers, and as containing some truths, and having some tincture of inspiration, viz., the Travels (περίοδοι) of Peter, the Travels of John, the Travels of Thomas, the Gospel of Thomas, the *Teaching* (διδαχή) *of Apostles*, the Clementines. Similarly,* at the end of a Paris MS. of the Questions of Anastasios

* For the three following references (which however we have verified) we are indebted to Bryennios.

of Antioch (d. 599), we find classed among apocryphal books the Travels (*περίοδοι*) and *Teachings* (*διδαχαί*) *of the Apostles*. The Stichometria of Nicephoros of Constantinople (d. 820) enumerates among the Apocrypha of the New Testament, between the Gospel of Thomas and the Epistles of Clement, the *Teaching* (*διδαχή*) *of Apostles*, and tells us the work consisted of 200 *stichoi* or lines. Perhaps the latest witness to the survival of a book with similar title (unless indeed he is merely copying Eusebios) is Nicephoros Callistos (14th century); he places among spurious writings the Epistles purporting to be by Barnabas and "the so-called *Teachings* (*διδαχαί*) *of the Apostles*."

These testimonies are here recounted in order to exhibit the external evidence hitherto available to prove the existence of a book (or books) long forgotten; and to indicate also the position assigned to it (or them) by early writers. For we may fairly ask whether these various notices necessarily point to one and the same work. The title, as given by Eusebios, by Anastasios, and by the later Nicephoros is in the plural form, while St. Athanasios, the *Synopsis*, and the earlier Nicephoros use the singular. But the difference here (as Bryennios remarks) is not so great as we find in the usage of Epiphanios, who cites the Apostolic Constitutions (*διαταγαί*) sometimes as *διάταξις*, sometimes as *διατάξεις*. On other grounds we may perhaps be led to apportion the testimonies above cited between two distinct works.

I.

In 1838 Cardinal Mai printed, in the tenth and last volume of his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, some works of the Nestorian bishop Ebediesu, who became Metropolitan of Nisibis A.D. 1286. Ebediesu's collection of Synodical Canons opens with a portion of a Syriac document, professing to give Canons instituted by the Apostles themselves. Along with this, Mai prints a Latin version, corrected from one made by Joseph Aloysius Asseman

(1710—1782), but not published by him. The Syriac original was re-edited in a complete form by Lagarde in 1856* from a MS. which describes it as the *Teaching of Addaeus the Apostle* (a title which properly belongs to another piece). At length by Cureton in 1864 the work was edited† with its proper title *Teaching of the Apostles*‡ from a British Museum MS. (containing documents connected with Edessa) collated with another MS. in the same store of Syriac literature, and with Lagarde's edition. Cureton's English version, revised by Pratten, will be found in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. XX.§

The structure of this piece is threefold. First comes a quasi-historical account of the descent of the Paraclete on the *eleven* Apostles, of whom Simon Cephas is alone mentioned by name. Then follow twenty-seven Ordinances appointed by the Apostles "in accordance with the Gospel of their preaching, and with the true and faithful doctrine of their teaching;" this being the only portion of the work which professes to be of direct apostolic authority. From this section many later writers have drawn (notably the compiler of the eighty-five Ecclesiastical Canons, frequently appended to bk. viii. of the Apostolic Constitutions); as a delineation of an early stage and a local form of the Christian organisation, this section of the document is exceedingly precious. Lastly comes an account of the pursuit of their mission by the Apostles, and of the arrangements made to continue their work. Here a curious list of apostolic

* In the *Reliquiae Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimae* (Vienna). It is not to be confounded with a previous (anonymous) publication by Lagarde, the *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace*, Lipsiae, 1854; this latter is an epitome (Lagarde thinks it the original) of the Apostolic Constitutions, books I.—VI., and similar in character to the Arabic *Didascalia*, and to the Ethiopic *Didiskalia* (edited and translated by T. P. Platt, 1834).

† It is unfortunately in a posthumous publication, for which the intended preface was never written. Bryennios, who otherwise seems to know everything, appears to be unacquainted with Cureton's researches.

‡ Cureton translates *Malphonutho* by *Doctrine*; with Pratten we prefer *Teaching*. It represents ἡ διδαχή in Apoc. ii. 14, 15, 24.

§ Pratten's careless note, p. 86, should be corrected by Cureton, pp. 166-7.

names may be gathered, viz., James, Mark the Evangelist, Judas Thomas, Simon Cephas (who is said to have evangelised Britain), John the Evangelist, Andrew, Luke the Apostle, Addaeus (*i.e.*, Thaddaeus) the Apostle, "one of the seventy-two Apostles." Paul is twice mentioned, but without the title of Apostle; others are named as disciples of Apostles, the first among these being Timothy, Erastus, and Menaus.

Is this the document to which the early notices allude? Its designation and its antiquity are so far in its favour. The title corresponds with the attestation of St. Athanasios (though by Ebediesu, and in a codex mentioned by Cureton, it is quoted as *Canons of the Apostles.*) A reference to subdeacons (Ord. 5) brings the period of the existing recension to the latter part of the third century*; but there are indications of much earlier date. The name of Bishop does not occur; but the office is described, under the designation of Guide. The Canon of Scripture is thus given (Ord. 10): "The Apostles appointed that besides the Old Testament and the Prophets and the Gospel and the Acts of their own triumphs, nothing should be read on the pulpit in the church." Here Old Testament means exclusively the Law; just as New Testament, in the sequel to the Ordinances, means exclusively the Gospel. In that sequel, "the Epistles of an Apostle" (specifying the writings of James, Simon, John, Mark, Andrew, Luke, and Judas Thomas, but not mentioning Paul) are directed, on the authority of the Guides, to be "received and read in the churches," even as the "Acts, which Luke wrote, are read."

If now we take this book and compare it with the testimony of Eusebios, we can see that, whatever be its value in other respects, there is a clear principle which would lead him to class it with those writings which he designates as spurious. That is a term which properly covers

* In the East, St. Athanasios is the first to mention *ὑποδιάκονοι*; but Eusebios chronicles their existence at Rome about A.D. 250, on the authority of a letter of Pope Cornelius (E. H. vi. 43).

books professing an authorship which does not belong to them. Now the Syriac *Teaching* claims to give a series of Ordinances on direct apostolic authority; and this is a claim which Eusebios would assuredly reject, on perusing the treatise. And that he had perused it is a thing in itself highly probable, since he copied and translated from Syriac documents in the archives of Edessa both the account of the alleged correspondence between Abgar and Jesus, and the above-mentioned *Teaching of Addaeus* (E. H. i. 13).

If, again, we consider the witness of the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis* and of Anastasios, we shall be very much inclined to say: Here is the writing of which they speak. They agree in placing the *Teaching* or *Teachings of the Apostles* among works of a certain class. Looking to the contents of this Syriac piece, it seems no way out of place among writings professing to give an account of the apostolic peregrinations.

But if, on the other hand, we consult St. Athanasios himself, we find him including the *Teaching* called *of the Apostles* among authorised materials for the instruction of catechumens; and this description corresponds neither with the original purpose nor with the conceivable uses of the Syriac *Teaching*. St. Athanasios is evidently not writing at random. The other books placed by him in the same class with the *Teaching* might well be employed in catechetical instruction on the conduct of life. We should certainly expect the *Teaching* itself to bear the same character. But the Ordinances of the Syriac piece are all *ad clerum;* they deal with ministerial duties and ministerial disqualifications; even the pseudo-history which accompanies them has the distinct design of exhibiting a charter of apostolic succession for clerical use. Again, it is difficult to suppose that St. Athanasios would be willing to commend for the instruction of neophytes a treatise dealing with Scripture as we have seen that the Syriac document deals; ignoring the writings of Paul, and admitting apocryphal Epistles to a level with the Acts.

We thus reach the position that while the Syriac *Teaching* may very probably be the work alluded to by Eusebios, by the *Synopsis*, and by Anastasios, it cannot reasonably be identified with the work to which St. Athanasios refers.

II.

In 1875 Philotheos Bryennios published his edition of the Two Epistles of St. Clement of Rome, from a Greek MS., No. 456 in the Library of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople, belonging to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and hence called by him the *Jerusalem Manuscript*. It is a small octavo of 120 leaves (size, 19 by 15 centimetres), written throughout in a contracted hand by a notary named Leon, and completed (with the exception of the last article) on Tuesday, 11th June, 1056. Included in it are eight distinct articles, or groups of articles; (1) St. John Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Old Testament; imperfect, yet supplying the hitherto missing conclusion of the Prophets; (2) the Epistle of Barnabas, in full; (3) St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians (the only perfect copy) followed by the short homily which is called the Second Epistle; (4) the Hebrew and Greek titles of Old Testament books; (5) the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles;* (6) the Epistle (spurious) of Mary of Cassobola to St. Ignatios; (7) twelve Epistles (spurious) of St. Ignatios; (8) an explanation of the genealogies of Joseph in Matthew and Luke.

The appearance of Bryennios' admirable edition of Clement at once excited a high degree of interest among European scholars. It was the sudden shining of a new and bright star in the East; and the gratitude of the learned world for the labours of the erudite Metropolitan of Serrae took the sincerest and most complimentary form, when the hope was expressed that he would make public the further contents of the *Jerusalem Manuscript*. This, having meantime been raised to the Metropolitan see of Nicomedia (where he sits on the throne of that other Eusebios, greater in ambition and in brilliancy, deeper also

in heretical dye, than him of Caesarea), he has done. The entire contents of the volume (excepting only article 6) have now been edited. Its Ignatian readings were included in Funk's *Opera Patrum Apostolicorum*, vol ii., 1881; all other various readings and additional pieces are furnished in the ample prolegomena and appendices accompanying the *editio princeps* of the Διδαχὴ τῶν ιβ' ἀποστόλων, 1883.

If the edition of Clement awakened attention and curiosity, the appearance of the *Didaché* has produced nothing short of a sensation.* Bryennios, who does not seem to have been alive to its character in 1875, is now fully impressed, after seven years' close editorial study, with the extraordinary value of this treatise in its bearing upon Christian literature and history, on such points, for example, as the simplicity of worship, the position of the ministry and of the Scriptures. With regard to the critical study of the various works which may be ranked in the general class of quasi-Apostolic Constitutions, he surmises that it will roll the stream of Lethe over most of what has hitherto been written on this subject. His editing of the work has been executed with remarkable care,† and with a singularly rich apparatus both of patristic and of modern learning. The judgments which may be formed by scholars on a critical examination of his document, Bryennios does not seek to anticipate; but with a full and able hand he pours into his prolegomena and notes, written in smooth and excellent Greek,‡ the main materials which must be employed in any such examination.

* Two reprints of the Greek have been issued in the United States, one with a translation and preface by Hitchcock and Brown, the other with a version by Fitzgerald. Our home scholars have shown no such enterprise. There is also a translation by Starbuck in the *Andover Review*; and another in the *American Sunday School Times*, 23rd April. This last is deservedly described as "more exact than any other now before the public." We should have been glad to have seen it before issuing our own version.

† Except the one *lapsus calami*, p. 51, *n.* 1 (χειροτονήσατε for προχειρίσασθε). already observed by Canon Wordsworth (*Guardian*, 19th March), we have noted no sign of nodding. The freedom from misprints is such as to make one wish that the Constantinopolitan firm of Boutyra would open a London branch.

‡ Not "modern Greek," as Archdeacon Farrar loosely says (*Contemporary* and *Expositor* for May).

Before we proceed to a detailed account of the work, let us ask how far it fulfils the conditions of those patristic notices of the *Teaching* by which we have already tested the claim of the Syriac document. To begin with, the title of the Greek document does not exactly correspond with that given in any one of these notices. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, is the scribe's heading; *Teaching of* [the] *Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the nations* * is the title self-assumed by the document which he copies. Thus "the Twelve" must be regarded as an integral part of the title; where this precision is not found, the actual name of the work is not given. We are so habituated to the limitation of the word Apostles to those appointed by Jesus Christ in person, that the omission of the defining words "the Twelve" may seem to us a matter of no moment. But a glance at the *Teaching* reveals the force of the restricting numeral; "apostles" are freely mentioned in it, but they are the ordinary mission-agents of the Gospel; the *Teaching* claims for itself an authority anterior, even if not superior, to theirs.

Here let us say, once for all, that in weighing this and other points we are placed at a disadvantage by being at the mercy of a single copyist. Leon, though his curst contractions† entitle him to his self-inflicted appellation of "sinner," is a very workmanlike scribe; his mere *incuriae* are extremely few; probably only six in his whole transcript of the *Teaching;* and where, in other pieces, he differs from rival copyists, he is far more often right than wrong, judging by the superior sense of his version. Indeed, if we have a complaint against him, it is that his text is even too good. We should have expected, nay, welcomed, more inequalities, more knotty places, more of the harsh signs of crabbed age in his document, than we actually find. It is a relief to encounter a few verbal difficulties, where, as a rule, all is such plain perspicuous Greek. On the other hand, as

* We are reminded of the direction to the eleven, Matthew xxviii. 19, 20, to go and make πάντα τὰ ἔθνη disciples by baptism διδάσκοντες κ.τ.λ.

† See page of specimens of his handwriting in fac-simile at the end of Bryennios' edition of Clement.

this is the only text we have, and one that has evidently been prepared with much care, we are bound, even in suspicious cases, to adhere to it wherever it is capable of yielding a meaning, for, in truth, we have little more than mother wit to check it by.*

Let us proceed to try our witnesses. Might Eusebios have had this work in view when he classed the *Teachings of the Apostles* among spurious books? It is most unlikely. On the part of the work before us there is not the shadow of a claim to the dignity of apostolic authorship. The claim it makes is to convey the subject matter of the Apostles' teaching, or rather of their presentation of the Lord's teaching, but not as under their hands or from their mouths. A book of this kind may err; but unless its error involve the deliberate assertion of a new Gospel, "spurious" is not the head under which a careful writer like Eusebios would naturally classify it.† And with the testimony of Eusebios goes that of Nicephoros Callistos.

Nor, again, does the work class well with those which compose the shady list presented in the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis*. These are all romances, pseudo-history with a pious design, as far removed as possible in structure and in character from the strain and substance of the *Teaching*. The same may be said of the collocation indicated by Anastasios.

When we come to Nicephoros of Constantinople, we get an indication of the size of the work, of which Bryennios is disposed to make some use. The *Teaching* known to Nicephoros was a treatise of 200 lines. Now the *Teaching* in

* Bryennios has given us in foot-notes the exact state of the MS. wherever he alters the text. We wish he had reversed the process, reserving all emendations for the foot of the page. His changes, though very sparing, are not always necessary. Thus, following the lead of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, he alters to "fleshly and worldly lusts" because "fleshly and bodily" is tautological. Not wholly so, perhaps; for 1 John, ii. 16 may help us to an available distinction. Nor is the emendation a happy one, for *κοσμικός* in the *Teaching* is not used in a moral sense.

† Harnack does not question that Eusebios refers to the Greek document; nevertheless, he says of it that it is "ein Apokryphum, aber ein Falsum darf man sie nicht nennen."—Theol. Lt. Zg. 9th Feb., 1884, p. 52.

the *Jerusalem Manuscript* occupies about 203 lines. But this measurement, so far from favouring the identity of the two, is an argument against it. Nicephoros fixes the combined length of the two Epistles of Clement at 2,600 lines; they occupy in the *Jerusalem Manuscript* 1,120 lines.* What then, on this calculation, should be the length, in the *Jerusalem Manuscript*, of Nicephoros' 200-line tractate? Not 203, but only some 86 lines. This would imply a very much shorter document than either the Greek or the Syriac *Teaching*. To suit the requirements of our Greek document the estimate in Nicephoros' stichometry would have to be increased to 455 lines, instead of 200.

On the other hand, the place which St. Athanasios assigns to the *Teaching*, while quite unsuitable, as we have seen, to the Syriac work, exactly fits the Greek document. It is precisely a book for those just coming to Christianity and desiring elementary catechetical instruction.† Moreover the relation which it bears to some of its companions in St. Athanasios's list, *e.g.*, Ecclesiasticus and the *Shepherd*, is one of real kinship, both as regards the distinctive purpose of its opening sections, and the ethical tone of the whole. Add to this that we may almost certainly say that St. Athanasios borrows from the *Teaching*. For he uses (on Matt. vii. 15) the remarkable word χριστέμπορος,‡ or Christmonger, and in a connection which closely recalls the prudent directions of the *Teaching* about knowing false prophets by their works and ways.

Bryennios, however, points to an earlier and more weighty citation of the *Teaching* than this. He affirms that Clement of Alexandria (d. 220) "reckons this book among the Holy Scriptures, and plainly thus exhalts its authority." The reference is to *Strom.* i. 20, where Clement is speaking of

* See Bryennios' Clement, p. 142, *n.* 4.

† Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386) advises catechumens not to read apocryphal writings (Catech. iv.), a proof that they were in vogue.

‡ Subsequently to St. Athanasios it is found in pseudo-Ignatius (ad Magnes, c. 9; ad Trall, c. 6). It is desirable to note that it occurs in the later part of the *Teaching* (c. xii.); for Hilgenfeld thinks that only the earlier part could have been described by St. Athanasios as meant for catechumens (Zeitschr. f. w. Th. 1884, iii. 370).

the philosophic Christian who imports into his system ideas appropriated from the false teachings of heathen sages. "This man," he says, "is called thief by the Scripture, at least it says (φησὶ γοῦν*) 'Son, become not a liar, for lying leads the way towards theft.'" Here is no avowed citation of the *Teaching*, but a *memoriter* quotation of a saying which, occurring in the *Teaching*, occurs also in another work, the *Epitome of Rules*, of which more anon. Clement does not give the saying in the exact words of either work, but he comes slightly nearer to the *Epitome* form than to that of the *Teaching*. That he deliberately assigns to either one or other the authority of Holy Scripture is an unwarrantable inference from his language. Rather should we conclude that the saying had come to his mind with a general impression that he had read it somewhere in Scripture; it seems, in fact, to be based on Prov. xxx. 6—9, a passage the strain of which suits Clement's curious application of the words he quotes (viz., that dabblers in false, *i.e.*, heathen philosophy, are plagiarists to boot) far better than does the context either of *Epitome* or *Teaching*.†

All then that we can say about the correspondence of the Greek *Teaching* with the patristic notices of a work bearing a similar but defective title, is simply this. A *prima facie* probability allows us to believe that through the discovery of Bryennios we have in our hands the work characterised by St. Athanasios. But there is absolutely no proof of the fact. What St. Athanasios knew as the *Teaching of the Apostles* may have been something much shorter than the newly-discovered *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, something answering to the measurement of Nicephoros.‡

* By φησί Clement of Alexandria sometimes means "it is said"; but we may allow the meaning here to be as above.

† Eusebios gives a list (E.H. vi. 13) of disputed Scriptures quoted by Clement in the *Stromateis*. He does not mention the *Teaching*; yet he can hardly have overlooked the citation discussed above, for he expressly refers to what immediately follows it. This is a fact of weight. It shows at any rate that Eusebios did not recognise, in the *Teaching* which he knew, the source of Clement's quotation.

‡ In pseudo-Cyprian *De Aleatoribus* there is a quotation from *Doctrinae Apostolorum*, which corresponds to nothing either in the Syriac or the Greek

Bryennios has not even attempted to demonstrate that the treatise he has discovered is a treatise alluded to by any ancient writer. He has simply taken this for granted. He has taken for granted that all allusions to a Διδαχή or Διδαχαί are allusions to the newly-found book; though (1) the book is not cited with its proper title in any ancient author; (2) there is no description of its contents available for its identification; (3) nor any indisputable quotation from it.

III.

Slight as is the external attestation to the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, its intrinsic value and interest are superlatively great. To a certain extent it at once authenticates itself, and did the whole treatise bear the stamp of certain parts, we should pronounce it one of the oldest of Christian writings. But, though it has been carefully worked over by a compiler of strong individuality, it reveals traces of its heterogeneous origin. Bryennios directs us to find its date between the years 120 and 160 A.D. We think the former year too late for some of its contents, the latter too early, if not for the general form of the whole, at any rate for some points in the existing recension.

The structure of the work is simple enough; it falls into four main sections, of which the first three deal respectively with Character, Churchmanship, and the Hierarchy, while the fourth is an Appendix, presenting an important accession to the Hierarchy section, and adding the Kyriophany. On a first perusal, the little work seemed at once familiar and unfamiliar. It was like viewing the picture, taken in his early prime, of a friend whom we had only known in very advanced life. The *Teaching* is manifestly the original of bk. vii., chaps. 1—32, of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, chapters which present the identical matter and the identical arrangement, point for point, of the *Teaching*, but with ex-

Teaching. Hilgenfeld thinks it sufficiently like a passage in the Greek *Teaching*, chap. xv., to suggest the hypothesis of another recension of this work.

cisions, variations, and additions of the fourth century. These variations we shall not pursue, as our concern is rather with the antecedents and contemporaries than with the spurious reproduction of the work.*

For the first two sections a plain hint (almost a digest in miniature) is supplied in Peter's third Pentecostal speech (Acts ii. 40—42): "Be ye saved from this crooked † generation. Then they that received his word were baptized. . . . And they were steadfastly adhering *τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.*" Assuredly here is the germ of the work; here is the outline which has been filled up and added to.

CHARACTER.

In the working out of the scheme, the Character-section (Two Ways), which fills chapters i—v., bulks more largely than any of the others, in accordance with the author's strong ethical motive. It is also more composite, and exhibits more clearly the rings of its growth.

The Two Ways, or norm of conduct, is evidently a piece of very early and not improbably of pre-Christian origin. The antithesis, of which it is an expansion, is found verbally in Jerem. xxi. 8; and, with a more distinctly moral application, in Deut. xxx. 15—20. Innumerable are the references to this antithesis, both in canonical and extra-canonical writings. But the first systematic working out of the moral contrast is the "Testament of Aser, concerning Two Faces of Badness and Virtue," in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, apparently a pre-Christian work which has been retouched from an early Christian standpoint.‡ Here, however, the *ὁδοὶ δύο* "which God

* Bryennios has shown that not only is book vii., 1—32, a reproduction of the *Teaching*, but the other books, both earlier and later, betray an acquaintance with its language. The *New York Independent* of 1st May mentions an article by Prof. J. C. Long in the *National Baptist* which reverses the position, making the *Teaching* "as late as or later than" the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

† Barnabas uses the same term (crookedness) of the Way of Death.

‡ We hold in the main with Grabe, though considering the work, as we have it, not so much interpolated as rewritten, perhaps on an Aramaic

has given to the sons of men " are subjective tendencies; the good man follows the direction of righteous principle, rejecting the evil mind within him*; the bad man tries to act on two sets of principles, and thus becomes "two-faced." There are traces of this also in the *Teaching*, which is particularly rich in such terms as two-minded, two-tongued, double-heartedness, and the like.†

Now there seem to have been other pieces, which are lost, exhibiting the Two Ways as outward lines of conduct, good and bad, and we can trace in the *Teaching* the blending of two such pieces. One of these is embedded in a work first printed by J. W. Bickell, in 1843,‡ and subsequently edited by Lagarde, 1856, and by Hilgenfeld, 1866, from whom Bryennios reprints it in his prolegomena for purposes of comparison. The other is the Appendix to the Epistle of Barnabas.

Of the former piece there exists but one complete MS. (at Vienna) with the title *Constitutions through Clement and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Holy Apostles.*§ Apparently it is, as Hilgenfeld conjectures, the treatise referred to by Rufinus (after Jerome) under the double title *Duae Viae* or *Judicium Petri*, titles which answer respectively to two distinct parts of the work.‖ Under the title *Epitome of Rules*

basis. For the opposite view (viz., that it was originally the work of a Jewish Christian), and for the literature of the subject, see Sinker's admirable edition, 1869, with Appendix, 1879. See also Sinker's translation, in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. xxii., 1871. The Muggletonians, on their Prophet's authority, accept the *Testaments* as the actual writing of the Patriarchs, and as one of the most valuable books in the Canon of Scripture.

* This is the essence of the Muggletonian ethical doctrine of salvation; Faith being the stable principle, as opposed to Reason, the shifting principle.

† So too the *Epitome*, and, in a less degree, the Barnabas-appendix.

‡ *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, vol. i., pp. 107—132.

§ There is an Arabic and an Ethiopic translation, under the title *Canons of the Apostolic Fathers.* The Ethiopic text was published by Ludolf as early as 1691 (with a Latin version) in his *Ad Hist. Aeth. Comment.* The Arabic text, described by Grabe in 1711, has not been edited, so far as we know.

‖ Of these parts, the latter is similar in aim to the Hierarchy section of the *Teaching*, but it exhibits a much more matured hierarchy; bishop, presbyter, reader, deacon.

of the Holy Apostles, an Ottobonian MS. presents us with the first part only *(Duae Viae)*; corroborating the view of the Character section as an independent document, a manual of religious ethics, lost in its original form, yet still circulating sometimes separately, sometimes in conjunction with other matter.*

Bryennios treats the *Epitome* as borrowed from the *Teaching*; but here we cannot follow him. The resemblances are so close that it is clear there has been copying; and the *Epitome* is the later document. Yet we do not think the Epitomiser had the *Teaching* before him, for the following reasons: 1. There is nothing in the *Teaching* which explains its own phrase "through the Twelve Apostles." Now the *Epitome* sets out with an enumeration of twelve names (they are not called Apostles), "John and Matthew and Peter and Andrew and Philip and Simon and James and Nathanael and Thomas and Cephas and Bartholomew and Judas of James."† They are made interlocutors in a sort of dramatic dialogue, in which they give utterance to the several points of the instruction. We think the compiler of the *Teaching* must have seen the Two Ways presented in this form.‡ 2. There are traces of this dialogue arrangement still extant in the *Teaching*; witness the six-times repeated "My child." The interlocutors begin thus in the Vienna MS.; in the *Teaching* this phrase looks like an unremoved excrescence on the assimilated matter.§ 3. If the

* The *Epitome*, at the beginning, recites the establishment of the full hierarchy, so that it is not the lost original.

† Who were the Twelve Apostles? Donaldson *(Jashar*, 1854, and *Christian Orthodoxy*, 1857*)* has shown the difficulty of gathering an accurate list, even from the New Testament. We have sometimes thought the variations in early writers explicable on the hypothesis of a filling up of the apostolic college, so long as witnesses to the fact of the Resurrection survived; compare the case of the election of Matthias.

‡ In the *Epitome* John leads off, at the request of the rest; in the Hierarchy-section, appended in the Vienna MS., Peter leads off, on a similar request. This, as Hilgenfeld well says, may explain the second title *Judicium Petri*.

§ The Epitomiser has removed it, perhaps thinking it unsuitable from Apostle to Apostle; but originally it may have been the address of the apostolic speaker to the catechumen.

Epitomiser had the *Teaching* before him, it is difficult to see why he should have forborne to quote anything from the most important passages in its first chapter, and should have left the fifth chapter (Way of Death) wholly untouched. 4. Even in Chaps. ii., iii., iv. of the *Teaching*, where the coincidences with the *Epitome* are close and verbal, the following special vices are enumerated, of which the *Epitome* is silent: stealing, magical practices, lust of another's goods,* sodomy, forswearing, neglect of the religious education of children, ill-usage of slaves, disobedience to masters, and going to prayer with an evil conscience. How can we explain such omissions as the action of a copyist? 5. The *Teaching* does not appear to be the original norm, inasmuch as (differing from the *Epitome* and Barnabas-appendix) it excludes all reference to diabolical influence, a very remarkable omission, showing strong individuality, and corresponding with the total absence of angels from the Kyriophany. Now it must be owned that the presence of Satan is very characteristic of early Christian and late Jewish documents; and we see here an indication that the Epitomiser had access to an older form of the Two Ways than that given in the *Teaching*.

We come now to the Barnabas-appendix. From Barnabas proper, there is one manifest plagiarism in the *Epitome;* the opening salutation of the *Epitome* is taken verbatim from the opening words of the Epistle. The Epistle then is older than the *Epitome*, and *a fortiori* older than the *Teaching* form of the Two Ways. But we must distinguish carefully between the Barnabas-Epistle itself and the Barnabas-appendix on the Two Ways. Of this latter the old Latin version of Barnabas† knows nothing; but has *Explicit Epistola Barnabae* at the close of Chap. xvii., which it winds up with a doxology not found in the existing Greek. In our present Greek copies it occurs as

* Certainly there are indirect allusions to these three; which makes the direct exclusion of them inexplicable. Barnabas-appendix also omits all the above vices except the third and fourth. The Ethiopic text contains the first four.

† In the *Codex Corbeiensis*, now at St. Petersburg.

Chaps. xviii.—xx. of Barnabas, introduced by the significant words "Let us pass to another gnosis and teaching (διδαχή)."

In the Barnabas-appendix there is evidence of a special adaptation of the phraseology of a common document to the mystical point of view of the Barnabas gnosis. The Two Ways are characteristically presented not as ways of good and evil (as in Aser's Testament), nor of life and death (as in the *Epitome* and *Teaching)*, but of light and darkness;* and we read of "the gnosis given to us" for walking in the way of light. The practical precepts are here culled in very little consecutive order, seemingly as memory suggested them; they consist almost entirely of a cento of prohibitions. One is repeated ("Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour"). The Barnabas-appendix is certainly the rudest of the three documents, but with the rudeness of the unskilled compiler. In fact it is a jumble, suggesting no clue to its own arrangement. It might almost be explained on the hypothesis of *memoriter* borrowing from the *Teaching*.

The *Shepherd*, anciently ascribed to one Hermas, is reckoned by Bryennios, along with Barnabas, among the sources of the *Teaching;* and here we agree with him. The *Shepherd* has very distinct opinions on the subject of almsgiving and of paying prophets. It says (Com. 2):

> To all who are in want, give simply, not doubting to whom thou mightst give, or to whom thou mightst not give; give to all, for unto all God wills that gifts be made of his own free-gifts. They therefore who take, shall render account to God wherefore they took and for what; for they that being afflicted take shall not be judged; but they that in hypocrisy take shall stand trial. He, then, that giveth is guiltless; for as he took from the Lord to fulfil the ministry, he fulfilled it simply, no way discriminating to whom he might give or might not give. This ministry, then, simply fulfilled, was made glorious with God. He therefore, thus simply ministering, shall live unto God.

This is indiscriminate almsgiving; but the *Teaching*, in a

* Yet "death's way" is incidentally mentioned, and "the way of the black one" is called "an eternal way of death with torment;" expressions which show the half-digested manner in which the Barnabas-appendix deals with its material.

passage to which the *Epitome* has no parallel, is much more explicit in its cautions both to giver and taker.

> He [that taketh], having no need, shall stand trial, why he took and for what, and being put in distress, he shall be examined about the things which he practised, and shall not come forth thence until he give back the last farthing.

Here is a distinctly human, whereas the *Shepherd* contemplates only a divine judgment. The giver, too, is warned in the remarkable saying, quoted as of Scriptural authority: "It hath been said: 'Let thine almsgiving sweat into thine hands until thou know to whom thou givest.'"*

So, again, the *Shepherd* (Com. 11) is strongly against any stated maintenance for the prophets; they are to subsist on charity. The *Teaching* traverses this position in its Hierarchy-section. Charity is to be only a temporary expedient, to meet the case of the destitute and the traveller; every Christian must work; and the working prophet, the teacher who settles in a given place, is to have his regular maintenance of first fruits. In both passages we give priority to the *Shepherd;* the Didachographer, with his shrewd sense, is the corrector.

Accordingly, we stratify thus the Character section of the *Teaching*. First comes the Two Ways antithesis, in its simplest form, as in the *Epitome;* on the one hand, the two-fold positive precept, Love God and thy neighbour, this being the finger-post of the Way of Life; on the other hand, a negative rendering of the golden rule, Do *not* to another what thou wouldst *not* wish for thyself, this being the finger-post of the Way of Death. Secondly comes, from the Sermon on the Mount, and from the *Shepherd* as corrected, a commentary on the Way of Life. Thirdly, the parallel with the *Epitome* is resumed, in the words "Now a second commandment of the teaching;" and it is remarkable that what the *Epitome* gives as its expanded comment on the *negative* precept, is here presented as an

* This has been rendered as if it were "Let thine alms drop *from* thine hands, *so long as* thou knowest," &c. In either case it is a caution against indiscriminate giving.

alternative version of the Way of Life*. Fourthly, yet another passage of comment on the Way of Life is given, containing the rules about education and slaves, &c., unknown to the *Epitome*; at the close is a marked sign of late workmanship, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ for "in church." Lastly, comes an account of the Way of Death, the prototype of that in the Barnabas-appendix, unless we prefer to consider it derived by both *Teaching* and Appendix from a common document.†

CHURCHMANSHIP.

We pass from the Character section to the Churchmanship section. We shall consider it in two divisions—(1) the Eucharistic Prayers; (2) the other ordinances.

1. The Prayers it may be well to set out in full. This is the thankoffering concerning the cup:

We offer thee thanks, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant; to thee the glory unto the ages.

And this, concerning the bread (κλάσμα):

We offer thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant; to thee the glory unto the ages.

Like as this broken piece had been scattered upon the hills, and being brought together became one, so let thy Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ unto the ages.

Lastly, after the sufficing (ἐμπλησθῆναι):

We offer thee thanks, Holy Father, for thy holy name, where thou didst tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge, and faith, and

* The *Epitome* is clearly right, and gives the older setting; this is properly an exposition of the Way of Death.

† Simply by a careful comparison of the data furnished in the *Epitome*, the Barnabas Appendix, and the *Apost. Const.*, Krawutsky was able, in 1882, to reconstruct the Two Ways document in a form which, so far as it goes, comes surprisingly close to that which it actually takes in the *Teaching*. See the Tübingen *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1882, pt. 3. Harnack is right to claim this as a triumph of critical sagacity; we need not say that it bears out our view of the *Teaching* as a compilation. The second and fourth sections of the Two Ways, not being in the *Epitome*, are absent also from Krawutsky's able reconstruction.

immortality whereof thou gavest us knowledge through Jesus thy servant; to thee the glory unto the ages.

Thou, Sovereign almighty, createdst all things for thy name's sake, food and drink thou gavest unto men for enjoyment that they might offer thee thanks, and unto us thou freely gavest spiritual food and drink, and life eternal through thy servant. Before all things we offer thee thanks that mighty art thou; [to thee] the glory unto the ages.

Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in thy love; and bring it together from the four winds, the sanctified unto thy kingdom, which thou preparedst for it, for thine is the power and the glory unto the ages.

Come grace, and pass this world away.

Hos anna to the God of David.

If any is holy let him come; if any is not, let him repent; maranatha. Amen.

Either we have here the most audacious of forgeries, or else a perfectly unique fragment of the earliest Christian antiquity. For forgery there is no discernible motive. These Prayers are certainly not invented in support of the Kyriology of the remainder of the document; they stand apart in their naked Ebionism. Neither were they constructed in favour of the eucharistic doctrine which appears in Chaps. xiii. and xiv., for of this they breathe no whisper. The only points of possible suspicion about their language occur in the third and largest of them.

The expression, there, respecting the gift of "spiritual food and drink and life eternal" is found also in the *Epitome*. We may explain this as an interpolation in the Prayer; or as a quotation on the part of the *Epitome*, and thus a confirmation of the age of the Prayers. In some respects it would be convenient to dismiss the phrase as an interpolation, for the order of participation which it implies is not that indicated in the arrangement of the Prayers. But this arrangement is in other respects untenable; the Prayer in question, although given to be used after participation, closes with an invitation and prohibition which presuppose that participation is not yet begun. Indeed we are disposed to think that the Didachographer has arranged these Prayers simply according to size, and that this explains the inversion of the cup and the bread in the order of celebration. If this inversion belonged to the structure

of the Prayers, we might be tempted to discuss the question of its relation to the order of the Paschal rite, and to the *Codex Bezae* version of St. Luke's account of the Last Supper.* But seeing that the compiler has demonstrably misplaced the third Prayer, there is nothing unreasonable in the conjecture that he has misplaced the others also.

Besides this probable quotation from the *Epitome*, there is, in the third Prayer, a possible allusion to St. John's Gospel. Bryennios has noted that the invocation "Holy Father" occurs in John xvii. 11. But a stronger coincidence exists between "thy holy name, where thou didst tabernacle (*κατεσκήνωσας*) in our hearts," and "the word . . . did tabernacle (*ἐσκήνωσεν*) in us" of John i. 14; and if this be a quotation, it is remarkable as suggesting a distinctly Ebionite interpretation of the Gospel phrase.†

For what use are these Prayers viewed by the compiler as designed? Are they liturgical, in the sense of being intended for recitation by a celebrant of the eucharistic rite? On the contrary, they are presented as devotions for the faithful (probably moulded on a pre-Christian norm, derived from words of blessing in use at Passover feasts), the *liturgia* proper being entrusted to "the prophets" (cf. Chaps. x., xiii.—xv.), who are the "high priests" to perform the "sacrifice." Certainly there is nothing in them which suggests, even in germ, an act of consecration, or corresponds in any way to the contents of the simplest of the extant liturgies. They exhibit strong Hebraistic peculiarities. As in the Lord's Prayer (which is given with a doxology as the norm of Christian devotion), the object of worship is "our Father," "holy Father." Jesus is four times mentioned, thrice as the "servant" (*παῖς*) of God, once as "Christ"; in this last instance only, glory is ascribed to God through him. The description of "the holy vine of David thy servant, whereof thou gavest us knowledge

* The resort to *Codex Bezae* would suggest Western influence; Harnack will not admit the possibility of a Western origin of the *Teaching*.

† The rendering "in us" (instead of the usual "among us") in John i. 14, is not adopted, so far as we know, by any English translator of the New Testament

through Jesus thy servant," is totally opposed to any identification of the cup with "a communion of the blood of Christ," as in St. Paul.* The bread represents, not the broken body of Christ, but the hope of unity for the scattered Church of God. No doubt, in St. Paul's phraseology, the Church is "the body of Christ," but the Prayer contains no hint of the Lord's body, even in this secondary sense. The third Prayer addresses the Hos anna† to the God of David, an expression which Bryennios treats as a scribe's error, yet it seems characteristic.

2. Rules about other ordinances (chaps. vi.-viii., xiv.) exhibit Jewish influence. The distinction of clean and unclean meats is not expressly mentioned, but in the caution about eating it is implied, and is directed to be observed as far as practicable, while the use of meats profaned by idol-sacrifice is strongly condemned. There is no absolute antagonism here to the permissions of St. Paul, but the point of view is much more rigid than his. The duty of giving first-fruits is insisted on, though there is no mention of tithe. On the other hand, the Jews are referred to as "the

* Does not the vine, like the bread, represent the Church? And is not "vine of David" the suggestion of a parallel between the kingdom that was, with David at its head, under God, and the kingdom to be, with Jesus at its head, under God? In Epiphanios (Haer. xlv. 4), we are told that "the Apostles say in the so-called *Constitution* (διάταξις) that 'God's planting and vineyard is the Catholic Church.'" This saying is nowhere found in the *Apost. Const.*

† The word is divided *ὡς ἀννά*, the same division being found in some MSS. of the Gospels. It seems to point to a false etymology. We have long thought that the explanations of Hosanna in early Christian writers were dependent on various misconstructions of the Hebrew. When, *e.g.*, Clement of Alexandria (Paed. i. 5), quoted by Bryennios, gives *φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἶνος μεθ' ἱκετηρίας* as the force of *ὡσαννά*, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that he has *φῶς αἶνος* in his mind, as a pseudo-etymon. This is mad enough as a piece of etymology, but not madder than many similar *tours de force*; not nearly so mad as the Barnabas explication (c. ix.) of the eighteen (*ιη*) and three hundred (*τ*) circumcised men of Abraham's household as prefiguring Jesus and the cross. In the third Prayer of the *Teaching* the Hos anna immediately follows the aspiration "Come grace," &c. Hence we have been led to guess that *ὡς ἀννά* may in this case have been derived from חוּשָׁה חַנָּה "speed grace."

hypocrites," and their special fasting days (Monday and Thursday) and modes of prayer are to be shunned.

Fast is, however, to be kept on Wednesday and Friday; almsgiving is a ransom for sins. The Lord's Prayer is to be recited thrice a day. The Eucharist is to be celebrated each Lord's Day, and is to be preceded by confession of transgressions "in church." When the Didachographer says (chap. iv.) "thou shalt not approach ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχήν σου in an evil conscience," it may be doubtful whether he means "to thy praying-place," or "to thy prayer," but probably the former. The word is not used again.

In the regulations respecting Baptism (which is, of course, presented as an indispensable qualification for participating in the Eucharist) a change of person from plural to singular is indicative of an accretion of subsequent modifications upon the primary injunction to immerse in "living" *i.e.*, in running water. This rule is pronounced not indispensable in either of its parts. Running water is not essential, if it cannot conveniently be had.* Moreover, warm water is allowable in the absence of cold; a provision which probably refers to Baptism in a public or private bath.† It can hardly refer to hot springs, as these would come under the head of running water. Most remarkable is the concession that trine effusion on the head is valid, where there is deficiency of water. Bryennios would restrict this to an occasion of necessity, such as clinical Baptism "in periculo mortis;" but this is not the case contemplated. It would seem that we must revise the accepted account of the late origin of Baptism by mere effusion. Robert Robinson (p. 109) thinks he has proved that "the baptism of pouring, a mere vulgar errour, may rank with the white

* Yet the Catholic tradition in favour of running water is so strong that, even in ordinary Baptism by sprinkling, the water must not simply be dropped upon the face, the drops must actually flow.

† Robert Robinson thinks that, while heathen baths were inadmissible as places for Baptism, owing to the idolatrous emblems, the baths of the Jews (and later of the Muhammadans) were used for this purpose. He says that "Christians who lived among the Moors were some of the last who erected baptisteries." (*Hist. of Baptism*, p. 64.)

pigeon of Ravenna." He explains even the frequent representation in early art, of the pouring of water on to the head of a person standing up to the waist in a stream, as a purely symbolical expedient of the artist, who of course could not draw a picture of a man wholly submerged. "What could he mean, except that to baptize was to wet all over, to cover the whole man with water?" And it is certain that no ecclesiastical decision in favour of the validity of baptism by mere effusion has been produced, prior to that of Pope Stephen III., A.D. 754, in response to the questions of monks in Brittany. Is the permission of a practice afterwards legitimised in the West* a misleading coincidence, or shall we add it to the other faint indications of Western influence in the *Teaching?* It will be observed that the *Teaching*, though twice giving the full formula, as in Matt. xxviii. 19, also mentions (chap. ix.) Baptism εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου. Now the only MSS. which in Acts x. 48 refer to Baptism ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου are apparently Western (H, L, P.) †

The qualifications for Baptism are almost purely ethical, the preliminary instruction being in no way dogmatic, and no express stipulation being made as to the profession of a Creed by the neophyte. This must not be pressed too far; no doubt a general agreement with the prevailing standard of Christian opinion is presupposed. But the important thing is to observe that the acceptance of an ideal of Christian conduct forms the real test of admission to the Church; while, as we shall see immediately, the presence of a genuine Christian character is the express criterion of the validity of the ministry.

HIERARCHY.

The language of the *Teaching* respecting Church-officers has already raised a conflict of opinions as to its precise

* To this day the Eastern Church does not recognise the validity of Baptism without immersion.

† The reading is adopted in our A. V., but rejected by R.V. in favour of "in the name of Jesus Christ." We shall see, however, that Κυρίου and τοῦ Κυρίου are not the same thing.

significance*. It does not seem to us that the non-sacerdotal and non-hierarchical interpretation of chaps. xi. and xiii.—xv. can be sustained.† A primary order of ministers is first described, under the designation of apostles and prophets (cf. Eph. ii. 20, and especially Eph. iii. 5). They are apostles, as having a travelling mission ‡; prophets, as belonging to a class of men who "speak in the spirit," and approved among such as men of faithful life and unselfish disinterestedness. The implication that there are Christians, speaking in the spirit, but, by reason of their selfish character, not entitled to rank as prophets, is very curious.§ Here, as elsewhere, the *Teaching* diverges from the *Shepherd*, who will not allow any but the disinterested prophet to be *pneumatophoros*. Perhaps the same tendency which leads the Didachographer to exclude the hypothesis of diabolical influence makes him forbear to distinguish between spirit and spirit. His ideal of the ethical requirements for a valid ministry is characteristic and sound. He would scarcely allow, with the twenty-sixth Anglican article, that Christians may resort to the ministry of evil men, "both in hearing the word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments."

But even for the Church-teacher, no special dogmatic qualification is demanded. His teaching must fully endorse the rule of conduct and the simple ritual laid down for the general body of Christians; yet he has a large liberty in two important respects. He is not restricted to given forms

* Chap. xii. does not refer to the ministry, but to Christians in general. The word παρόδιος "on the road" (used classically of windows looking upon the road) can hardly define a professional itinerant.

† A warm controversy on the subject has been going on in the columns of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, Dean Reichel holding, with the Presbyterians, that the *Teaching* discredits High Church notions of Episcopacy.

‡ Note the ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν in 2 Cor. viii. 23; also the mention of Andronicus and Junias or Junia as distinguished ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. Rom. xvi. 7.

§ The phrase is ἐν πνεύματι, but it will not do to translate "in a spirit." There is no doctrine in the *Teaching* of spirits, good and bad; nothing like the "believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God," in 1 Jo. iv. 1.

in celebrating the Eucharist.* And, though he may not contravene the ethical teaching of the Two Ways, or the ordinances of churchmanship, he may develop them, for "if one teach to increase righteousness and knowledge (gnosis) of the Lord, receive ye him as the Lord." Nay more, when the prophet, the minister of tried character, speaks in the spirit, it is the unpardonable sin to submit his utterance to test or criticism.

We must here advert to two very puzzling points in the Didachographer's description of the true prophet. "No prophet, ὁ ῥίζων a table in the spirit, will eat of it, unless indeed he is a false prophet." The text is not Greek. Bryennios corrects to ὁρίζων, translates "ordering a table," and understands it of directing a meal to be prepared for the poor. It were better to render ὁρίζων by "assigning."† But the scribe is not likely to have bungled over so straightforward a word as ὁρίζων. We prefer to think that the original was ὁ ῥέζων, "who is offering"; certainly not a common word, and therefore more liable to be mistranscribed.‡ We have seen that there is a pronounced sacrificial element in the *Teaching*, so that "offering a table" may be admissible as a phrase for celebrating the Eucharist. But what will the caution imply? Not, surely, non-participation; but that the prophet will not profane a sacred ordinance to personal uses, by making a meal of the Eucharist; cf. 1 Cor xi. 22, 34. "What! have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? . . . If any man is hungry, let him eat at home."

More embarrassing is the statement respecting a true

† Bryennios compares the injunction, "Now to the prophets entrust ye to offer thanks as much as they will (ὅσα θέλουσιν)" with the passage in which Justin Martyr (I. Apol. 67) says that the president "offers prayers and thanksgivings as much as he is able (ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ)"; and tries to show that both are compatible with the use of forms. So they are; but not with restriction to fixed forms.

† A friend suggests "limiting," and understands it of "fencing the tables." But it is hard to see why the exclusion of the unworthy should involve the non-participation of the celebrant.

‡ In the sacrificial sense, ῥέζω is used only by the poets; but the word occurs in Plato.

prophet who is described as "ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κόσμικον ἐκκλησίας, but not teaching others to do as much as he doth himself." This man is not to be brought to human judgment; his judgment is with God; he acts as did the ancient prophets. Bryennios, who owns the passage to be "dark and obscure," thus tentatively translates the difficult clause: "constituting assemblies for a worldly mystery." By this he understands summoning the people to witness a symbolic action, such as Isaiah's "walking naked and barefoot" (Is. xx. 2), Ezekiel's shaving his head and beard (Ezek. v. 1), and the like. Yet is "constituting assemblies," in the classical sense, a likely use of the term ἐκκλησία, a term which occurs in two other places of the *Teaching* in the proper Christian acceptation? And would any one think of judging a prophet for not teaching others to perform purely symbolic acts? We render the clause "doing with an eye to the Church's mystery in the world."* But what does this mean?

We were at first inclined to borrow a light from a phrase of the Syriac *Teaching*, "as within the upper room the mystery of the body and blood of our Lord began to prevail in the world;" and thus to see an allusion to the sacrifice of Christ, as furnishing an ideal of life (cf. 2 Cor. iv. 11). The objection is that such an interpretation of the "mystery" implies a view of the Eucharist and of the work of Christ, foreign to the *Teaching*. The only λύτρωσις mentioned is of another kind, "in case ought thou hast, through thy hands shalt thou give a ransom of thy sins" (Ch. iv.) The only θυσία is not the sacrifice of Christ, but the thank-offering of the baptized. We therefore prefer to interpret the clause by help of the second Eucharistic Prayer, which speaks of the scattered Church of God, to be

* It is objected that ποιέω should not be taken absolutely, in the sense of "to act." The objection seems hypercritical, as there are a few classical examples of this, and many Hellenistic instances. But the difficulty may be removed by considering the clause "as much as he doth himself" to be the object of ποιῶν as well as of ποιεῖν. Were it not for the ordinary use of ποιέω in the immediate context, it might be tempting to take ποιῶν like βέζων in its technical sense of "sacrificing."

brought from the ends of the earth into his kingdom. The "Church's mystery in the world" is the hidden potency of the kingdom of God on earth; a promise, an aspiration, and a pattern. The spiritual prospect of its divine though latent glory supplies an ethical standard towards which the true prophet will ever seek to raise his own life; yet he may feel the unwisdom of preaching to the weak the perfection at which he aims. He treads in the steps of the prophets of old, who, exhibiting in their own persons the life of God's holiness, forbore to fix their precepts of obligation "too high For sinful men beneath the sky." This interpretation accords well with the ethical strain of the *Teaching*.

The primary ministers recognised in the *Teaching* fall into two classes; apostles, or missionary prophets, and prophets who are willing to settle* as ministers in a given place. The apostles are to stay not more than two days in one place, and are to be provided with food, lodging, and bread for their journey at the hands of the faithful, but are not to receive money, a rule which guards against a very obvious and not easily checked abuse of their function. But the prophet who settles is to have a public maintenance. He is "worthy of his meat"; the *Teaching* does not say, in our Lord's words, "worthy of his hire" (Luke x. 7), but he means the same thing. His stipend is not a fixed one, but, like the priest (Num. xviii. 12, 13) whose representative he is ("they are your high-priests"), he is to have the firstfruit of money and raiment as well as of produce and of prepared food, the amount of firstfruit being fixed at the discretion of the giver.† The poor

* The word is *καθῆσαι* (*bis*), a form (for *καθῆσθαι*) which we cannot find except in a var. lect. at Mark iv. 1. Schleusner gives *ἐκάθησεν* as occurring in a version of Judges v. 17.

† The word *σιτία* here used is not classical. It was understood by the *Apostolic Constitutions* as meaning "hot loaves." Sophocles' lexicon of later Greek (1870) gives it with the rendering "batch" (on the authority of two passages in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, A.D. 500, where it means "a batch of unbaked dough"). In the *Teaching* it probably means "a batch of fresh-baked bread;" though there is a possibility that it may be the scribe's spelling of *σιτεία* (like his *εἰδωλολατρία* (*quater*) for *εἰδωλολατρεία*), in which case it may mean "a feed," "a feast."

come in for firstfruit only in case there is no settled prophet.

APPENDIX.

1. It is clear that these apostles and prophets practically answer to the order otherwise distinguished as presbyters, a term which does not occur in the *Teaching*. And when we find in the first chapter (xv.) of the Appendix, that, in addition to them, bishops and deacons are to be elected by the Christian community, it is plain that a hierarchy is in full progress. This of itself would lead us to treat the chapter as discovering a new element in the *Teaching*.* It is a further sign of an altered state of things that in this Appendix the ministerial term "apostles" is dropped. Instead of "apostles and prophets" we here have "prophets and teachers" (*bis*). Now the "teacher" already occurs as distinct from the "prophet" in chap. xiii.; but in a duplicate clause which has the air of an after-thought, designed to countenance the position (side by side with the *quondam* missionary who has settled down) of the spiritual man who has never travelled. This latter is a link in the descent to the elected officer (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 20 for the source of the three terms).

No especial functions are assigned either to the bishops or the deacons. Degrees are indicated in these terms, but both degrees are entitled to celebrate the *liturgia*. The original meaning of deacon seems already disappearing or lost. As distinct from the prophets, whose ministry depends upon possession of the spirit, and exhibition of a consistent life, the other two orders occupy the position of a man-made ministry. They must be men of character, of the same stamp as is required in the case of the prophets; but mere election by a show of hands (χειροτονήσατε) constitutes their warrant of office; no sort of consecration, or succession, is hinted at.† Yet the *Teaching* directs that they are to be

* We shall give a linguistic reason for believing that chap. xv., in which the "bishops and deacons" section occurs, belongs to a distinct stratum of the *Teaching*.

† The *cheirotonesis*, or "stretching forth of hands" to vote, must not be confused with the *epithesis* or "laying on" of hands to ordain, mentioned in 1. Tim. and Heb.

honoured "along with" the prophets and teachers. It is easy to see how parity would be a step to pre-eminence. As the exalted level of the Church's life declined, the self-appointed teachers would gradually fall below the original standard; and, on the other hand, the Church would care less for the kind of gifts which they exercised, and more for qualities shown by the men of their own selection. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* the "apostles and prophets" are (save in one tell-tale phrase) wiped out altogether; their place is taken by *elected* presbyters. The *Teaching* exhibits the transition in process. Its author places himself on the side of the settled ministry, as against the travelling missionary; and firmly takes up the cause of the elected officers, in opposition to those who despised them.

We note that already church-courts were in operation for the trying of moral offences. They took cognisance of the selfishness of a grasping spirit, and compelled restitution (ch. i). Their action is probably indicated in the case of reproofs administered to the erring; and Christians convicted of wronging their fellows are to be subjected to a species of interdict—"let no one speak, nor listen of your own accord, till he have repented" (ch. xv.). But, as we have seen, they are not to sit in judgment on prophets whose practical teaching may not come up to the rigid standard of zealots (ch. xi.). No such thing as theological heresy is anywhere hinted at.

2. We now come to the Kyriophany (chap. xvi.). Who is the Kyrios?

Excepting in the Eucharistic Prayers, the name of Jesus Christ does not occur in the *Teaching;* * and besides the absence of the name, there is a total omission also of any reference to any facts distinctive of Christ's historic personality. The Nativity, the Miracles, the Parables, the Passion, the Resurrection of Jesus Christ are all passed

* Nor does it in the Third Epistle of St. John; or in the Shepherd, the Epistle to Diognetos, the writings of Athenagoras, Tatian, and Theophilos. Much might be said on this subject, but there is no room to discuss it here.

sub silentio. The three Prayers tell us respectively that "through Jesus thy servant" our Father made known (1) "the holy vine of David," (2) "life and knowledge," (3) "knowledge, faith, and immortality." Further than this, only two utterances in the *Teaching* can be said to be directly connected with the Master; one is the Lord's Prayer, the other the precept "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs."* Extracts are given in chap. i. from the Sermon on the Mount, but there is no indication of their source. The "Gospel" is four times mentioned; in three places this may rightly be interpreted of the written record; but not so in chap. xi., where "the decree (δόγμα) of the Gospel" is invoked as the authority for the regulations about apostles and prophets.

In the full Baptismal formula, and in a passage of the Kyriophany, Christ is known as "the Son," "God's Son." Elsewhere (excepting of course the Eucharistic Prayers) he is the Kyrios. But there is an ambiguity about this word. Throughout the Septuagint it represents (at second hand through Adhonai) the Tetragrammaton. In the New Testament, the prevailing, perhaps the universal, usage is that Κύριος, without the article, represents the Tetragrammaton, the incommunicable name of God,† while it is admitted on all hands that ὁ Κύριος, the Master, refers to Christ. In considering the usage of the *Teaching* we observe a peculiarity which marks off chapters xv.—xvi. from the rest, and compels us to treat them as a distinct stratum. This appendix presents no case of the anarthrous Kyrios; thrice it has Kyrios with the article, and twice (once in each chapter) ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, "our Lord," an expression which no where else occurs in the *Teaching*. The Kyrios of the

* An unusual application is made of this saying. It is very frequently employed, in patristic writers, as a warning against putting Christian truths before the unprepared multitude. Once it is applied as a caution against baptizing the unworthy. But in the *Teaching* it is used as a defence of the exclusion of the unbaptized from the Eucharist.

† The subject has been considered, with some dogmatic bias, by Pearson and Middleton. Without attempting here to discuss the question, we may simply state our conclusion that the anarthrous Κύριος, standing alone, invariably means Jehovah.

Kyriophany is therefore the unnamed Christ. But in the remainder of the *Teaching* we have Kyrios four times with the article—these places we may of course unhesitatingly interpret of Christ; and twelve times without the article—here the difficulty comes in. At first we were tempted, having reference to certain connections in which Kyrios occurs, to treat the omission of the article as insignificant, and to interpret the word as a mere synonyme for Christ. But on full consideration we reach the conclusion that Kyrios without the article, as in the New Testament so in the *Teaching*, means Jehovah. Hence we interpret the title of the work "Teaching of Jehovah through the twelve Apostles to the nations." In chap. xi. we understand the meaning to be, if he that teacheth teach "to increase righteousness and knowledge of Jehovah, receive ye him as Jehovah" *(bis)*.* In the same chapter we interpret *τοὺς τρόπους Κυρίου* "Jehovah's character" (cf. Mt. v. 48, Lk. vi. 36). And the expression (chap. xiv.) *κυριακὴν Κυρίου* we take, not as a mere tautology, but as "Jehovah's Lord's-day," answering to "the Sabbath of Jehovah." †

If then *Κύριος* means Jehovah, it becomes important to determine whether in this sense the term is applied to Christ. We must admit that there is a passage in which the title "God" is rendered to him. The master of slaves is exhorted (chap. iv.) not to lay orders in bitterness on his slave or handmaid, "lest they no more fear the God over both (*τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν*); for he cometh not to call with respect of person, but to those whom the spirit prepared.‡ A modern reader, accustomed to a severely restricted use of the word God, must be warned against drawing, from this expression alone, too large an inference. Taken by itself, it is a phrase which an Arian would freely

* Compare "He that receiveth you [whomsoever I send Jo. xiii. 20] receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me" (Mt. x. 40.)

† Compare the phrase "Hos anna to the God of David."

‡ A friend suggests that *ἔρχεται. . . . καλέσαι* may have the force of a simple future. The parallel passage in the Barnabas-appendix has *ἦλθεν*, which shows how it is to be understood.

use, and from which even a Socinian would not shrink. Yet we cannot but note a doctrinal progression which has advanced beyond the pure Ebionism of the Eucharistic Prayers. And when we find (chap. ix.) that baptism is described as being εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου,* remembering what the formula is, as twice given in the *Teaching*, we can hardly doubt that Κύριος here covers Father, Son and Holy Spirit, regarded as one Jehovah.

The Kyriology, then, of the main doctrine comes nearest to what is best known as Sabellian. It seems to have been carefully put into this form, with a dogmatic purpose, which has deliberately excluded every less suggestive appellation of Christ. How then do we explain the primitive state of the Eucharistic Prayers? Partly from reverence these fragments of an earlier age were preserved intact; partly also because, as we may recollect, with Humanitarianism pure and simple, Sabellianism has a strong historic tendency to coalesce. The Appendix has in like manner been left intact; it exhibits some advance upon the mere Ebionism of the Prayers, but the interval between its Kyriology and that of the main document is nevertheless distinctly perceptible.

A Kyriophany is pointed to, in the Maranatha (the Lord cometh) of the third Eucharistic Prayer. The details of the Kyriophany as given in chap. xvi. have some features in common with other presentations of the subject, and others which are peculiar. The growing vice of the age immediately preceding the advent of the Kyrios; the multiplication of false prophets; the appearance of a World-deceiver, who shall bear so close a resemblance to the true Son of God as to deceive even the sheep of the fold; all these signs of deepening gloom are dwelt upon with abundance of detail by other early writers. But when we come to the predicted advent, we notice a very remarkable peculiarity, in the omission of all reference to angels. And of the three special "signs of the truth," the first is

* The *Apostolic Constitutions*, which otherwise show Arian influence, remove this phrase, substituting εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον.

one not elsewhere specified. It is the sign *ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ*.

This Bryennios would render "a soaring up in the sky," connecting it with the account (Thess. iv. 17) of the risen and surviving saints who shall together be "caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." For two substantial reasons this will not do. The *ekpetasis* is a sign *preceding* the resurrection; and the rendering "soaring" depends upon a false etymology.* The *ekpetasis* is the "spreading forth"; but of what? It has been referred to the patristic idea (used also in commenting upon Rom. x. 40) of the stretching forth of the hands of Jesus at the advent, as in the attitude upon the cross.† But it is a sign *preceding* the advent, so this will not do. We are inclined to think it suggested by the פָּרַשׂ of Joel ii. 2. The usual rendering of פָּרַשׂ in the LXX. is by *ἐκπετάννυμι*; and though here it is *χυθήσεται*, yet the Didachographer could translate for himself, as is evidenced in his (chap. xiv.) citation of Mal. i. 14. Thus the sign of *ekpetasis* in the sky is the appearance of the thundercloud (followed by the thunderclap, "a trumpet's voice") above which the Kyrios shortly appears.

We have completed our survey of this interesting document, and have only a few words of remark to make in conclusion. The age and locality of its production it would be premature to attempt to assign. That it is later than the *Shepherd*, older than the *Apostolic Constitutions*, cannot be matter of doubt. Its character is essentially that

* From *πέτομαι* we should get *ἐκπτῆσις*; and even this would mean soaring *out*, not *up*. In Acts iii. 8, *ἐξαλλόμενος* is indeed translated (even in R.V.) "leaping up"; it should be "leaping out" (of the litter). It is true that in a passage of Theophylact, *ἐξεπέτασας* may be rendered "let fly," a secondary sense of "spread forth." Sophocles gives an example of *ἐκπέτασις* = "flying," but in an author as late as A.D. 950.

† Perhaps the earliest mention of "the sign of the cross" in the sky as preliminary to the second advent is in chap. 36 of the dubious *Consummation of the World*, ascribed to Hippolytos. See the remarks of Gerard Voss, *Theses Theol. et Histor.* 1628, p. 270. The idea was suggested by "the sign of the Son of Man in the sky," Matt. xxiv. 30. The *Teaching* does not contain the title Son of Man.

of a compilation, and there are distinct evidences of the individuality of the compiler, who may, or may not, have represented a wide-spread view of the Christian system. Its oldest stratum witnesses to the existence of St. John's Gospel. It contains extracts from St. Matthew, and gives unmistakable signs of familiarity with St. Luke, with the Acts, and with St. Paul's writings. There is a strong Hebraistic flavour about it.* Finally, it points to the prior existence of yet older documents, at present undiscovered, but which, considering the wonderful finds of recent years, we dare not pronounce to be hopelessly lost.

ALX. GORDON.

* Yet actual Hebraisms of language are not numerous. Note the use of (*ter*) *ἐν*, like בְּ ; and the phrase, *τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας*, for "testing fire ordeal." There are some traces also of parallelism, *e.g.*,

"In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions:"
"And shalt not come to thy praying-place in an evil conscience."

LAW AND LAWLESSNESS.

IT must be evident to all thoughtful minds that the main characteristic of our time is the relaxation of discipline, the diminishing weight of authority everywhere and in all the relations of human life. It is not found in one country only, or in one class, or in one department of human action; but in every country affected by Western civilisation, in every class as regards the discipline and authority formerly recognised by it—in religion, in politics, in social and family relations.

To begin with the latter. From parents in France, in Germany, in Italy, in America, the writer has again and again heard the same fact stated which she has observed in England, that the old parental discipline, the obedience to settled rules in the household could no longer be enforced. There is as much affection, but little or no deference, and a more or less determined emancipation from authority the moment the boundary of childhood is passed, a more or less avowed feeling that it ought not to be exercised. Between masters and servants, employers and employed, throughout the hierarchy of society, it is notorious that traditional respect, traditional submission, are giving way to as much independence as the direct pecuniary interests of the inferior will permit. All the feudal ideas of service from the natural inferior to the natural superior are disappearing, where they have not already disappeared, and are replaced by that of contract between parties equal in rights though unequal in worldly position. The same holds good, or is even more marked, in the case of spiritual authority, which, indeed, is scarcely recognised at all. It receives,

indeed, conventional respect, as do also temporal rank and authority, but its right to command and the duty to obey are implicitly, if not explicitly, denied, and congregations and individuals, consciously or unconsciously, regulate their creeds and their religious observances for themselves and on their own responsibility. In the intellectual domain there is the same rejection of authority as such; the same assertion of the right of every one to see and judge for himself. No authority is recognised as beyond criticism, no doctrine or institution held above being put upon its trial and summoned to show why it should be believed in, or maintained. The disintegrating process stops short only at the primary laws of morality regulating the dealings between man and man, the authority of which over conduct has still the universal consensus of civilised peoples, though the widest divergence of opinion may and does exist among them as to the source whence that authority is derived. The exception is easy to account for. Society can hold together only where the authority of these moral laws prevails on the whole, and the instinct of self-preservation, if nothing higher, has invested them in every civilised community, in proportion to its civilisation, with all the force and majesty of the visible power of the State. There may be speculative doubts about the binding nature of this or that moral principle, but none at all that the law, based upon it and enforced by the policeman and the magistrate, must be obeyed.

Even against this, however, there is a revolt in some quarters. We have Nihilists and Anarchists, whose principle is that of the Irishman in America when asked for his vote: "Have you a Government? Then I'm agin it!" It is a truism to point out that this state of things is the result of the state of transition through which the Western world is passing,—a stage which began when, in the fifteenth century, the recovery of ancient art and literature and of the records of ancient civilisation opened men's minds to the perception of a fairer and freer world of thought and imagination. The Renaissance was the emancipation of

the intellect from the bonds of spiritual authority, claiming universal dominion—the first divorce of religion and knowledge. The Reformation followed, emancipating the individual conscience from the despotism of a priesthood; and the English revolutions of the seventeenth century, and the French revolution of 1789, carried the work of revolt from old authority into the region of political and social life, and began the emancipation of both from the bonds of caste and privilege, and the recognition of the equal rights of men as men before the law.

In each case, an old order of things, old landmarks, old beliefs, forming the conditions under which society and the individual had lived and moved and had their being, were disturbed, and more or less superseded; while in the case of the French Revolution they were, for the time being, swept clean away. The leaders in that revolution were iconoclasts in grain. It was enough that a creed, an office, or an order, should have held rule in the past to make them proscribe it in the present. They strove to obliterate their history as a nation and to begin *ab novo*, going back with J. J. Rousseau to the assumed primitive rights and freedom of man, and as far as possible cutting away from under their new edifice all visible foundations of the past. Let us observe, in passing, that this tendency to abjure and reject whatever has been revered and obeyed in the past, impressed by the first revolution on the French nation, has marked each of the succeeding ones, and is the strongest note of difference between the French and the English,—the latter aiming always at deriving the new from the old, each change "broadening down from precedent to precedent," and being a development, not a new departure.

This fact accounts for the other fact which comes out of the comparison between the different populations of the Western world,—that the spirit of revolt against established authority, which is seen to exist more or less everywhere, is strongest in France and in those countries where the influence of the French Revolution and of French literature and modes of thought has been most felt; while it is

weakest in England, and may, indeed, be said in the latter country, as regards the people generally, to be still rather an obscure and partly unconscious tendency towards relaxation of old reverence and obedience, than an avowed and intentional repudiation of them. But that the relaxation is increasing, that the habit of calling everything in question and of asking for a reason of the reverence and obedience hitherto given unquestioningly, is gaining ground over wider and wider sections of the people and is applied more and more to what has hitherto been held above all question, every thoughtful observer of the signs of the times must see; and it is surely well to look about us and consider whither this changed spirit is leading us, to examine what in it is just and good, and what is evil; and whether the good may not be secured, while its accompanying perils are avoided.

First, we may assume as a settled point, that the changes which have passed over society in the last three centuries have been unquestionably good on the whole,—that the good has far surpassed the evil. It is enough to justify the assertion, to remember that, in that interval, serfdom, slavery, and religious persecution have ceased to have legal existence in all countries pretending to civilisation. Moreover, the good has affected the masses of the population, the evil only privileged classes, institutions, and individuals. The superstition about the "good old times" can only live in the minds of those who do not read history, or who read in it only what fits their foregone conclusions. Some, indeed, share it, who belong to neither of these classes, but who feel so keenly, and dwell so exclusively on the miseries attendant on the present economy of society, that they are incapable of comparing them fairly with those which attended a different economy, and they jump to the conclusion that where the present evils did not exist, a golden age must have reigned. Others, again, impatiently refuse to dwell on what has been done, or to listen to any inducement to rest and be thankful while so much remains undone;—"forgetting the things that are behind, they press

forward to the things that are before." And they are right as regards action in the present, though wrong as regards judgment of the past. With them let us join hands and give them all the help we have to give;—if we can do no more, wishing them God-speed in their fight for humanity.

If, however, we look more closely at the circumstances of the struggle, we shall find both parties to it, the reformers scarcely less than those to be reformed, largely influenced by the tendency noted above to throw off the bonds of old customs, to accept methods and schemes of social reorganisation which strike at the root of social arrangements hitherto held sacred. It is no longer only the demagogue working on the discontent and the greed of the needy masses, who preaches socialism, and demands that the wealth of the rich should be taken from them by the State for the good of the poor. From statesmen, from capitalists, from clergymen of the Established Church, come proposals which are socialistic in spirit, if not in direct form, and which are discussed as within the range of practical politics, although, if carried into effect, they would change the very basis of society, and necessitate its reconstruction from end to end.

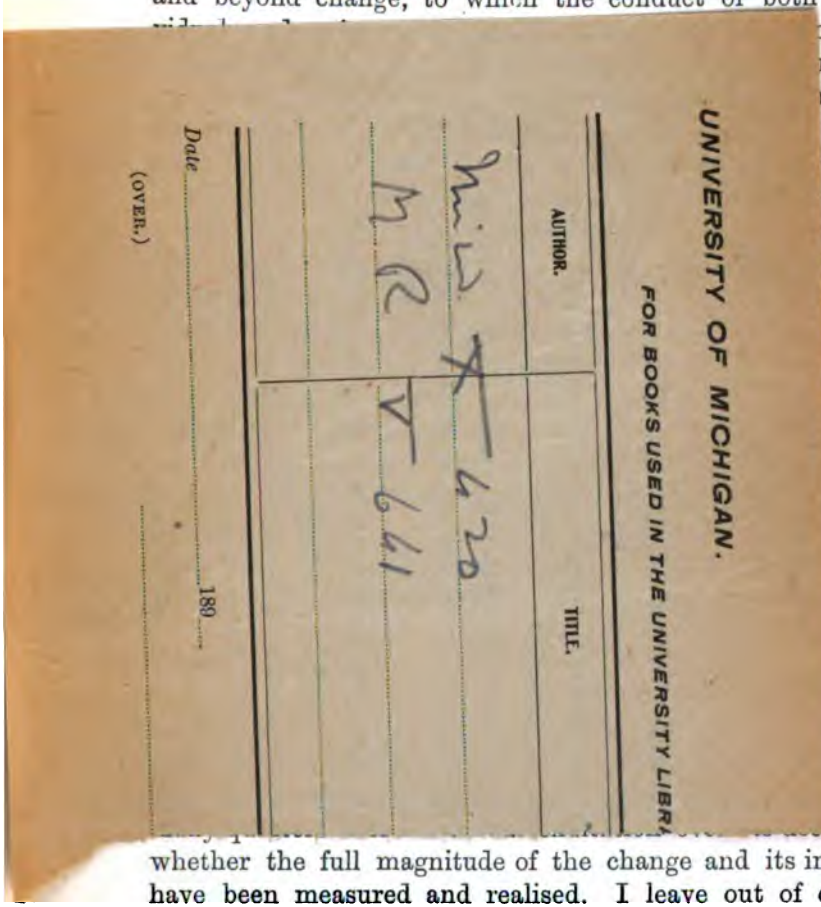
The spirit of religious toleration again, while stamping out the pretensions of Churches to use the arm of the civil power to dictate men's faith to them and dragoon them into salvation, has, at the same time, undoubtedly relaxed all dogmatic belief. Liberty of private judgment is claimed, not only on every doctrine of the Christian faith, but on the basis of faith in any spiritual world at all, on the existence of God and of a spirit in man, apart from his material organisation;—and is exercised not only by leaders of thought, but by the young of both sexes, with a calm independence of traditional reverence which make the hairs of older hearers stand on end. "A female atheist talks you dead" in circles which, even a quarter of a century ago, would have been startled out of their propriety by the lightest attack on established doctrine, and would have made the heretic feel

at once that no such deviation from the standard of faith and practice could be tolerated in respectable society. A measure of the ground traversed in that time may be found by comparing the tremendous commotion which followed the publication of "Essays and Reviews," with the judgment passed on them the other day by a Dissenting minister on returning the book to a friend who had urged him to read it: "Yes, some of the Essays are able enough, but *they are sadly behind the times!*"

Whither then is this spirit of free inquiry, unchecked by any reverence for ancient authority, likely to lead us? A large party in the country say that the time has come when the progress of change must be arrested,—that it has done its work in removing ancient abuses and grievances, and that society, purged and reformed, should settle permanently and live in peace on its old foundations, repaired and strengthened, not destroyed, by the change. They forget that change is the very condition of life, which is a ceaseless process of adaptation to ever-changing circumstances; that a nation is a living organism, and must change, if not by growth, then by decay; and also that in each generation there has always been a similar party which resisted change till it was accomplished; that then the sons not only accepted as good what their fathers had denounced as evil, but took their stand upon it to resist in their turn any further change. The bitterest Tory of to-day starts from a point which to his grandfather would have seemed the wildest Radicalism. Change must go on, and at a time such as this, when pity for the sufferings of the poor and the sense of human brotherhood giving to the lowest outcast a claim to the rights and dignity of a human life, are kindled into passion, no voice worth listening to will attempt to arrest it. The stoutest Conservatives will aim only at moderating its pace and directing its course, so as, if possible, to keep it within the old lines, and to preserve the ancient landmarks and boundaries intact. With the probabilities of their success or failure in this attempt, we are not, at present, concerned. The purpose of this paper is to point out

a far greater danger than the change or destruction of any special form of society,—one which lurks in the spirit animating even the best and noblest of the reforming party,—and to examine what means there are to avert it, while preserving all the impetus and all the good of the reforming movement.

That danger is the loss of the idea and belief in Law itself,—in a supreme and invariable order of things above and beyond change, to which the conduct of both indi-



whether the full magnitude of the change and its import have been measured and realised. I leave out of count those who look upon all change as in itself evil, and the ancient as alone rightful authority, whose persistent

resistance to the movement which is the life of human societies, is one of the most active causes of the violence which follows its arbitrary arrest. Nor does the danger, in our country at least, lie so much in the lawlessness which breaks out in popular revolt against the public authority. The "resources of civilisation" are strong enough to repress these, and the interests of the immense majority of society being on the side of order, its disturbance could be only temporary, even supposing the party of anarchy to be strong enough to disturb it at all. The real danger is of a far more insidious and permanent kind. It is the relaxation of the moral fibre in the nation,—the habit of looking at everything from the point of view of expediency, or convenience, —pleasure or, at any rate, convenience first and duty afterwards; if, indeed, duty can be said to be recognised at all when it is not felt to be supreme. It is the relaxation, not so much of outward discipline, which must be maintained if society is to hold together, but of the inward, mental and moral, discipline—the discipline given in childhood and early youth by a revered authority, and passing in manhood into the law of duty, deliberately accepted by the mind, and freely obeyed by the will when all external restraint is withdrawn and the man is left to be a law unto himself. It is this sense of a supreme law above and beyond all expediency, rightfully ruling conduct, and the power of the will to bend inclination and passion into obedience to it, which not only makes the difference between the man and the brute, but is the measure of the true human worth of man compared with man.

The theology of our Puritan forefathers was terribly narrow,—their morality founded upon it was inevitably narrow too; but their moral training made men, and the force they gave to their race in Old and New England has been, and still remains, the backbone of the national character in both. The same holds good of Presbyterian Scotland. The remarkable success of the Scotch who leave Scotland to seek their fortunes elsewhere, has been generally and justly, to a certain extent, attributed to the

education, placed so much earlier in Scotland than in the sister country within reach of all classes. But it may be, more justly still, attributed to the strict Presbyterian discipline which accompanies the education, and gives to those trained under it the controlling and regulating power without which force, whether physical or moral, like steam in an open vessel, wastes itself in aimless motion, and is finally dissipated and lost for any useful purpose.

It is, however, of the utmost importance to note here, that as regards moral force, the controlling and regulating power must come from within, not from without. No discipline of parent or master will be of any avail over the character of the man, except in weakening the weak and perhaps driving the strong into rebellion, unless it can approve itself as righteous and just to the individual conscience, and obtain the free obedience of the will. The old theology, the old morality based upon it did, in large measure, so approve themselves; but their authority is, as we have seen, passing away under the changed conditions of knowledge and moral feeling of our day; and unless we can replace them by an authority which shall approve itself with equal force to the minds and consciences of men now, the inevitable changes before us will be not from life to higher life, but from an ever-declining life to rottenness.

This then is our problem: Given a society permeated by the dissolving influence of scepticism, and losing all belief in any authority beyond that enforced by the policeman, where to find a new element of cohesion, an order acknowledged as rightfully supreme over the whole sphere of thought and action? In other words, where are we to look for the Law of life, obedience to which as the *Eternal Ought* is the differential mark between the man and the beast? The solution will be promptly offered us from two opposite quarters, Science on the one hand, and Religion on the other. Let us listen to Science first, and she will tell us that the cardinal doctrine of modern science is the reign of Law, in the sense of invariable order in the sequence and synchronism of phenomena, prevailing throughout the

universe. Belief in the fortuitous, in arbitrary interference with this invariable order is repudiated as pure superstition; and where such order has not yet been discovered, it is sought with undoubting faith in its existence, though it be as yet concealed from our eyes. No true scientist admits any exception to this article of belief, nor to this other one: that the law we discover in action now, has been the same from the beginning, and will remain the same to the end of things. Moreover, science is, from day to day, more emphatically asserting the unity of the power underlying all the diversity of phenomena. Every great advance in physical science tends towards resolving all the forces working in the organic, as well as inorganic, world into various manifestations of one all-embracing and supreme force, of which the order of the universe is the result. To this order science claims implicit obedience from rational man. Wherever the law governing any group of phenomena has been ascertained, so as to become a part of our inheritance of certain knowledge, it follows as an axiom that human action within the sphere of that law must be brought into accordance with it,—that obedience is the condition of success in that department of conduct, and that disobedience will bring its inevitable punishment in the shape of failure or suffering. From year to year the range of phenomena brought under the purview of science tends to grow wider; and especially of late years it has been attempted to embrace the moral and mental phenomena of human life no less than the physical universe within its grasp, and to bring the whole nature of man, his history, language, religion, social and political progress, under one law of evolution. And, just in proportion as knowledge in these departments attains the precision of science, and can prove its authority by the test of accurate prediction of effects from causes, will conformity to the law thus manifested be insisted upon as the only course worthy of rational beings.

Here then, surely, we have the law we want;—a law which carries with it its own authority, and crushes opposition by the inexorable logic of facts. To make it known,

and the consequences of obedience or disobedience to it understood, must be all that is required to ensure universal submission. Accordingly, Mr. Herbert Spencer would make the education of a child to consist in leading him to discover for himself by the painful process of experience, the laws to which he must conform his conduct to escape the penalty of suffering; and everywhere science is claiming a larger place in the teaching of youth, in the decision of social questions, in the domain even of personal morality.

But it is just when we reach this domain of personal morality, of "conduct, which is three-fourths of life," that a difficulty arises, a question regarding the ground of the authority science claims over it. Undoubtedly, as regards conformity to physical laws, it rests upon the certainty of punishment following upon disobedience. If you put your hand into the fire, you know it will be burnt. If you throw yourself from a height, you know that you will suffer a more or less perilous shock; and so on, through the whole range of actions depending on adaptation to our material environment. The command is: Do this or leave it undone, at your peril. But suppose you thrust your hand into the fire to snatch a child from burning, or take a perilous leap to rescue a friend from more imminent danger? You have disobeyed the law and paid the penalty, yet you never, for an instant, feel that your disobedience was wrong. But an authority which can be wilfully disobeyed without any sense of wrong-doing can never give the supreme law of conduct. All it can assert is, that a man's own welfare depends on his obedience,—and that only within the sphere of his physical existence; for when we come to moral laws, whether dealing with the individual or society, the phenomena become so complicated, the motive powers act and re-act with such infinite variety and intricacy, that the sequence of cause and effect, of action and its consequences, can be predicted by science only on averages taken over long periods of time. For instance: that honesty is the best policy; that it will bring its reward, and dishonesty its punishment, is certain only as a general rule and in the

long run; but in the present practical life which is the only pressing concern to the greater number, honesty very often entails immediate loss, and dishonesty immediate gain, both to the nation and the individual. The nation, indeed, being long-lived, is sure to find its punishment sooner or later; but the individual often escapes it. Many a hoary sinner goes down to his grave full of years and honours, having disobeyed with impunity both moral and physical laws, thanks to a strong constitution and cunning brain; while many a saint goes to his, poor, despised, and possibly reprobated, in visible contradiction of the doctrine that virtue brings its own reward, and vice its own punishment, here and now. The sense of justice is outraged on the one hand by this result, and the gambling spirit in man which leads him to risk the punishment for the chance of escaping it, is encouraged on the other. We find then that all that science can do for us in the matter is to show us the "set" of the moral law, and the consequences of obedience and disobedience on the large scale. The attempt of the latest school of scientific moralists to reduce conscience to the inherited sense of the expediency of certain courses of action, and inexpediency of others, evolved out of the experience of all former generations, still further reduces its authority. For, these expediencies, arrived at empirically under certain conditions, and varying with the conditions themselves, must always be subject to this variation in the conditions,—making that inexpedient which had been expedient and *vice versâ*. It is, moreover, obvious that the law which has no other foundation but expediency, can never attain an authority higher than its source; it can never assume the categorical imperative of the "ought," and obedience to it must remain optional. If I prefer sacrificing expediency to something I value and desire more, no moral guilt can possibly attach to me, and I shall certainly be conscious of none, though I may be punished for disregarding what is, by common consent, regarded as expedient by the people amongst whom I live. Some may consider that the civil and criminal code enforcing this generally

acknowledged expediency, and the code of public opinion, which does, undoubtedly, give to the average man and woman their practical standard of conduct, will be quite sufficient to maintain social order, and that to look for any higher sanction is as superfluous as it is, in their view, irrational. But if we try to imagine a society having no moral law higher than the "Thou shalt not" of the penal code of law and society, the authority of which will rest solely on the general assent to its expediency for the time being, we shall soon perceive how miserably inadequate such an authority, at the best governing only external action, would be to meet the infinitely varied and complex questions affecting conduct, within and apart from our external relations to the community in which we live. The "Thou shalt" which, when felt to be rightfully pronounced, is translated by the individual conscience into "I ought," will never come out of penal codes of whatever kind; for it is not an appeal to intelligent self-interest, but a command claiming obedience in the face of, and if need be, in utter disregard of self-interest; and, without it, action, in its most important part —its inward motive and aim—must remain in spite of penal codes, without law.

To this must be added another consideration: *i.e.*, that every great moral advance made by human societies has been initiated by rebellion against and breaking away from the old conventionally established morality of the time or country in which it takes place; the reformer is persecuted and put down where possible, as a rebel, a heretic, or at the best a dangerous enthusiast, and his final triumph is the triumph of disobedience to the law of man in the name of the higher law which his conscience bids him obey. His stand-point is ever that of Peter before the rulers of the Jews: We must obey God rather than man.

Here then is the point where the authority of science fails, and it becomes evident that it can never, by itself, supply a supreme moral authority,—the law we want to replace the decaying rule of ancient authority over the hearts and consciences of men. And here it is that Religion

demands to be heard, claiming this as her own especial province; for what is religion but faith in a supreme Power to which the obedience of the whole man, affections, reason, conscience, will, is due; not because it is expedient, but because it is right? But it will be objected, this is only coming back to the same old authority which we have just seen to be losing its hold over mankind; and it is too true that religion has been so identified with certain systems of dogmatic theology in which it was embodied under wholly different conditions, intellectual and social, that it is now suffering from the same relaxing and disintegrating process which is shaking all other authority. Its forms being necessarily doomed to pass away with the temporary conditions which gave them rise, the substance seems in danger of perishing with them. But if, following Max Müller's advice, we look to the history of man in the past, as the only safe basis of prediction regarding his future, we shall find that the fear is groundless, and that men never have lived, nor society arrived at anything that could be called organisation, without a religion. The latest outcome of this human necessity for recognition and worship of a higher Being,—Auguste Comte and Mr. Frederic Harrison creating the idol of Humanity to replace the God they have banished from their universe,—is a proof, as striking as it is grotesque, that modern mankind are as little likely as their forefathers to dispense with religion. The explanation is not far to seek. The human conscience, the supreme "I ought," whose authority may be resisted, but never denied by any mind sufficiently developed to have reached the conception of right and wrong, is the ever living witness of a supreme law of being;—faith in which, and obedience to which, is the vital principle of religion,—nay, religion itself, give it what name, clothe it in whatever forms you will.

We arrive here at the common ground where religion and science meet; and here it is, not in any efforts to reconcile them, as it is called, through any ingenious fitting of dogma to facts and facts to dogma, that each becomes the indispensable ally of the other. The province of religion is to

proclaim and keep ever present in the hearts and consciences of men, through teaching and worship, that God is, and that His will is the law of life. The province of science is to ascertain through the study of all its manifestations, in man and in his environment, in the past as in the present, what that law is. In the earlier stages of society the two offices are combined into one; inevitably, for the priest is also the wise man, the only seeker after, and depositary of knowledge. So it was in the earlier ages of the Christian Church, with the equally inevitable result, that imperfect knowledge and absolute error were invested with all the sanctity and authority of religious dogma, which has been one of the main causes of the present decay of religious belief. The errors having become patent through the progress of independent enquiry, and the imperfection of the knowledge past concealment, orthodoxy has been perpetually obliged to shift its ground and resort to expedients, not always of the worthiest, to avoid being left too manifestly and hopelessly in the rear of educated thought; and many signs are visible that the best men in its camp are gradually becoming aware of the weakness of their position, and tacitly abandoning their former defences to take their stand more and more on the immovable rock of faith in the one God and Father of all, whose will is the law of science as of religion, of the material as of the spiritual world. One school of scientific philosophy may call the power behind the law Necessity or Force; another may designate it as the supreme Law of Being; another may decline to give it any name, professing itself incapable of going behind the phenomena to any common origin of the order they exhibit; another may, with Mr. Spencer in his latest utterance on the subject,* pronounce it "the Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed"—but none the less, whether implicitly or explicitly, do each and all base the whole of their scientific structure on the two postulates which are also the basis of the whole structure of Christian theology: *i.e.*, 1st, the unity of the force underlying all phenomena;

* See *Nineteenth Century*. January, 1884.

2nd, the eternal and invariable character of its action, the same yesterday, to-day and for ever ;—postulates which, as the late Henry Buckle once said to the present writer, are as much matter of faith and beyond the reach of experience as any dogma of theology. For experience can establish nothing beyond itself, least of all, unity, which is a conception altogether beyond and above it, and can offer only a presumption as regards the unknown, whether past, present, or future, that what we experienced yesterday, we shall experience to-day or to-morrow ; the presumption which is, in fact, the instinctive faith of the human being in the unity and unchangeableness of the " Eternal, not himself " that rules his destiny, without which moral and intellectual development, requiring as their indispensable condition fixed bases of thought and action,—and indeed, progress, in any direction,—would have been impossible. To these fundamental dogmas Science and Religion unite in adding one more, the crowning one : that obedience to this supreme law is alike the wisdom and the happiness of man, and that perfect conformity to it by the individual and society is the goal of human life.

I must guard myself here, however, against being supposed to imply, in assigning to science the office of discovering truth, that religion in its proper sphere of ruling conduct has waited for science to show it the right way. Nothing could be further from the truth. Whatever view we may take of so-called inspiration or revelation, it is an historical fact that certain men whose lives have been as pillars of fire, guiding the race through the darkness and wilderness of nature, have seen and declared the fundamental truths of morals thousands of years in advance of the slow and laborious march of science. The Decalogue anticipated the whole code of utilitarian morality, and the Gospel of Christ contains, and is, in fact, the proclamation of, the fundamental principles of modern civilisation,—liberty, equality, fraternity, in their only true sense. Every step that the world has taken in the last eighteen centuries towards the freedom and dignity of the individual man,

every step towards the destruction of caste, of artificial privilege, of inequality before the law, every step towards the realisation of the brotherhood of men, has its starting-point from and is the direct development of Christ's teaching.*

Let us note by the way that it is this character of Christianity, giving the passion and the glow of a religious faith to the development and progress of humanity, individually and collectively, towards ideal perfection, lighted by an infinite hope, invincible in the sense of oneness with God, which fits it to be the universal religion, able to meet the needs of men under the most various conditions and stages of civilisation; and destined, as its spirit more and more throws off the disfiguring and alien forms which have hampered and concealed its true nature, to absorb all other religions, and reign supreme as the expression of its unique prayer: that God's will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

In such a union of religion and science as is here shadowed forth, neither would be called upon to sacrifice one iota of its independence. They appeal to separate elements of human nature, and must proceed with perfect freedom on their separate and special lines, though towards a common end,—the subordination of human action, the conformity of individual and social life to the laws, called of nature by the one, of God by the other. And the spirit on which both insist in their disciples is the same. The humility, the openness of mind and teachableness typified in the command of Christ that His disciples should receive the spiritual truth as little children, are the essential conditions for success in the search after scientific truth. The idols of the cave, the den and the market-place are equally

* See for striking testimony on this head, from the most opposite and independent quarters, Mr. Goldwin Smith's article on "Evolutionary Ethics and Christianity," *Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1883, and Padre Curci's last work, "Il Vaticano Regio," ch. 4, to which might be added, if time and space permitted, more than one passage from writers who absolutely repudiate Christianity as a religion, but accept its moral ideal as the highest yet conceived by man.

idols in the sight of the Christian as of the philosopher. The absolute, unhesitating loyalty to the truth once seen and felt, is equally accepted by both as the supreme duty of man;—though we may observe parenthetically that when the Agnostic or Utilitarian philosopher proclaims himself ready to die for the truth he holds, or harder still, to encounter the pains of an eternal hell rather than bow down to an immoral God, he is most unphilosophically inconsistent with his own theories regarding the true end and purpose of human action. Happily, men often are as inconsistent on the right side as the wrong; and such inconsistency as this gives greater force to the real unity of spirit and endeavour between the noblest leaders on both sides,—of scientific thought and of religious faith. They have a common enemy; not clericalism on the one side or secularism on the other; but lawlessness, the negation of any binding, sacred, eternal law, rightfully claiming the obedience of free and intelligent man. As it arose and has grown from the divorce of Faith and Science, so can it be crushed only by their renewed alliance. In their union lies the salvation of the Western world from the moral and social anarchy which is the prelude of dissolution. Without surrendering one jot or tittle of their separate claims, both can join in the symbol of a faith older than Christianity, as expressed in the noble English verse of Edwin Arnold* :—

> Behold, I show you Truth! Lower than hell,
> Higher than Heaven, outside the utmost stars,
> Farther than Brahm doth dwell,
> Before beginning and without an end,
> As space eternal and as surety sure,
> Is fixed a Power divine which moves to good,
> Only its laws endure.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> It slayeth and it saveth, nowise moved
> Except unto the working out of doom,
> Its threads are Love and Life; and Death and Pain
> The shuttles of its loom.

* In *The Light of Asia.*

It maketh and unmaketh, mending all;
What it hath wrought is better than that hath been.
Slow grows the splendid pattern that it plans
Its wistful hands between.

. . . . . .

Such is the Law which moves to righteousness,
Which none at last can turn aside or stay;
The heart of it is Love, the end of it
Is Peace and Consummation sweet. Obey!

MARIA G. GREY.

*WILHELM VATKE.**

TO many, if not most amongst us, the name of Wilhelm Vatke is a name and nothing more—*vox et præterea nihil.* Yet few names in risk of oblivion deserve better to be rescued therefrom. For we cannot tell the story of Wilhelm Vatke's life without telling a great part of the history of the development of religious thought in Germany, and especially in Berlin. The age of Wilhelm Vatke was likewise the age of Schleiermacher, of Hegel, of Fichte, and of Schelling, of Hengstenberg, of Neander, of Ewald, and of Strauss. To all of these celebrities Vatke stood in more or less of a personal relation. With not a few of the great men who to us are but solemn shades, he walked and talked familiarly. Of some he was the bosom friend, of others the determined but always courteous antagonist. Nor was he in his intimacy with any, as Boswell was to Johnson, a mere hanger on, still less a fugleman or a sycophant. He was the equal of most of them, the superior of many in learning; and if as writer he was less productive than the rest, this was due in no small degree to his extraordinary modesty, his severe attachment to truth, and his extreme distrust of immature lucubrations. Ambition he had in plenty of a proper sort, but no vulgar lust of notoriety. He courted fame, but he despised popularity, and the kind of reputation he attained is peculiar and distinctive. The "general reader," that omnivorous but withal dainty animal, knows nothing of Wilhelm Vatke's "Biblische Theologie." But men in the front rank of German theologians, whether on the right hand or on the left, recognised that volume at once as an epoch-

* *Wilhelm Vatke in seinem Leben und seinen Schriften*: von HEINRICH BENECKE. Bonn: Emil Strauss. 1883.

making work. However the name of Vatke may be overshadowed now or its lustre eclipsed by those of authors more widely read, because more easily understood, Wilhelm Vatke was, perhaps, more nearly than any other man, the founder of the Modern School of Biblical Exegesis. He did for and with the Old Testament what Strauss and F. C. Baur did for and with the New. He was the first to apply the method of the Hegelian Philosophy to the purposes of critical research. And however true it may be that "Moderns" move much more easily and gracefully nowadays, in Holland and in England, without the cumbersome terminology of the Hegelian Logic, and write much more lucidly too, it is nevertheless equally true, that it was Hegelian thought which first gave to German theology coherency, consistency, and thoroughness. De Wette and Ewald, giants in their day, never attained to the stature of the perfect critic, *totus teres atque rotundus*. They assailed the outworks of tradition rather than stormed its stronghold. It was reserved for the Hegelians, a Vatke, a Baur, and a Strauss, to lay the axe of criticism to the root of the tree of orthodoxy. No doubt there were other Hegelians who planted the barren trunk in the ground, and propped it up again with artificial supports cut from the same wood as the handle of the axe that felled it, but it never grew and flourished as of yore. Even less than such Masters in Israel as Ewald and De Wette, would the old Rationalists of the School of Semler and Paulus be regarded as "serious men," in the present day, though they did good work in their own. Their method and point of view are long since obsolete; but, perhaps, the most solid service which they rendered to mankind was that of the moral and mental enfranchisement they conferred, by showing that to sacrifice or explain away the miraculous element of the Scriptures was not to reject religion, and was consistent in their persons with an earnest piety and faith. By this means a race of men was trained up in the service of religion, emancipated from the slavish bibliolatry which had reigned supreme

from the death of the German Reformers until the dawn of the "*Aufklärung*," men accustomed to the free use of reason in relation to biblical questions, and devoted to the cause of religion in a Deistic sense.

To this race belonged the father of Wilhelm, Conrad Ludolph Vatke, who was minister of the village of Behnsdorf, in Saxony, from 1789 to 1814. Here Wilhelm was born, March 14, 1806, a strong and healthy child, the youngest of a family of six. His earliest reminiscences were those of the troubles and excitement caused by the Napoleonic wars, and of French and Russian soldiers billeted in the little parsonage. At eight he was left fatherless, for on October 5, 1814, Conrad Vatke succumbed to the "hospital fever" brought by wounded Silesian soldiers to the quiet village of Behnsdorf. Well grounded by his father in Greek and Latin, Wilhelm continued for a time his education at the village school, and among other acquirements developed a somewhat precocious talent for music, so that at this early age the sexton preferred him to the post of leader of the choir in the parish church. From Behnsdorf the fatherless family removed within a year to Helmstedt, a neighbouring town. In the following years bereavements came thick and fast. First "brother Fritz," the merchant, came home, lay down and died. Then sister Doris was stricken with measles caught from Heinrich Ahrens. Ahrens recovered, and became the celebrated writer on the dialects of Greek, but Doris followed Fritz to the grave. On the 10th of May, 1818, William was sitting with his schoolmaster at the house of one of the masters, where he was now a half-boarder, when he heard one whisper to another, "Du! Vatke's Mutter ist todt!" With a cry of anguish the boy rushed from the room and ran home trembling and awe-struck, only to find on his arrival that the terrible tidings were too true. The goods of the widow were sold by auction to strangers, only a slender portion of the father's library was bought in by friends for Wilhelm. By the kindness and generosity of relatives, especially his brother Charles, who waived his patrimony in

Wilhelm's favour, enough was forthcoming for the further education of the latter at the gymnasium of Helmstedt, once, though then no longer, a University town. For five years Wilhelm attended the gymnasium; thence he was sent to the orphanage founded by Francke in Halle (where neither the soup nor the manners and customs of his fellow-orphans pleased him), and passed thence, provided with an excellent testimonial, to the University of that town.

From the days when he led the choristers of Behnsdorf in their singing his mind had been made up as to the choice of a profession—a decision in which he never wavered. If ever a man was born a theologian it was Vatke. For two years at Halle he heard Knapp on the Exegesis of the New Testament, Wegscheider on dogmatics, Thilo on Church history, not to mention others; and last, but not least, Gesenius introduced him to the study of the Old Testament. In those days he could hardly have had a better introduction. Gesenius became his life-long friend, and in dismissing him to Göttingen, to study Hebrew under Ewald, said: "Ewald is an exquisite Hebraist, and a rare Arabic scholar; but don't forget to make yourself master of all that De Wette has produced. You must know him by heart." Before we leave Halle we must note the following racy anecdote of the absent-minded, though profound Severinus Vater, who began his second lecture on the Origin of Christianity thus: "Gentlemen! the first Christian community was in Königsberg!" Sensation and loud clearing of studential throats. The Professor "tries back" in hope of recovering the scent. "Gentlemen! the first Christian community was in—Weimar!" Titters and cries of "Where?" "Gentlemen, I should like to know who is laughing. I must insist that you will not laugh. I have more to carry in my head than lecturing here to you! The first Christian community was in Jerusalem!" Right at last; and we will hope the note-books of the students had the entry all correct.

In Göttingen Vatke sat at the feet of Ewald, Planck, and Heeren: the rich stores of information that he imbibed

did but intensify his thirst for knowledge and his sense of ignorance. In August, 1827, he writes thus to his brother George :—

It is true I have worked hard during my student years, and have learned something; but while I am studying one course, I forget the other, so that things keep going round in an everlasting circle, till I am like to lose my patience. I have no real learning: *i.e.*, I have studied no sources, I have read no Church Fathers, not a Rabbi, not a Reformer, &c., beside which I have no accurate acquaintance with the several philosophical systems; I am weak in history, especially of medieval politics, I understand no mathematics—and yet I have worked, and those who know me credit me with acquirements because they have few themselves. Imagine my pleasant state of mind.

A journey to Switzerland and Florence restored the tone of the over-conscientious and somewhat desponding student, and on the 21st of April, 1828, Wilhelm Vatke on the top of the Göttingen mail-coach made his first acquaintance with the streets of the Prussian capital, then in the zenith of its glory as the High School of German thought. His first impressions of the teachers were various, and some of them in curious contrast with their subsequent influence upon him. Lachmann's Philoctetes he liked. Ritter's History of Philosophy pleased him. Raumer's "Middle Ages" struck him as tedious and obscure. Schleiermacher was slow; his sermons not attractive. Hegel he did not understand; not the only one assuredly who failed to do so at first hearing. Neander was the lecturer who first fascinated Vatke, and Vatke soon found favour with Neander. It may interest Unitarians to know that the essay submitted by the young seminarist to the great Church historian at the end of the summer term was entitled "*Opinionum Fausti Socini Explicatio genetica.*" Neander was so delighted with it that he advised Vatke to devote himself, as exclusively as might be, to Church history; he had brought plenty of other theological information, he assured him, from Göttingen. Perhaps he suspected that too much knowledge in some departments might prove for the young scholar a dangerous thing. But Neander always honoured learning and

sincerity wherever he found it, and did not withdraw his friendship from Vatke even when his negative tendencies became apparent and pronounced. In a little while he wrote to friends in Göttingen—"I thought I had finished my studies, and now I begin to see that here in Berlin one must start afresh. It is no trifle to follow Schleiermacher and to understand Hegel." At this period Schleiermacher impressed him as a very superior, self-conscious man; whereas Hegel, in his blue frock coat, gilt buttons, and yellow nankeen trousers, with waistcoat of the same, seemed a comfortable sort of personage, who inspired confidence.

A graphic picture of the state of theological and political parties at this time is given in the following letter to brother George, bearing date September, 1828:—"The Ministry, through Altenstein's influence, is on the side of Hegel and Marheineke, but the faculty for the most part on the side of Neander, Schleiermacher, and Strauss [the Court preacher not the critic], *i.e.*, the side of simple belief. The examination of Herr Gerlach, who has lately been made licentiate, sufficed to occasion the split. This good man is so satisfied with belief, that he rejects all philosophy. Marheineke thereupon urged on the Ministry that no one who was wholly devoid of philosophical culture should be admitted as licentiate, so that there was six months' delay, and it was only this winter that the above-named Gerlach has been permitted to expose his wares. Neander has been requested by the Ministry to hold no lectures on Dogmatics and Ethics, because he does not lecture scientifically; but he set up his back and demands to lecture as he lists, or to be sent away. Schleiermacher has been informed that he is not to lecture separately on theology and philosophy, but to give philosophico-theological lectures; to which he replied that he did not know what that meant. Hegel and Schleiermacher, Marheineke and Neander have often had some sharp rubs together, and indulged in personalities. So you see things look very lively here. A zealot in chief of the Anti-Hegelian party the Professor Extraordinarius Hengstenberg, whom the Ministry have forbidden the publication of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, a prohibition which he has disregarded, is expected to go to Königsberg, which he does not want to do. You see how dangerous it is to go in for teaching here. If one is Hegelian one has the Ministry on one's side, and almost the whole of the faculty against one, and *vice versâ*. The

whole summer I have been studying the Hegelian philosophy, and admire the depth and penetration of this man's mind. He rightly deserves the name of a philosopher; what is generally called philosophy is the stalest, most unconsciously self-contradictory trash. I am only sorry that the verdicts of my former teachers, who did not understand Hegel at all, and tried to make him ridiculous, have hitherto deterred me from the study of his philosophy, which requires years to fathom. . . . There is a young artist now here from Brunswick whose acquaintance I made through one of my friends, the theological student, Pockels of that town. This man wishes to form a portrait gallery of the most illustrious thinkers of our time, and travelled accordingly to visit Goethe, to whom he announced his project, and asked to be allowed to begin with him. 'Honour to whom honour is due,' answered Goethe. 'Paint first Hegel in Berlin,' which he did and made a good likeness."

We are afraid the modesty of the sage of Weimar and the profundity of the Berlin philosopher find equally scant acknowledgment among the German students of to-day, who sing in their *Kneipe* of the first

> In seinen alten Tagen bescheidener als *nie*,
> Beschrieb er mit Behagen seine Biographie;

and of the second

> Gott segn' euch ihr herrlichen Vögel
> An der fernen Guanoküst;
> Trotz unsrem Landmann dem Hegel
> Schafft ihr den gediegensten Mist.

In the heat of preparation for the examination Vatke found time to study music—Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven were his favourites. His letters at this time are lively, and the young student's estimate of his contemporaries shows, what his modesty disguises, that with few exceptions he might have sung with the Psalmist unrebuked, "I have more understanding than all my teachers." Certainly his tongue (transferred to note-paper) was the pen of a ready writer. At the beginning of February, 1830, he writes:—

So you see until March I shall be swallowing lecture notes like pills, in order to cut a decent figure behind the green table.

I am now at Old World mythology, under the guidance of Creuzer, Görres, and Wagner. Görres' work I have not yet been able to read through. It smothers me: one is drowned as in strong drink. In flowery style I dare say no one ever excelled him. Freshness, deep thought, great learning—but, as I said, too much *alcohol*. For Creuzer's learning and intellect I have a very great respect; I do not presume to such learning though I should live to be a hundred. Neander may indeed be still more learned. He is such a remarkable linguist, that he has done what no other English or German linguist has ever been able to do, save Reisig—namely, spoken Greek fluently with a travelling Greek scholar, and that in classic style, not in Church-Greek. The Greek himself told it one of my acquaintances. When I was busy reading Aristophanes at school, I, too, made attempts to talk Greek; but it was no go! Even Latin I cannot speak fluently, having no practice; if we should ever come to live together, dear brother, we will always speak it, for you can. Have you heard of Schelling's quarrel with Prof. Kapp in Erlangen? The satirist Saphir says, "Philosophers think obscurely, but abuse one another in very plain language indeed." Schelling is in the right, upon the whole, but Marheineke and Hegel disapprove of the undignified manner in which he treats Kapp. I am very anxious to see Schelling's Weltalter (Philosophische Mythologie) in common with all lovers of philosophy. I have an immense respect for the man, in spite of his irascibility, and almost always speak of him with warm enthusiasm. You know his brilliant works, so I say nothing. A little while back I was in company with Marheineke; I sat at table with Professor Neumann, of Munich, who had studied Armenian in the monastery of S. Lorenzo, near Venice, and is now going, at the proposal of a ship's captain, who has taken a fancy to him on account of his interesting society, to accompany him to China for purposes of literary research. He is a christened Israelite, ἀνὴρ πολύτροπος. Neander wishes a young man—I, for example—would also go to Venice to learn Armenian, and translate Armenian works, from which some further light might be thrown on Church History. I am not disinclined, if they will pay my expenses; otherwise it's no go.

The *examen rigorosum* drew on. Already on December 1, 1829, Vatke handed in a Dissertation: *de Platonicæ philosophiæ ratione ad doctrinam Clementis Alexandrini*, with

an account of his own career, which found favour with Marheineke. He now writes to his brother:—

You may well suppose that I am rather afraid of the *examen rigorosum.* Neander especially is a very strict examiner, and goes into specialities. I have been working hard for four weeks. But my memory is like a barn, or a lumber-room: what won't stick must go. I only hope enough will be left, if only the courage remains at the sticking point. Many bad licentiates have been passed; accordingly greater strictness is to be shown in order to weed out the incapables. I am the first admitted under the stricter regulations. But to be admitted is as much as being passed, because it is only in extreme cases that they plough a man. Neander and Marheineke consider me—God knows why!—very learned; they have been heard to say with me they can have a *good* examination for once. God be merciful to me a sinner! Hengstenberg I shall defy, for the fellow is so thick-headed. Strauss (the Court chaplain) bites nobody, if you let him alone. Marheineke still treats me as kindly as ever; he has promised me, in case I get pupils next Easter but one, to obtain for me a *gratification—i.e.*, small salary. Marheineke has great influence with the Government through Geheimrath Schulz, his friend and Hegel's. So, dear brother, I am of good courage. I am well aware that I know little in comparison with learned men; but I feel power within me not only to learn something, but to be something, and that is the end of all learning, that we may rest in the purpose of our being.

How stood it meanwhile with the young scholar's religious convictions? A few weeks before his examination he wrote thus:—

I maintain that Christianity is the deepest wisdom that has ever been realised in the world. Christ is God and Man at once, we others are so as well, but not in the same aboriginal degree as he, on whom the current of universal history and the universal spirit broke. The doctrines of grace, predestination, sacraments, &c., cover the deepest speculative truths. The Trinity is the focus of Christian profundity. In that dogma, as Lessing rightly says, it gave the world the answer to its sum of arithmetic long ago, as now, thank God, it is finding it for itself. The Hegelian Philosophy has discovered *à priori* what Christianity and the world's history give *à posteriori.* It is true many things assume a new aspect when one compares the

current notions of the world at large with the concepts of Hegel. Such a God as the world imagines does not exist at all, nor such "operations of grace" either. But the world is obliged to imagine in this way. It wants pictures (Kant's Schemata), presentations, and thus the contradiction is removed. In a word, I must tell you that I know the eternal truths with perfect certainty; the longing of my heart is stilled. You will think me mad when I say I behold God face to face; but it is so, for all that. The yonder has become the hither. Man is himself a point of light in the Infinite Light, and like knows like. Because I am all being, I know all being, and in so far as I rest on the great heart of God, I am already beatified. Oh! could I but tell you how happy I am! All sciences to me are glorified and translucent. I know what history means; I know how Art arises, how the spell of Religion comes in. I worship, because I know, and seek always to know more, because I worship! Then Rationalism comes, and says, with its work-a-day understanding, that we can know nothing of things divine! Rationalism begins with assumptions, and with assumptions it ends; a spiritless wash! nothing but abstract schemata, void of spirit and life, shadows on the wall and mummies! These are its gods! It banishes the godlike from this life, and practises (by dint of the so-called practical Reason) on itself the fraud of a life after death (in order to be immortal, one must be buried first) without a body! The Hegelian Philosophy denies personal existence after death. For whatsoe'er arises deserves to perish too, as Goethe says. This is a little of my belief. If we should have opportunity of talking together, I will prove to you that this is essentially correct, *i.e.*, speculatively consistent, and that in essence all Philosophers worthy the name have so thought. In particular, I can communicate to you views on Art and History of the highest moment, at which, dear brother, I am sure, from what I know of your mind and discernment, you will feel a glad surprise. The mob decry us as Atheists, but they wrong us. The Rationalists say they do not understand this philosophy, or they dismiss it as fanaticism. Rather in its light may one learn to distinguish between fantasy and thought.

One more quotation ere we proceed with the course of Vatke's life:—

Hengstenberg has, indeed, much learning, much industry, but very little real genius, though he is not without penetration.

He is much to be pitied! His wife, whom he married two years ago, is of noble family, related to the v. Gerlachs. This *Familia Sacra* is very orthodox, nay, fond of persecution! and would be glad to speed many a philosopher to the stake. Even the Crown Prince is said to be infected, besides other highly-placed personages; not the King, however—he is a sterling fellow, whom may God long, long preserve to us. There are a few pietists in the Ministry, yet some Rationalists and thinkers (*speculative*) as well. The Court preacher, Strauss, a sorry figure to contemplate, can be pious, too, when it suits him. Neander—the noble, really pious Neander—is vexed at these people, yet tolerates their proceedings because he thinks there is a good deal of Christianity about them. How the thinkers judge of them you may infer from my confession of faith. They laugh at their hideous distortion of the deepest heavenly truth, and are filled at once with sorrow and with anger. Among scholars, Hengstenberg has altogether not very many adherents, but a preacher here and there, as well as laymen, whom he inveigles into theological concerns. I don't like to think of this young man, so averse to the light.

About this time Vatke preached three sermons, one near his boyhood's home of Helmstedt, at Walbeck, where his simple-minded hearers thought he managed it splendidly, and twice in the Dreieinigkeitskirche in Berlin, in the absence of Schleiermacher and Marheineke, when his friends made the remark, "Only a very few could have understood you. You were a great deal too speculative." And he never preached again. As a lecturer he had few rivals, but the pulpit was not his sphere.

At last the examination came off, and Vatke came off too, with flying colours. Marheineke and Neander were charmed. Even Hengstenberg was satisfied. Only the Court chaplain Strauss got less answers than he expected, for the simple reason that he examined from notes, and, as Vatke caustically remarks, knew nothing which he had not set down. The only result of this was that he got generally sat on all round by the other examiners. The examination was followed by the usual "Theses," which were pretty well the exact opposite of those maintained by Hengstenberg a few years before, on his own graduation; and by the "Dispu-

tatio" which was suddenly cut short by Marheineke, who stopped the fervid flow of rhetoric poured forth by Vatke's opponent, on the question whether the *alma* of Is. vii. was a virgin or a young wife, with the curt remark: *jam satis disputatum est de virgine tacta vel intacta*. The opponent was H. A. C. Hävernick, Hengstenberg's amanuensis. Vatke's diploma ran as follows, "*postquam examen rigorosum summa cum laude sustinuerat et egregie defenderat*, &c.," a rare distinction. Yet this man, Licentiate of Theology in 1830 with highest honours, was steadily refused the Doctor's degree until the day of his death, which happened only two years ago, was as far as possible kept poor and out of preferment, and notwithstanding the depth and fervour of his piety, was gibbetted by the pamphleteers of Berlin as even a more dangerous infidel than Strauss. *Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum.*

We have learned to know Vatke as a passionate disciple of Hegel, full of the zeal of a new convert. We have now to make his acquaintance as a Biblical critic. Perhaps few of our readers are aware how completely he outstripped De Wette and Ewald, and how nearly he advanced in the general scope and character of his views to the standpoint of the modern Dutch school. It is strange and instructive to observe how fruitful these Hegelian speculations, derided as barren by the ignorant, proved themselves in the field of historical investigation. The great shining stars in the theological firmament, Baur, Strauss, Zeller, Schwegler, and last but not least Vatke, were all of them Hegelians. Theirs was the most fertile of all philosophies. Vatke at the very outset of his career as lecturer at Berlin had reached the conviction that not until the eighth century B.C. do we stand, in regard to the Old Testament, on historical ground. The prophets of this century, Amos, Joel, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, are the first reliable sources, while for the first half of the seventh century we are again thrown back upon conjecture. A few of the Psalms may be older, as well as earlier fragments of the Pentateuch, and scraps of narrative. Balaam's oracle cannot be earlier than the end of the eighth

century, nor the blessing of Jacob than its beginning. The books of Samuel must be the earliest historical books of the Old Testament. Somewhat later are Judges and Ruth. A considerable portion of the Proverbs are to be referred to this period, but many of them reveal a progress in theological conception which fixes for them a subsequent date. Vatke refuses to recognise, as with certainty made out, the existence of any Mosaic documents whatsoever in the Pentateuch. The letter of the Pentateuch can therefore teach us nothing reliable about the history it professes to treat; but probable conclusions with regard to this period can only be reached by the indirect path of negative criticism.

"On the one side Vatke, on the other Hengstenberg," so says Ranke, "arise in close contiguity, a pair of springs upon the mountain height: and flowing down by different slopes, in opposite currents, pursue for ever their totally divergent courses."

On the 14th November, 1831, Hegel died. Amid the widespread consternation of the thinking world, but for Vatke, the dismay and disappointment of one young man at the news might have passed almost unnoticed. David Friedrich Strauss had come from Württemberg chiefly to hear Hegel. Hegel was gone, but Vatke was there: and from this day dates a friendship between these two aspirants after the light of truth, which only death could terminate. They had common ground in Music as well as in Theology. Of playing Vatke, of listening Strauss never wearied, but their preferences were as complementary to each other as the whole bent and tenor of the nature of the two men. "Vatke found his ideal in Bach, the Dürer of Music, whose Fugues and Passions, resting on the ground of Protestant dogma, systematically intensify our feelings, till they hold us spellbound in devotional sentiment. For Strauss nothing could surpass the Music of Mozart. It gave him immediate enjoyment without any reflection, priceless satisfaction to this child of man in his longing for the sublime." Yet both agreed in bending before the Titanic might of Beethoven. "First play Bach for yourself, then Mozart for me, then

Beethoven for us both," said Strauss, and only the advent of friends, to whom all was jingle alike, could close the piano for the night.

Strauss, like Vatke before him, was a diligent hearer of Schleiermacher. One day in one of those gushing confidences which the shy but warm-hearted young Suabian reserved for his intimates alone, Strauss suddenly broke to Vatke the secret of his life's ambition, and the omen of his grand success. "Schleiermacher has mightily stirred me, I owe him much; but the man has not satisfied me, after all. He stops half way: he does not say the last word. This word I will utter. I am now off to Tübingen again. And listen, Vatke; I am going to write a life of Jesus as I think it ought to be written."

Schleiermacher's death soon followed. In 1835 appeared the first part of Vatke's Biblical Theology, entitled "The Religion of the Old Testament." Its main drift, theological and philosophical, we know already. It was denounced by Hengstenberg, cautiously defended by Marheineke, respectfully criticised by Nitsch, praised by Ewald, while Leo proposed that such topics should only be treated in Latin! And amid the storm of controversy thus raised Vatke found time to make love. Its course did not run smooth, but it ran deep. Minna Döring was the daughter of a merchant rich, worthy, proud, and stiff; but Bishop Neander and Marheineke proved excellent friends in need, and consummate match-makers. "Herr Döring," said the first, "a better bridegroom your daughter cannot find." "It is an honour for your daughter," said the second. After this the affair was settled, and a happy marriage it was.

That our Vatke was deep in love, as only a deep nature can be, with a devotion which would have been as womanly as that of Andromache, had it not also been as manly as that of Hector himself, we gather from the following words to to his newly betrothed bride:—"Daily and hourly I repeat the vow of love and troth that I have plighted to you. In your heart, in your hand, all the rays of my life's light meet. My nearest kin have long been snatched from me by

death and separation. You replace for me the love of father and mother, brother and sister; "—and much more to the same effect, which our readers may imagine for themselves.

It was in the year 1835, when Vatke's book appeared, that Strauss' Life of Jesus burst like a bomb-shell upon the theological world. This sealed the fate of Vatke. Hengstenberg was not slow in seizing the occasion, and showing that Vatke and Strauss made common cause together, and that Vatke was more dangerous than Strauss, because he continued to teach.

And he did continue to teach until 1880, faithful to the last to the friend of his youth, whom indeed he did not follow in all the extreme conclusions of his "Old and New Belief," but from whom he never withdrew his sympathy, fidelity, and love. Yes, Vatke continued to teach first as Privatdocent and then as Professor Extraordinary. He never left Berlin, but, to the eternal disgrace of the University, the Doctor's degree was withheld for all those fifty years, and never granted after all.

We must pass hurriedly over the intervening years of storm, and stress, and baleful reaction, the journeys to Württemberg and Switzerland, the intercourse with Kuno Fischer, Zeller, Biedermann, and many another bright and shining light; the delightful correspondence, never long interrupted, between Vatke and Strauss.

Of this correspondence two specimens seem to us specially worthy of reproduction. The first is from Strauss to Vatke, on the appearance of his "Biblische Theologie," dated January 17, 1836.

Dearest Friend,—My heartiest thanks for your kind letter, for the valuable present with which you accompanied it, and the wealth of instruction which the latter has afforded me. Pray do not regret that I was precluded from reviewing it. I should not have been equal to the task, since, in regard to the main contents of your work, I can be nothing but a learner. Let me tell you in what order I read it. For my standpoint the most important part was, of course, the critical history of the Hebrew nation. This, which, moreover, forms the chief portion of the book, in

respect to extent, I read first. With Vater, De Wette, and Leo's works, in this department, I was acquainted; but I could not but be astonished to see how much that was imperfect, or entirely wrong, and that these critics (among whom I never thoroughly trusted Leo) had put into my head, was taken from me by your all-embracing, many-sided criticism: how you managed to find a ground in the often seemingly bottomless sea, and, for the first time, to give a connected, naturally progressive view of the development of the Hebrew nation and its religion. The masterly manner in which you had treated single books, such, especially, as Job, Koheleth, and Daniel, made me very eager to see, as the *chef d'œuvre* of your present work, the introduction to the Old Testament as handled by you. In what followed, that which you say regarding the general conception of the Hebrew religion afforded me uncommon satisfaction, while your further definitions of the relation between it and that of Greece weaned me from the view of my friend Baur, which I had shared till then. On the other hand, that you should have confirmed (in a note) Dr. Steudel in the opinion that he was able to bring forward anything of scientific value against Hegel, I shall never forgive you, save in so far as I recognise therein the roguishness that strokes the fur of the gentlemen of the opposition before stripping it off. From this side you have elsewhere, especially in the preface, where the passage concerning the view that identifies itself with Christianity is classical, done splendid work which has delighted me, as one who am an admirer of such strategical exploits of reason in proportion to my inability to perform them. Only at last—to complete my narration—did I attack the introduction, for, thought I, that is what he says to them who are without, not to me. I soon found, however, that I had not yet thought out this process with the completeness with which you had developed its various stages; and although the chief use of this treatise will be to reconcile the opponents of speculative theology, yet friends and students of the latter will be able to gain much instruction therefrom.

That I am not in accord with the thesis maintained in this part of the book, that there are no myths in the New Testament, is a matter of course; and I am curious to see if you are inclined to holdfast to this view, or to qualify it. As a result of the impression of thoroughness, calmness, and moderation produced by your work, I have now no doubt that the appointment

you desire will soon take place, and congratulate you on it beforehand. Will you set up as a single man in Greifswald, or has the match you spoke of jestingly to me really come off, or another one? In Greifswald, you know, you would meet Herr Matthies, and be able to continue your former relationship of respect with him. What you wrote about the condition of theology in Berlin is in general the same as that which is to be lamented in this part of the country, only that in Baur we have an important champion of freedom. What do you think of his work on the Pastoral epistles? He is shortly thinking of throwing doubt on the rest of the Pauline letters, beginning with that of the Ephesians. What you wrote to me about my own book, of which you will by this time have received the second volume also, would have made me proud did I not know your ironical way, and were it not for the abundant counterpoise of numerous expressions coming from other quarters. In point of fact, however, the opinions hitherto published do not trouble me, putting aside a certain amount of momentary vexation; and I only wish I could have read your Herr Bauer (Bruno) before the publication of my second part, in order to have served him in the preface as I have the other gentlemen. A more absurd lucubration than this review has not often come under my notice; utter ignorance of what criticism is, and of its relation to speculation, phrases with which no sort of definite notion can be connected, to put an end to the domination of which was precisely the object of my work. Can one find anything to read more ridiculous than the theory of the Virgin's conception? And this Herr Bauer imagines, in a letter which but lately reached me, that I shall be collaborator with him in a theological journal which he intends to publish? May heaven preserve me from the impiety of bringing but a single stone to the Tower of Babel which these gentlemen propose to erect by the most senseless confusion of philosophy and orthodoxy. I will sooner contribute to Hengstenberg's *Kirchenzeitung* or Röhr's *Kritische Bibliothek*, for these men, at all events, do not commit the crime of bearing on false pretences the name of free inquirers. It is true, I find your name appearing as one of the contributors to the projected periodical; but I am sure you will not willingly consent to be flung into the same kettle in which Göschel and Co. are part of the ingredients, and a sheep in lion's skin is the cook. . . . . .

Your faithful friend,

D. F. STRAUSS.

The other letter is one from Vatke to Strauss, on the appearance of the latter's last great work, "The Old and the New Belief." It is dated January 24, 1873:—

Dear Friend,—The friendly and grateful greeting which I have long meant to send you, I do send at last, with best wishes for your birthday, and beg your kind acceptance of them. You have had during the past year an extraordinary success in the rapidly-following editions of your last work; but at the same time have experienced many insults which a friend might wish had been spared you, but which, in view of the actual situation of spiritual interests and powers, could not well have been spared you. The relatively few "we" keep silence, while the motley mass of the "you" speak, and have no more eager concern than by all manner of protestations of contrary belief to represent themselves as good and pious persons. Your mission is, once for all, the critical, keen-cutting, clearing one, and the world is, once for all, simply enamoured of *chiaroscuro*, and what suits both sides. When I first heard the many unfavourable judgments, I had the weakness to allow the wish to rise that you had not written the book, because your contemporaries are not yet ripe for it. But soon I became strengthened in the conviction that it had done good in appearing as it did. May I now express my opinion about its contents in detail? You know that on particular questions I go my own way. The first question: Are we still Christians? I answer with you in the negative, if we mean by Christianity, primitive or orthodox Christianity; but in the affirmative, if we are to understand the Christian principle as manifest in the stream of spiritual evolution. You smile, perhaps?

The second question: Have we still a religion? I answer just as you do; but place myself on the side of philosophy, which demands an Absolute Active Principle of Spiritual Unity, and thus supplements the deficiencies of religious conceptions.

I do not, indeed, pray to a Person, but I immerse myself in the contemplation and feeling of an intensely Infinite, and this is something richer and fuller than religious prayer.

In the subsequent sections on Nature and Social Life, I find many beautiful and striking points. I, too, am no opponent of Darwin, but am too little acquainted with him to set up a definite view about his theory. Only I cannot do with Materialism, because it utterly fails to explain the unity of principles and

elements. The supplements on Literature and Music are very refreshing. The judgment pronounced on the whole will, I hope, soon improve, when, at length, the voices of the "we" make themselves heard. The Pro- and Epi-logue are written in so moderate and conciliatory a tone that they can only do good. For the rest I have had to endure some violent discussions about the work. I thank you (though thus late) for kindly sending me the several parts. Don't let yourself be saddened by these attacks, only, if you conscientiously can, give greater prominence in a later edition to the Ideal Factor in the World-process.

* * * * * * * *

I trust you are again feeling at home in your beloved Ludwigsburg, and that you may yet have many vigorous and active years before you, as so eminent a writer ought, if it be only that he may still delight the world even with smaller gifts.

My sons, Theodore and Wilhelm,* send you their best respects. Live well and happy in the town of your youth.

In old and faithful friendship, yours,

W. VATKE.

On December 3, 1873, Vatke had the last letter from Strauss, containing the sorrowful words: "The sun of my life is going swiftly down, my strength is sinking apace." And on February 8, 1874, Zeller wrote that all was over. Eight years of quiet activity, the last two passed in retirement from public work, followed, and on April 19, 1882, Vatke, too, breathed his last. He had done his work and spoken his word, and had borne with untroubled calm and never an unkind retort, the steady persecution of orthodoxy, for the space of half a century. If the present writer has awakened sufficient interest in this remarkable and too-little-recognised man to induce the reader to peruse his admirable biography, by Heinrich Benecke, these fragmentary notices will not have been penned in vain.

E. M. GELDART.

* Both eminent; the one in philology, the other in botany.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JOHN INGLESANT.

WHEN, in the seventh century, Eadwine called together the wise men of Northumbria to give him their rede touching the adoption of Christianity, one sadly thoughtful ealdorman spake these words, and said :—

So seems the life of man, O King! as a sparrow's flight through the hall when one is sitting at meat in winter-tide, with the warm fire lighted on the hearth, but the icy rain-storm without. The sparrow flies in at one door, and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth-fire; and then, flying forth from the other door, vanishes into the darkness whence it came. So tarries, for a moment, the life of man in our sight; but what is before it, what after it, we know not. If this new teaching tell us aught certainly of these things, let us follow it.

And Eadwine and the wise men of Northumbria, impelled by a desire to know the truth about the mysteries which surround human life, elected to try the new teaching, and became Christians.

Twelve centuries have flown since this wise rede was given to the King by the ealdorman; but, although the then new teaching has, broadly speaking, been adopted by all England during that long period, men still strain after fuller knowledge, and yearn for clearer light. The new teaching even has not brought to all men the full comfort of convincing certainty; has not wholly explained the before and after of the sparrow's flight; has not assuaged the sorrow of hopeless question, or satisfied the pangs of ceaseless doubt. It is still true that swift souls struggle after deeper insight; that doubt oppresses, and that inscrutable mystery shadows many lives with sadness and with gloom.

This perpetual spiritual drama of the soul's aspirations, sorrows, and strainings toward divine truth, finds, naturally, and has often found, expression in literature; and the latest work of mark which treats of this high argument, which has for its hero a warrior in the divine conflict, is Mr. Shorthouse's romance, "John Inglesant." Mr. Shorthouse defines his work as a philosophical romance, and he defends this classification while he expresses a warm sympathy with this branch of literature. His preface is a short and valuable essay on philosophy treated through narrative fiction. "John Inglesant" might, with more exactitude, be termed a psychological romance, since it deals with the drama of a soul's strivings; but Mr. Shorthouse prefers the title of philosophical, and is, at least, in so far right that the particular soul which he analyses and depicts finds its resting place in a philosophy which falls something short of religion. The author is evidently desirous of rendering his romance as charming as his philosophy is deep. He wishes to delight by fiction as well as to instruct by thought. He maintains a nice balance between character and incident. He has made a fitting selection of that historical period which best suited his partly picturesque purpose. Incident may be somewhat subordinated to higher interests; but the romance remains a work of art, and does not sink into a mere philosophical or didactic treatise. He has the power of revivifying bygone times, and of re-creating characters which years agone lived, and loved, strove and suffered, aspired and acted. When a long-buried body is exposed to the light and air it sometimes crumbles into dust; and when an inferior artist tries to summon up the images of the unforgotten dead, his figures are stiff and lifeless, and turn to dust before our wearied eyes. Not so with Mr. Shorthouse. He has the life-giving power of vital art. He has full command of romantic narrative fiction; and his work lives, moves, breathes, and has its being in the clear atmosphere of fine imagination.

Nevertheless, to the mere un-ideaed novel-reader "John Inglesant" must be a thing of sheer naught. For him it can

have little charm and less value. With all the picturesque use of incident and event, with all Mr. Shorthouse's skilful employment of the adventitious in human life, "John Inglesant" must remain a weariness to the ordinary vulgar reader who seeks trivial amusement or coarse excitement which shall be obtained without an exercise of thought. To such readers such a spiritual romance is barren, worthless, uninteresting; but such readers can, unhappily, find a sufficiency of the work that they can after their fashion understand and enjoy.

Diderot tells us a little apologue. It seems that a cuckoo and a nightingale once referred the question of the rival merits of their singing to an ass. Of the nightingale's song the ass remarked, with grave disgust, "I don't understand a word of it; it strikes me as being bizarre, incoherent, confused; but he (the cuckoo) is more methodic, and I'm all for method." The ass, of course, decided wholly in favour of the cuckoo. The readers that we are now considering can find and can prefer many a cuckoo-like piece of manufacture, repeating mechanically a few well-worn notes; but Mr. Shorthouse's song will be to such judges a distracting and repellent nightingale song—"bizarre, incoherent, confused."

It will be worth while to devote a few words to the relation of a new great writer to his peers in literature. A parallel must not be pushed too far, as then it would cease to be a parallel, and would tend to become an identity; but it may be fairly argued that the writer whom Mr. Shorthouse, in aim and tone, most nearly resembles, is Hawthorne. By both writers events and occurrences are used in nice dependence on essence of character or condition of soul. Of Hawthorne, Mr. Shorthouse says, "It is only with difficulty that we perceive how absolutely every character, nay, every word and line, is subordinated to the philosophical idea of the book." To this extent there is a parallel to be drawn between Hawthorne and Mr. Shorthouse; and the work of Hawthorne which should more especially be subjected to critical examination for the purpose of investigating this

qualified resemblance is "Transformation," the grave, fantastic romance of Monte Beni. The minds of the two authors are sympathetic, though their gifts and powers are sufficiently diverse. Every sensitive artist of culture is undoubtedly influenced, to some extent, by other similar artists of originality and of mark; but in such influence there is nothing mean or slavish, as there is nothing abject in being influenced by moonlight or by starlight, by mountain or by sea.

A predecessor of Mr. Shorthouse, in the field, however, of the philosophical novel, rather than romance, is George Eliot. Her art, in its later development, became subject to the cold constriction of her joyless and astringent theories; her creations lost in spontaneity; and her humour thickened into often cumbrous raillery. Her art is really great, her thought is really wise, chiefly when both act in freedom from the restrictions of her laming doctrines, which robbed human life and effort of the comfort and the impulse and the nobleness of the divine. Her leading theory of pagan Nemesis excluded all idea of divine pity, love, or forgiveness, and left human life the passive victim of a blind and ruthless scientific Fate. Both George Eliot and Mr. Shorthouse have written works in which art is the handmaiden of philosophy, but there is no real affinity between these writers. Any superficial similarity is likeness through unlikeness. They aim at very different objects. The one is cramped by science; if the other fails it is in hitting an art-target which is placed so very high. "He shoots higher that threatens the moon, than he that aims at a tree," says George Herbert. It is noticeable that there is in "John Inglesant" no hint of humour, no suggestion of satire; but then humour or satire would be as much out of place in "John Inglesant" as they would be in "Laodamia." The sweet, grave, tender flow of Mr. Shorthouse's narrative would receive a jar from a touch of drollery, and his graceful earnestness is incapable of the savagery of sarcasm. A soft and brooding sadness hangs over the tone of the whole story, like tender shadows on pure sunlit snow. The sorrows

of the soul are rarely soothed by laughter ; and Mr. Shorthouse wants to depict only so much of human life as may subserve his main philosophical purpose. The grotesque would be absolute destruction to his ethereal aim and delicate style. When the rapt Ferdinand and Miranda, audience fit though few, witness the masque summoned up for their delight by the magic art of Prospero, they exclaim—"this is a most majestic vision;" and though, like an insubstantial pageant faded, the exquisite vision leaves not a wrack behind, yet, when the airy figures have spoken, moved, and vanished, the charmed imaginations of the young lovers of the enchanted isle retain a deep impress in memory of the graceful drama which existed only in their magically influenced fancy. And so we, readers and not spectators, feel, as the music of "John Inglesant" dies out of the listening air, that our memories will be haunted forever more by the cunning vision and by the witching strain. The music lives in long reverberating echo : the pageant exists still in spell-bound memory. There is a wrack left behind by such glorious phantasies. The opening of the book strikes its fine minor key note finely. The child is father of the man, and the lonely boyhood and first youth of John Inglesant are a fitting preparation for the days and actions of his manhood. His boyhood at Westacre is surrounded by all sweet influences of nature, by country quiet, by solitary leisure, by fields and woods, by clouds and stars—by

> The silence that is in the starry sky,
> The sleep that is among the lonely hills.

Thoughtful, imaginative, sensitive, introspective, impressionable, the boy grows up, ripens, and develops. The father of John Inglesant resembles in some degree the father of Edward Waverley; but Inglesant has a twin brother, Eustace, and the boys are, while boys, singularly alike; though their different characters and diverging paths in life destroyed, in later years, the once close resemblance. From one of his teachers John Inglesant "imbibed the mysterious Platonic philosophy." Eagerly receptive, the lad drew

teaching from all sources, and, in his dreamy solitude, pondered all things in his heart.

When John was fourteen one of the most determinant events of his life occurred. He became acquainted with Mr. Hall, or Father Sancta Clara, a Jesuit emissary busy in England in pushing the interests of his Church and of his Society. In Thackeray's novel, Esmond was, at first, strongly influenced by Father Holt, but Esmond was too virile to remain permanently in subjection to any Jesuit; while the weaker and more docile John Inglesant voluntarily abnegated his will, and accepted an almost life-long yoke.

We call ourselves free agents; was this slight, delicate boy a free agent, with a mind and spirit so susceptible that the least breath affected them; around whom the throng of natural contention was about to close; on whom the intrigue of a great religious party was about to seize, involving him in a whirlpool and rapid current of party strife and religious rancour?

The Jesuit soon acquired complete ascendancy and unlimited influence over the ardent, enthusiastic boy. A priest lends Inglesant "The Flaming Heart; or, the Life of Sta Teresa," which half attracts and half repels the inquiring and metaphysical youth. Doubts and "obstinate questionings" begin to arise in the young but already perplexed mind. He asks advice and seeks help from all available sources, and lives in a half-superstitious dream of the supernatural life. Then St. Clare, who, for political reasons, has withheld Inglesant from joining the Church of Rome, begins to use the tool that he has sharpened. "Death—nay, the bitterest torture—would be nothing to him [Inglesant] if only he could win this man's approval, and be not only true, but successful, in his trust." We pity the susceptible, tender boy, whose very nobleness and fineness are being warped to ignoble ends, as he and Father St. Clare ride up together to London; before John Inglesant commences the life of Queen's page and Jesuit instrument, and becomes the page of Henrietta Maria, and the servant of Father St. Clare. Inglesant entered London in August, 1637. And

now, for the young, country-bred lad the quiet, contemplative, speculative life of dreaming youth has ceased, and John is launched upon the great, strong current of a fierce crisis in history. Real life and stormy action drown for a time the still, small voice of introspective thought and metaphysical dreaming. The passionate yearning for the face of God; the longing for the Beatific Vision; the intense striving after truth—are disturbed by the splendours, the showy cavaliers and lovely ladies, the many high and beautiful things seen by young eyes at Court. And yet the exquisite fitness of Inglesant for an instrument of Jesuit use is only further developed. But John Inglesant, true to the keynote of his essential nature, grows weary of pomp and pleasure, and longs again for retirement and for wanderings in the secret paths of thought. He steals aside to the "peace unspeakable" of the quiet, religious life of Little Gidding; and meets there that noble Mary Collet, who is to be the young man's first love. He woos her through religion, he loves her in mystic ecstacy. There is between the twain more spiritual affinity than healthy human passion; and yet both are fair, are noble—and are young. Their love was a shy romance which seemed to reveal the Infinite.

In 1639, Inglesant, acting, as he always did, under the direction of the Jesuit, purchased the place of one of the Esquires of the Body to the King. He had just lost his father. The Jesuit more and more dissuaded Inglesant from joining the Church of Rome; and even infused into the mind of his pupil as large an element of rational inquiry as Inglesant could bear without a shock to his religious sense. Inglesant began to unite a certain activity of thought with reverence for religion, and with entire submission to his spiritual Director; but while acquiring obedience he lost something of instinctive, happy, trustful faith, and his tone of soul became imperceptibly lowered.

The King, at this stage of the story, appears always as a picturesque and stately figure, graceful and touching in the "splendour and the pathos" of Van Dyck's glorious art.

St. Clare is always pictured as a patient, powerful influence, acting—to the ultimate ruin of his clients—as a motor behind the events which he attempts to instigate and seeks to control. England was no field for Jesuit intrigue and rule. St. Clare even introduces Inglesant to Mr. Hobbes, that human problem in philosophy, whose conversation produces a fresh fluctuation in the mobile mind of the theological cavalier. Mr. Hobbes tells him :—

> There seems to me something frightfully grotesque about the Romish Church as a reality, showing us on the one side a mass of fooleries and ridiculous conceits and practices, at which, but for the use of them, all men must needs stand amazed; such rabble of impossible relics—the hay that was in the manger, and more than one tail of the ass on which Christ rode into Jerusalem, besides hundreds which, for common decency, no man in any other case would so much as name. To look on these, I say, on one side, and on the other to see those frightful and intolerable cruelties, so detestable that they cannot be named, by which thousands have been tormented by this holy and pure Church, has something about it so grotesque and fantastic that it seems to me sometimes more like some masque or dance of satyrs or devils than the followers of our Saviour Christ.

Speaking of the Society of Gesù, Mr. Hobbes adds, "what they seek is influence over the minds of men: to gain this they will allow every vice of which man is capable." Had Inglesant joined the Church, he would have become an obscure priest, of no use to St. Clare, who wanted his pupil for the sore strain of deadly danger. Many causes tended to lessen the eagerness in the pliant and wavering mind of Inglesant towards divine things, when the great Civil War broke out, and the occasion for which the Jesuit needed his finely-trained instrument was fast approaching.

The able Jesuit says, in one of his better moods, "nothing but the Infinite pity is sufficient for the infinite pathos of human life;" and that infinite pathos is soon to occur in the lives of Inglesant, of Strafford, and of Laud.

Strafford is impeached, condemned—executed; and the miserable weakness of the craven King is made manifest to all men. Two nights after the execution of Strafford, the

palace of Whitehall is under the sole command of Mr. Esquire Inglesant. In answer to the challenge of the yeoman of the guard, "a voice, calm and haughty, which sent a tremor through every nerve, gave back the word 'Christ!'" and the terrible apparition of Strafford—the man himself in dress, mien, step—in his very habit as he lived—drew back the hangings of the privy chamber and disappeared from the astonished guards to appear to the terrified King. This episode of the apparition of Strafford is told with few touches but with a master's power.

Very finely does Mr. Shorthouse describe the last short time of revel and of gaiety of the Court of Charles at Oxford. With a certain fitness of things, John and Eustace Inglesant play before the Court the brothers Antipholus in the *Comedy of Errors*. The Inglesants were still held to be exactly alike, and on the stage they must have seemed so; but we find a great and growing moral and mental difference between the brothers. Eustace is worldly, a gay and even somewhat libertine gallant; John a combination of courtier and of monk. In love with Mary Collet, with a nature to which self-restraint was easy, John Inglesant was pure in his life, and kept himself unspotted from vices, or even levities. With a soul which strove toward a holy life, but which yet was so full of so great weakness, Inglesant has no sensual sins of youth. Indeed, young in years, he is scarcely youthful; and he would, perhaps, be somewhat nearer to our humanity if he had a touch of occasional thoughtless frailty.

Eustace contracts his ill-omened marriage of interest with the eccentric Lady Cardiff. A soldier only by accident, John Inglesant is yet engaged, fighting, of course, on the Royalist side, at Edgehill, at Cropredy Bridge (where he receives a wound in the head by a sword-cut), and, afterwards, at Naseby; but martial heroism is not a strong point in his dreamy character. "He had the restless outlook of the artistic nature, its tenderness and susceptibility, its quick apprehension of unseen danger, its craving for affection, its sensitiveness to wrong." By no means wanting in courage,

he had not the talent or the gifts of the captain; and was as little of a warrior as was Falkland himself.

Inglesant, by the Jesuit's order, is present, on the very scaffold itself, when Laud suffered. Afterwards, he again sought peace in the retirement of Little Gidding; but while engaged with the family and Mary Collet at evening prayer, he saw, "standing in the dark shadow under the window, the messenger of the Jesuit, whom he knew. He got up quietly and went out. From his marriage-feast, nay, from the table of the Lord, he would have got up all the same had that summons come to him."

The short letter of the Jesuit ran: "The time for which we have waited is come. The service which you and none other can perform, and which I have always foreseen for you, is waiting to be accomplished. I depend on you."

The service required of Inglesant is, indeed, a dark and dangerous one. Mr. Shorthouse has here made able use of one of the obscure passages in the history of Charles I. He has selected a transaction which exemplifies the profound perfidy and callous cruelty of the King; and which illustrates in the strongest way the result of Jesuit training on Inglesant.

It is the time at which the frightful massacre, by the Irish, of English and of Protestants, had awakened the hatred and the indignation both of Royalists and of Parliamentarians; but, at the risk of alienating his own best supporters, the King is intriguing with the Papists for a contingent of ten thousand men from Ireland. Brave Lord Biron, a gallant Royalist, says, "Ten thousand Irish Papists and murderers in England, Mr. Inglesant, is not what I should like to see."

[r] In order to realise how repulsive such a proceeding as this would appear to the whole English nation, it is necessary to recollect the repeated professions of attachment to Protestantism on the part of the King, and of his determination to repress Popery; the intense hatred of Popery on the part of the Puritan party, and of most of the Church people; and the horror caused in all classes by the barbarities of the Irish massacre.

For such work secret agents only could be employed; agents who could be repudiated and sacrificed if the nefarious plan should fail. Glamorgan had his reasons as a Catholic; John Inglesant is actuated only by blind obedience to the Jesuit cause and to St. Clare. His loyalty to Charles meant disloyalty to his country; his devotion to Jesuitism meant foul treachery to abstract truth and right; but Inglesant never hesitated. Mary Collet reminds him of what he owes to another, "to One who knew you before this Jesuit;" but she pleads in vain.

"Then if I fall into the hands of the Parliament," Inglesant said to Hall, "my connection with the King will be repudiated?"

"If the necessities of the State demand it, all knowledge of this affair will be denied by the King," replies the Jesuit. The eyes of each must have been meaningly and steadfastly fixed upon the other during the speaking of this question and answer.

Inglesant receives a secret letter of written instructions in the King's own hand. Charles says later, with a feeble, irritated consciousness of his own baseness, when the plot has failed, to St. Clare, "No; there is no fear of John Inglesant, I believe you. There is no fear that any man will betray his friends and be false to his Order, and to his plighted word, except the King!—except the King!"

The plot fails; the Irish do not come, and Chester is surrendered. The King repudiates his agents, and Inglesant denies that the King's letter is the King's. The position of the faithful emissary becomes truly terrible. The Council itself, the Tower, and the dread of approaching death cannot shake the fidelity of the Jesuit-bred gentleman; but when Presbyterian minister and Catholic priest both condemn his conduct, and refuse him absolution, then the terrors of death, without the sacrament and without sacerdotal support, gather darkly round a sorely-troubled mind. The author never depicts his hero as moved by conscience. The Jesuit has developed in John Inglesant some quality which takes the place of conscience; but the Jesuit has

also created in him a firmness which will not blench before death. The morning of execution arrives, and Inglesant is about to die with a lie in his mouth. On a high scaffold at Charing Cross, Colonel Eustace Powell, dying by lot for having broken *parole*, passes out of life amid the prayers and tears of the spectators; but when Inglesant mounts the same scaffold, the justly-indignant people receive him with a terrible roar of execration. The scene must have been indeed awful for the desperate chief actor in it. Inglesant is saved. "You stood that very well. I would rather mount the deadliest breach than face such a sight as that," says the officer to the rescued man, who, with reeling brain and dizzy senses, is conducted back to the Tower.

Small wonder that the man who, with the headsman by his side, had faced that raging mob, should have mind and brain so affected that he never afterwards wholly recovered the shock.

After the death of Charles, Inglesant had but little tie to England; but, before he quits his native shores, he has to undergo the loss of his brother, Eustace, murdered miserably by one Montalti, an Italian hanger-on of Eustace's wife, once Lady Cardiff.

On that ill-omened ride to Oulton, a fatalist would have seen the hand of destiny in the seeming accident of the casting of a horse's shoe. John Inglesant saw "ghostly phantoms of his disordered brain." He was suffering from a "weariness and dulness of sense, the result, no doubt, of fatigue acting upon his only partially recovered health. As he rode on his brain became more and more confused, so that for moments together he was almost unconscious, and only by an effort regained his sense of passing events." Arrived at the inn, "on the white hearthstone—his hair and clothes steeped in blood—lay Eustace Inglesant, the Italian's stiletto still in his heart."

And so John Inglesant stands alone in the world. The sacred tie of kinship to a much-loved brother is bloodily severed, and he has no other relative. Henceforth he will live solely for things spiritual. Yes; but across that calm

desire comes the fierce thirst for vengeance on the assassin. Laertes could be revenged "most throughly" for his father; but finer Hamlet was unfit for the stern task of vengeance, and, in spite of supernatural incitements, could let go by the important acting of the ghost's dread commands; and John Inglesant will never, we feel, take vengeance upon his brother's murderer. Fate, or accident, will interfere to save the gentle avenger from the deeds which were too strong for his soft nature.

It is recorded of John Inglesant, at this time, that it is "doubtful whether, except perhaps once or twice in College Chapel, he had ever read a chapter of the Bible to himself in his life. Certainly he never possessed a Bible himself; of its contents, excepting those portions which are read in church, and those contained in the Prayer-Book, he was profoundly ignorant. It was not included in the course of studies set him by the Jesuit." He was "ignorant of doctrine and dogma of almost every kind;" but he felt a strong "attraction to the person of the Saviour." Going to Italy, he will there, surely, become a member of the Church of Rome? Passing through Paris, chance leads him to the death-bed of Mary Collet, whose "beautiful eyes" were about to close for ever on the things of love and earth and time. Holding his hand, the dying girl said, "And that mission to the Papist murderers, Johnny—you did not wish to bring them into England of your own accord, but only as a plot of the Jesuits? Surely you were but the servant of one whom you could not discover." . .

"Will you serve your Heavenly Master as well as you have served your King?" Then love follows brotherhood to the undiscovered country; and John Inglesant stands alone—alone with the yearning for Faith, and with the desire for vengeance.

There is but little pathos in the emotion of bereavement which follows his great loss. The "ethereally-bodied" Inglesant is not capable of the passion of love in all its noble strength and mighty fulness. We find him next

trying, in vain, to gain assured faith in revelation, and a right guide to the conduct of his life from Father de Cressy, a convert to the Church of Rome. Every fluctuation in his mind, or soul, whether intellectual or spiritual, whether of opinion, or of struggle towards the light, is amply indicated for us by our most subtle guide and author. Italy! Inglesant has left the stern north, in which strong men battled fiercely in noble civil war for lofty principles; and is surrounded by the colour, warmth, languor, of the soft south, and the sunny land of music, art—of misery and vice. It is the time of the afterglow of the Renaissance, with all its splendours and its shames; and Mr. Shorthouse knows thoroughly the state of Italy at that period, the corruption of the Church, the misgovernment of the people, and the general sufferings and crimes.

It cannot have escaped your notice, since you have been in Italy, that there is much that is rotten in the state of government, and to be deplored in the condition of the people. I do not know in what way you may have accounted for this lamentable condition of affairs in your own mind; but among ourselves there is but one solution—the share that priests have in the government, not only in the Pope's territory, but in all the other courts of Italy where they have rule. It requires to be an Italian, and to have grown to manhood in Italy, to estimate justly the pernicious influence of the clergy upon all ranks of society.

Inglesant carried with him to Italy his religious aspiration combined with free speculative opinion; his sorrowful strivings after divine truth, his refinement and his culture: but he also bore with him "his weakness and his melancholy;" and he suffered under strained nerves, depressed vitalism, and an oppression and confusion of the o'ercharged and weary brain. He has become, in part, "brain-sickly." To his diseased organisation, the fair earth seemed wrapped in a hot steaming mist of swooning haze. To his dream-fever, men and things appeared faint, shadowy, unreal; and all life was clouded with a vaporous veil. Illusion was his nearest actuality; and men moved about him, acted upon

him, almost as spectres, which appeared to be without clear volition, or very real existence.

The slight, sad cavalier, fair as was Milton in his youth, gentle and graceful, courteous, serene and tender, breathed in a fine, delicate air of phantasy, and only half realised mortal life and human interests.

In this highly-pitched romance, all events and occurrences are subordinated to spiritual aims and ends. Love, ambition, action, revenge, in Inglesant, all play parts which tend to exemplify the sorrowful strivings of a yearning soul. The other characters seem more actual and objective when contrasted with Inglesant's dreamy intangibility and philosophic abstraction. He moves about in a soft and tender light which is not wholly of the earth. He is true; but is drawn with a certain intentional unreality; he is not quite actual, but is faithful to a high ideal type of partly disembodied spirit. And yet Inglesant loved the life of art and delicate luxury; loved to dress finely and to lie softly; loved to live in kings' palaces, and cared for all elegant surroundings. Mr. Shorthouse always supplies his hero with ample means; and environs him with music and all sensuous—not sensual—delights.

Very characteristic is Inglesant's subjection to the teaching of the great Quietist, Molinos, who has an additional attraction for the Englishman in respect that he is, virtually, in antagonism to the ordinary teaching and practice of the Romish priesthood; and is, in striving for the better life, earning the crown of martyrdom in this life. The doctrines and example of Molinos differ widely from those of De Cressy; but we have, in Mr. Shorthouse, a guide who can lead us through all tentatives of spiritual struggle; and who writes, with full comprehension and real sympathy, of all movements and tendencies which even profess to strive for light and guidance. A man who goes to Rome for religion, may find it, as Luther did, in a sense that he dreamed not of; and Inglesant found that the ordinary clerical life of Rome tended to sap the foundations of religion. He found, in high places, the tone of Pagan

philosophy; and perfect tolerance, of opinion, combined with lofty indifference to dogma or to doctrine. The many conversations between Inglesant and Cardinals, and the like, are often as much doctrinal as dramatic; and seem to be—perhaps are meant to be—the dialogue between the "Two Voices" which debate in Inglesant's own restless soul. Among the "obstinate questionings" which puzzle his will is the doubt about the life of man as it is; about man as he is instead of as, according to theologians, he should be.

Popular life and Pagan survivals present an incessant, many-sided problem to his intellect. He cannot overcome his natural sympathy with frail, faulty humanity, acting in accordance with its natural impulses and instinctive needs. Human life may be more than any theories about life. Nay, that Voice within Inglesant which is personated by the sensuous Pagan Cardinal finds tolerance even for the "beast within the man;" even for "the worship of Priapus, of human life, in which nothing comes amiss or is to be staggered at, however voluptuous and sensual, for all things are but varied manifestations of life; of life, ruddy, delicious, full of fruits, basking in sunshine and plenty, dyed with the juice of grapes." Inglesant in this mood sympathises with, and yet pities the natural instinct which seeks for natural pleasure, which desires to attain to those joys of sense which are agreeable to man's created nature. Inglesant, at least, never bows to the religion of personal fear; and there are times in which his thought leans to a love of mere humanity as that exists in fact. The earth claims her son.

The result of Inglesant's political training was, that a life of intrigue and policy had become a necessity of his nature; but it is noteworthy that he cares for the Jesuit's craft, and not for the statesman's honour. His nature was subdued to what it worked in. He sought no open and responsible political position; but would undertake any secret mission even though it were not of a noble nature. Noble action in public affairs, or right morality in politics, had lost all

meaning for him. His will was dominated by the Society of Jesus; and he had, as his merited punishment, obscured the conscience. The only form of action that he contemplated was intrigue. We have seen how, at St. Clare's bidding, he worked to introduce into England Irish Papist murderers; and now the Jesuits have found for him another ignoble mission.

The Old Duke of Umbria, tired of the world, is near his end, and it is the object of the Society of the Gesù to cause the old man to make over the succession of his State to the Holy See. Such a step would be taken to the prejudice of the heirs, and to the infinite injury of the poor people of the Duchy. In Inglesant, "the old habit of implicit obedience was far from obliterated or even weakened, and though St. Clare was not present, the supreme motive of his influence was not unfelt;" and yet the emissary felt, in his better nature, when he saw the Duke, that "his conscience smote him at the thought of abusing his [the Duke's] confidence, and of persuading him to adopt a course which Inglesant's own heart warned him might not in the end be conducive to the Duke's own peace, or to the welfare of the people." Inglesant was well acquainted with the cruel misgovernment to which the inhabitants of the unhappy Duchy would be subjected under the rule of the Holy See; he knew the "oppression and waste caused by the accumulated wealth and idleness of the innumerable religious orders"—but, knowing all this, he yet did not decline the mission. The world-wearied and death-dreading Duke tells Inglesant, "I cannot see the figure of the Christ for the hell that lies between."

"Ah, Altezza," says Inglesant, his eyes full of pity, "something stands between us and the heavenly life. . . . It seems to me that your Highness has but to throw off that blasphemous superstition which is found in all Christian creeds alike, which has not feared to blacken even the shining gates of heaven with the smoke of hell."

Ultimately the priests gain their point; and the success in Umbria is ascribed to Inglesant, who had characteristically

juggled with his dimmed conscience by not pressing directly upon the Duke the policy of bequeathing his State to Rome. The grateful old man, who had conceived a strong regard for the courteously sympathetic emissary of the Church, rewards Inglesant, in a princely manner, by the gift of a fief in the Apennines, consisting of some farms, and of the Villa-Castle of San Giorgio, which confers the title of Cavaliere upon their owner.

Around the path of Inglesant flickers frequently the phantom of the murderer of Eustace—Malvolti—who burns to murder the avenging brother of his former victim: and who makes several futile attempts upon the life of John Inglesant. This wretch is even a rival for the hand of Inglesant's new love, Lauretta. The dissolute and unprincipled brother of Lauretta is, unknown to Inglesant, an accomplice of the assassin of his brother; and the pair plot together to get Inglesant into their toils, and to tempt him to ruin by exposing him to a trial of the senses in which Lauretta shall, unconsciously, act as the temptress. Inglesant is selected to accompany Lauretta in a night flight from Florence to Pistoja. The lady is fleeing from the tyrannous brother who threatens to force her into a loathed union with that Malvolti, whose infamous character is well known to the Italian lady.

During their night ride the lovers pause to rest and sup at a pavilion of the Duchess in the forest. They find all things prepared for them at the pavilion. The moonlit night is soft and warm. The wine is good; the solitude complete. Alone with Lauretta in the lonely chamber, in the still, voluptuous hour, she reclines, in all her loveliness, on a couch, and her lover's arms encircle her: and Inglesant is exposed to a terrible temptation in which the senses seem about to lead him to dishonour; to a dishonour which would have depraved his moral instinct and confused his sensitive purity. But across the impulse of the sorely-tempted senses arise the visions of the sacramental Sundays at Little Gidding—of the pure eyes of the dead Mary Collet—and Inglesant resists

and overcomes. "It is not so easy to ruin him with whom the pressure of Christ's hand yet lingers in the palm."

Many charming episodes in this charming book, many characteristic Italian occurrences, must, of necessity, be passed over in so brief a study; but the greatest episode—for episode only it remains—in Inglesant's Italian life is his marriage with Lauretta. Mr. Shorthouse means, probably, to indicate that his hero was incapable of deep love, of mighty passion; and he weds a woman, the most lightly-sketched figure in the book, who cannot fill his heart, or share his higher life. Lauretta touches our hearts as little as she did that of her husband. The only true love of which Inglesant was capable lies buried in the grave of Mary Collet.

A typical Papal election is finely described in chapter xxx.:—

> If, perchance, there entered into this Conclave any old Cardinal, worn by conflict with the Church's enemies "in partibus infidelium," amid constant danger of prison or death; or perchance coming from amongst harmless peasants in country places, and by long absence from the centre of the Church's polity, ignorant of the manner in which her Princes trod the footsteps of the Apostles of old, and by the memory of such conflict and of such innocence, and because of such ignorance, was led to entertain dreams of divine guidance, two or three days' experience caused such an one to renounce all such delusion, and to return to his distant battlefield, and to see Rome no more.

Of course, Inglesant takes a lay part in the weariness, the perils and terrors—including the apparition of a phantom of murder—of the Conclave.

To one always living on the verge of delirium, the three years of marriage peace, at San Giorgio, may have been of service—but to Inglesant permanent rest was not permitted. He has won such love as he yet was capable of: he has yet to get quit of his long projected, long desired quest of vengeance upon his brother's murderer. That state of chronic bitterness, of vague desire for revenge, wars against

a soul which would be at rest in Christ. Not until he shall have reckoned with Malvolti can John Inglesant know peace, or attain to blessedness. The long-haunting problem is solved in this wise. On the road from Umbria to Rome, Inglesant, clad in a suit of shining armour, girt with a jewelled sword, both gifts from the dying Duke, rides with due escort over the hills and down the long wooded slope into the valley. A presentiment of some coming fate or danger oppresses his weary brain, "and the recollection of his brother rose again in his remembrance, distinct and present as in life." Suddenly, in the faint morning light, at the turning of the road, face to face with Inglesant, stood Malvolti—who had treacherously murdered his brother, and had sought Inglesant's own life. The escort, in answer to Inglesant's inquiry of "what is due" to such a villain? replies, "Shoot the dog through the head. Hang him on the nearest tree. Carry him into Rome and torture him to death!"

In an agony of terror, the wretch screams to Inglesant, "Mercy, monsignore! Mercy! I dare not, I am not fit to die. For the blessed Host, monsignore, have mercy—for the love of Jesu—for the sake of Jesu!"

The cruel light faded out of Inglesant's eyes. He was both above and below revenge; above it in virtue of his Christianity, below it in respect of his physical irresolution. He spares the culprit.

Close by was a little chapel, in which the bell had just ceased ringing for mass. Inglesant entered, with his train, and when the priest offered Inglesant the Sacrament, he took it.

Inglesant then told his story to the priest, and gave up his jewelled sword, saying—"take this sword, reverend father, and let it lie upon the altar beneath the Christ himself; and I will make an offering for daily masses for my brother's soul."

The good priest was "one of those child-like peasant-priests to whom the great world was unknown;" and to such a man "it seemed nothing strange that the blessed

St. George himself, in jewelled armour, should stand before the altar in the mystic morning light;" so he took the shining sword and placed it on the altar.

But Inglesant's visit seemed like unto a vision; and remained a legend. "Long afterwards, perhaps even to the present day, popular tradition took the story up and related that once, when the priest of the mountain chapel was a very holy man, the blessed St. George himself, in shining armour, came across the mountains one morning very early, and partook of the Sacrament ——" The legend was supported by the evidence of the sword itself; and the vision had this basis of merit—that it referred to a good priest and to a noble Knight.

In quest of his wife's wicked brother, Inglesant travels to Naples when the plague is raging there. Mr. Shorthouse has not Defoe's matchless imaginative realism, but his description of the pestilence in the doomed city is touched with a fine spiritual grace. Blind, disordered in brain, Malvolti once more crosses the path of Inglesant; but this time the terrible expiation imposed for terrible crimes moves Inglesant to pity. The conversion of Malvolti is, indeed, a somewhat miraculous one. During his absence, Lauretta and his boy have died at San Giorgio, and Inglesant is wifeless and is childless.

In Rome the better side of his nature sympathises in so far with the doomed Molinos that the Society of the Gesù resents his action. The General of the Society of the Gesù tells him that, in Rome, they do not need such high-class agents; "we require only agents of a far lower type": and he urges Inglesant to return to England. As this advice is given while the Cavaliere is in prison in Sant Angelo, it is implicitly and even gratefully followed.

We next—and for the last time—meet with John Inglesant in England and at Oxford. How changed the fair old collegiate city from the days in which the young cavalier acted there before Charles I. and his Queen and Court! How changed the man himself, who returns, sadder and wiser, to the old scene! How changed the England to

which he returned! The last glimpse we get of him is from a letter of Mr. Valentine Lee, Chirurgeon, of Reading, addressed to Mr. Anthony Paschall, Physician, London; but in that letter Inglesant's own words are reverently recorded.

First, for the physical appearance of our hero—

> He wore his own hair long, after the fashion of the last age, but in other respects he was dressed in the mode—in a French suit of black satin, with cravat and ruffles of Mechlin lace. His expression was lofty and abstracted, his features pale and somewhat thin, and his carriage gave me the idea of a man who had seen the world, and in whom few things were capable of exciting any extreme interest or attention. His eyes were light blue, of that peculiar shade which gives a dreamy and indifferent expression to the face. His manner was courteous and polite, almost to excess.

We like to look upon John Inglesant as, in his latter days, he lived, and moved, and had his being. We find him much what we should have expected him to be; and gaze upon him with pleasure before he vanishes for ever from our eyes, and becomes only a possession of the fancy, a phantom of the memory. The *virtuoso* brought with him a violin, inscribed, "Jacobus Stainer, in Absam propé Œnipontem, 1647," and played upon it with mastery, after the Italian manner. The tone "seemed to me," says Mr. Lee, "to exceed even that of the Cremonas."

On minds of virile force, Rome, when known intimately, exercises gradually more repulsion than attraction, and John Inglesant, who had all but joined her communion, is, as the result of his experience, ultimately repelled by her. Mr. Shorthouse does not preach against that Church, but he teaches by showing; he attacks by illustration; and he furnishes an armoury of practical argument against Papacy and Jesuit.

Mr. Lee said: "That as Mr. Inglesant had had much experience in the working of the Romish system, I should be glad to know his opinion of it, and whether he preferred

it to that of the English Church." From Mr. Inglesant's long reply we may extract the following :—

This is what the Church of Rome has ever done. She has traded upon the highest instincts of humanity, upon its faith and love, its passionate remorse, its self-abnegation and denial, its imagination and yearning after the unseen. . . . . To support this system it has habitually set itself to suppress knowledge and freedom of thought, before thought had taught itself to grapple with religious subjects, because it foresaw that this would follow. It has, therefore, for the sake of preserving intact its dogma, risked the growth and welfare of humanity, and has, in the eyes of all except those who value this dogma above all other things, constituted itself the enemy of the human race. I have, perhaps, occupied a position which enables me to judge somewhat advantageously between the Churches, and my earnest advice is this, You will do wrong—mankind will do wrong—if it allows to drop out of existence, merely because the position on which it stands seems to be illogical, an agency by which the devotional instincts of human nature are enabled to exist side by side with the rational.

The English Church, as established by the law of England, offers the supernatural to all who choose to come. It is like the Divine Being Himself, whose sun shines alike on the evil and on the good. Upon the altars of the Church the Divine Presence hovers as surely, to those who believe it, as it does upon the splendid altars of Rome. . . . . The way is open; it is barred by no confession, no human priest. Shall we throw this aside? It has been won for us by the death and torture of men like ourselves in bodily frame, infinitely superior to some of us in self-denial and endurance. Let us, says Mr. Inglesant, further, above all things hold fast by the law of life we feel within.

The essence of his last utterances may be condensed into the sad, deep saying: "Absolute truth is not revealed."

"John Inglesant" is a work of rare and delicate merit, and it has become a permanent possession of our literature. It seems scarcely likely that Mr. Shorthouse will become a voluminous writer. His profound, conscientious, thoughtful art needs to work slowly, and to mature its conceptions before they are set forth in art shape and form. His

intellect is, perhaps, subtle and fine rather than robust and virile; and, the creature being the product of the creator, his hero is distinguished more for sweet grace and tenderness than for strong, clear, healthy manhood. "John Inglesant" is a moral study in morbid pathology; but none the less is the study valuable and delightful, and pregnant with deep meanings. Not, therefore, is it less interesting to thoughtful readers who care for the higher things of question and of thought.

Mr. Shorthouse's style is one of calm, grave flow, deep and full, and always musical and picturesque. There is, in this writer, no effervescence of mind, no tone of levity. Singularly suited to the theme, the style does not rise above the level stream of sustained dignity and philosophic seriousness. There are not many dramatic moments, nor does the writer ever soar to tragedy. Placid and even, with a sweet use of finely-chosen words, narrative, action, pictures, philosophy, disquisition, and dialogue, are all maintained in the exact tone which is true to the keynote of the deep and delightful book.

The individual spiritual needs and strivings of John Inglesant—long since quiet in the grave—are of moment to us, not only as they affected the individual, but as types of the sorrows and struggles of the soul of man. He, like so many other men, stands sadly in the shadow of Infinite Light and of Divine Truth. He wrestles—as so many other men wrestle—with thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls, and he suffers eventually from the deep dejection arising from baffled straining after an unattainable divine ideal. He is ever striving, but never fully convinced. To the comfort of conviction in his exalted spiritual ideals of revelation he cannot fully attain, and remains in an attitude of sad, high, longing discontent. For he desired, with an unspeakable yearning, and through many tentatives, to see the face of God, to behold the Beatific Vision; though while acting in *cieca obedienza*, as the conscienceless automaton of priestly and immoral despotism, he could but obscure the Light towards which he strained. Inglesant

could reach to rapture in a temporary or seeming conviction of transient emotion; but in the cold light of common day, in the long hours of ordinary life, the weary wings of aspiration flagged and failed, and let the soul sink down again to question and to doubt.

And then came back the nameless sorrow, drawn from the depths of some divine despair, and the renewal of languid effort after the ever-receding unseen goal. His profound reverence, his ceaseless struggle, the ever-burning flame of his devout thought, seemed to droop under the chronic depression of a down-weighed spirit. There are men who are led by the facts of life to doubt of the beneficence of an inscrutable Deity; there are men who get no comfort from their faith, who get no answer to their prayer. The faith cannot penetrate mystery, the prayer does not seem to pierce through mist; and yet such men must still endeavour to trust, will pray though no answer be vouchsafed. But the state of soul which results from the long conflicts in which they have not been victorious is joyless and is dull. They trust, not faintly but firmly—the larger hope; but they know that hope is hope, and not conviction. They have knocked, but it has not been opened to them; they have yearned, but the yearning has not led to the promised result. They have failed to feel the quickening touch of the living God of revelation. They cannot hide that, as is sung in lines written long after the day of John Inglesant—

> Some have striven,
> Achieving calm, to whom was given
> The joy that mixes man with Heaven:

but they also feel, in deep dejection—as is sung in lines written long before the day of John Inglesant, but surely unknown to him—that we are but,—

> Impotent pieces of the game He plays
> Upon this chequer-board of nights and days;
> Hither and thither moves, and checks, and slays,
> And one by one back in the closet lays.

Of human help to satisfy the soul's doubts it is also written,—

> Magst Priester oder Weise fragen,
> Und ihre Antwort scheint nur Spott
> Ueber den Frager zu seyn.

Great Lessing says: "If God held, shut up in his right hand, all truth; and, in his left hand, the ever-active impulse after truth—that impulse being connected with a continual liability to err—and should say to me 'choose!'—I would, in all humility, seize the left hand, and say: 'Father, that one! Pure truth is for Thee alone!'" Greater Goethe, after long and ardent striving, attained to sovereign victory, and reached to light and peace. Many men are constantly straining, with failure or success, in the burning quest of the enthusiasm of conviction, and the blessing of assurance. Not always are those natures the lowest that fail in the divine conflict, and that have, wearily, to admit that they cannot reach the ideal of communion with God. Reading between the lines we can guess that Mr. Shorthouse is well acquainted with the spiritual struggles and sorrows which he attributes to John Inglesant; and it is necessary to realise this fact, to sympathise with such states of soul, before we can understand or sympathise with the essence of the book, or can pluck out the heart of Mr. Shorthouse's mystery. Incidents, description, and story would ensure for this book a certain amount of popularity; but, as regards his higher meanings, Mr. Shorthouse may fear that there are comparatively few that fitly will conceive his reasoning, or rise with him to the high level of his most noble and subtle thought shown in this spiritual, psychological, philosophic romance of JOHN INGLESANT.

H. SCHÜTZ WILSON.

*EDUCATION—AS IT WAS.**

MEN who struggled side by side with Russell for Reform, in 1832, may be pardoned for thinking that people to-day have comparatively little left for which to contend: and it may well be that notwithstanding the triumphs of the friends of education in recent years, when the schoolmaster is taking the honourable position which is due to his work, there will still be found educationalists of large and long experience, who cherish with an honest and a justifiable pride the recollection of efforts that must appear almost heroic, in view of the difficulties which beset the path of education fifty years ago.

In these days of Government Inspections, and School Boards, with all the success which has been won, and promises to be still further won, in this direction, with good reason may such long-tried friends of the movement declare that we of to-day have, after all, only entered into the labours of others. And they are right; while we, for our part, would admit to all those to whom in their past work for the education of the people, the names of Brougham, Talfourd and Denman, Matthew Davenport Hill, Augustus De Morgan and John Ashton Yates, George Long, Thomas Coates, and many another were as household words, that the memory of their work is an inspiration, and that a look into the past is, to ourselves, as encouraging as it is instructive. "The progress of all social improvement," says one

* *Annual Publications of the Central Society of Education for* 1837-8-9. Papers by THOMAS COATES, Esq., Professor AUGUSTUS DE MORGAN, THOMAS WYSE, Esq., M.P., B. F. DUPPA, Esq., &c.

Reports of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. 1832. THOMAS COATES, Esq., Secretary.

of the writers in the almost-forgotten publications, which form the basis of the present article, "is to be calculated with any degree of certainty, at long intervals only." Marvellous as has been the sweep of progress during the last half century, what, it may be asked, has that period achieved for education? So much, it may be answered, that we positively need to turn away from the light and progress of to-day to realise it. We have, as it were, to accustom our eyes to the darkness of the pit whence a couple of generations of earnest workers have lifted our country. Such were the thick films of ignorance and of prejudice that our forefathers had patiently to pierce, such was the extent of work in every direction, from an educational point of view, that was waiting to be done, and so scanty were the means, which these pioneers of progress found at their disposal, that we cannot help wondering how the work was done at all. How much, for instance, is involved in the simple statement of the Committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in the year 1832, that they "doubt whether any Society has done more with such small pecuniary assistance from the Public." At the time, then, when political reform was rife, it is interesting to gather from these narratives of untiring and self-sacrificing servants of education what really was the condition of the people.

It is certainly not without suggestiveness as to the relative positions which Education Acts and Franchise Bills should bear towards one another in point of time, that we read in the publication of the "Central Society of Education" for the year 1838—six years, be it remembered, after the Reform Bill had been passed—a statement to the effect that "England will soon be, if it be not already, the worst educated country in Europe. Even in countries deemed uncivilised, more is done for the education of the poorer classes than in our own." "In England," it is further stated, "there is scarcely a village in which a school exists of any kind accessible to an agricultural labourer, save a Sunday School or a Dame School, in which reading only is

taught. Nothing but inordinate vanity and self-love have blinded us to the truth, that a large proportion of our population are, morally and physically, in a far inferior state to that of the American Indian, whom we term a savage." Such is a plain statement of the educational condition of the country at the period in question. What must it have been—we cannot refrain from asking—at a time forty years previous to that, since when, strange as the words may seem, the Society alluded to expressed its conviction that many improvements had taken place?

It is not proposed, at present, to give a detailed history of a movement which has resulted in a national system of education. The purpose of this paper is rather to afford a glimpse of what once was the condition of the country in this respect,—to find an explanation for the position taken up by the party of progress in education,—and to let the contrast of times present with times past stand as a prophecy of a far more satisfactory condition of things in times to come.

The condition of the country half-a-century ago has been already briefly indicated. Its unsatisfactoriness was the reason of the formation of the Central Society of Education, which, with Lord Justice Denman as its first president, set itself to inquire into existing shortcomings, to suggest remedies, and kindle public feeling into that public action which it so much desired to see taken.

Quietly, but effectively, the Society set about its useful task. It at once began to gather statistics and offer suggestions which must have greatly conduced to form the basis of future work in the desired direction.

The difficulties which it shrank not from encountering were great indeed. Apathy, dense ignorance, and theological prejudice it found, like lions in the way. As for the first, it acknowledged, in the words of Mr. Thomas Wyse, M.P., that though the public apathy was great, it was the duty of all men who were able to work to that end, simply to change it. It would not do to "treat education like a sale of woollens or wines.

It does not require supply to wait upon demand. It suggests and excites demand by supply. The educated, and not the uneducated, are they who are best qualified to construct a system of national education. They are, if so it must be called, the creators of this market." And so the Society wrought patiently and bravely on to "change the national mind, make it other than it is, and re-educate it."

Uphill work we may well think this to be, and yet it was of the first importance to the advanced guard of the education movement. As to the difficulties created by ignorance and by religious—or, to speak more truly, irreligious—prejudice, instances sufficient can be produced. But when we inquire of what kind was the school accommodation then procurable,—what kind of teachers were available,—and what was the method of instruction far too generally pursued, the answers that are given us are such as to make us turn away with thankfulness from the spectacle of "the good old times," under an intensified conviction of the ungrateful folly of inquiring whether the former days were better than these.

The amount of sheer ignorance as to the intellectual, moral, and physical requirements of children is proved to have been simply appalling.

In days like these, when the schoolroom is airy and light, when the work of the teacher is quickened with "all appliances and means to boot," when the school desk is a luxury, and the school map is a work of art,—as they both ought to be,—it is positively difficult to digest such facts as those obtained from an analysis published by the Central Education Society, of reports on the state of education in Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, and Bury, some fifty years ago.

Reasonably may we speak of the ignorance which beset the path of Educational Reform then, when we read, under the analysis in question, that of *Dame Schools*, which formed the most numerous class of schools, "the greater part of them are kept by females, but some by old men whose only qualification for this employment seems to be their unfitness

for any other. Neither parents nor teachers seem to consider instruction as the principal object in sending the children to these schools; they seem to regard them rather as asylums for mischievous and troublesome children, than as actual seminaries of instruction, which, indeed, the superintendents are seldom qualified to render them." Such were the shortcomings to which it was the duty of the friends of progress to draw attention,—but worse facts remained to be elicited. We learn by an extract from a Report on the state of such matters in Liverpool at that time, that "with few exceptions the Dame Schools are dark and confined: many are damp and dirty; more than one half of them are used as dwelling, dormitory, and school-room, accomodating, in many cases, families of seven or eight persons. Above forty of them are cellars;" while the conclusion of the inquiry results not unnaturally "that these schools afford no instruction deserving of the name." But it may be urged that Lancaster and Bell had, by their teachings and their systems, done something to revolutionise that sad state of things. It must be admitted that it was so, for to their labours was largely due the progress which had been made during the forty years before the Central Society of Education began its inquiries; and yet we can hardly believe, at this time of day, in what condition even the Common Day Schools, which were in a better state than the Dame Schools, really stood. The following is a picture of one such in a large city: "In a garret, up three pair of dark broken stairs, was a Common Day School with forty children, in the compass of ten feet by nine. On a perch, forming a triangle with a corner of the room, sat a cock and two hens. Under a stump-bed immediately beneath was a dog kennel in the occupation of three black terriers, whose barking, added to the noise of the children and the cackling of the fowls, on the approach of a stranger were almost deafening. There was only one small window, at which sat the master, obstructing three-fourths of the light it was capable of admitting."

How disease spreads in such hot-beds of infection, how

something like two-thirds of the children attending such a school might be found at home with the same epidemic at a time, it is, alas! easy to believe; and as for morals—one poor master in answer to an inquiry whether he taught them, was heard to exclaim, "Morals! How am I to teach them to the like of these?"—while another teacher of the youths of the day, himself with the vaguest idea of the subject, replied, "That question doesn't belong to my school; it belongs to girls' schools." In a word, all that the children could "be said to acquire in these schools are reading, and the rudiments of accounts," and for this was paid about eightpence a week.

In the matter of school furniture and appliances, it appears, as a sample instance, that out of a school of thirty-eight scholars, "not more than six of these had any book; a desk, at which only five boys could be accommodated at the same time, was all the provision for writing and arithmetic."

And even if we go a step higher, and take the schools of the National Society at that day, as the patterns of educational institutions, which, it must be remembered, they professed to be, then we gather the following instance, among many, furnished by the National School at Rickling in Essex, of which the master "began life as a cobbler, became a gentleman's servant; then, a schoolmaster." It further appears that he "teaches both boys and girls reading and spelling in the Old and New Testament," that he "teaches also from an abstract of the New Testament, hears the children their catechism," and "teaches nothing beside reading and spelling in the above-named books. Writing not allowed to be taught; the chief objection made to teaching writing, when it was proposed, was that the boys merely learned to scribble on the walls and palings." And when it is stated that the poor man did not know his own age, but thought he was something beyond seventy, the picture is complete!

The writer to whom we are indebted for the last extract admits that in the majority of National Schools, "the course

of instruction is not so restricted as in the above instance;" but nevertheless we are distinctly told that "when we have mentioned reading, writing, and arithmetic, we have enumerated all the subjects of secular instruction which are allowed to be introduced into the most liberal of the National Schools, with here and there an exception. The geography of England or of the world at large is rarely permitted to be taught, upon the plea that the poor are not to be over educated. In the last National School we visited the master assured us that he had been expressly forbidden, by his committee, to teach beyond the first common rules in arithmetic. The master of the school in Baldwin's Gardens (formerly the central Model School) states that for many years the committee for managing the school were, as he understood, opposed to the introduction of any map whatsoever; but that at last he prevailed upon them to allow the introduction of a map of the Holy Land and another of the journeyings of the Children of Israel in the Desert. In the Westminster Model School a few maps have been lately introduced, of which however very little use is made; but in the great mass of the National Schools no map of any kind is ever seen."

Great, however, as were the drawbacks in the work of education half-a-century ago, and misunderstood as the meaning of the word itself really was, it is to the honour of the British and Foreign School Society that they set before themselves a larger aim, and pursued it in a broader spirit than did the Society which erroneously took to itself the title of National.

Of a visit to their Model School in the Borough Road, the late Thomas Coates, Esq., has left an interesting narrative in the pages of the Central Society for Education for the year 1838. He was present at an examination there, which comprised Reading, Drawing, Arithmetic, Mechanics, Geography, History, Botany, Morals, Religion, and that examination proved to his perfect satisfaction "that the things taught at the Borough Road School are numerous, that they are immediately useful to the boys in the station

of life to which they are destined, and are well qualified to raise them from that station to a higher." It proved too that the subjects were "thoroughly and efficiently taught, well understood, and singularly well retained. All this is done not only without corporal punishment, but apparently without any punishment, certainly without harshness;" and he adds, "when the writer compares with the acquirements of these poor boys the state of ignorance on every one of the subjects comprised in the foregoing notes, which he remembers to have prevailed twenty years ago among his schoolfellows of far maturer years in one of the most famous and best endowed public schools in England, he knows not which has most excited his surprise—the worthlessness of the education of the opulent, or the skill, judgment, and perseverance which have brought the Borough Road School to its present state."

Although, as some of us think, the British and Foreign School Society has not steered clear of the theological difficulties and prejudices which have acted as barriers to the progress of education, none can fail to perceive the immense difference which has marked its spirit and method in contrast to those of the National School Society. Apprehensive as were the Established Clergy that the people would be drawn to schools established by Dissenters in furtherance of Joseph Lancaster's plans, some ninety years ago, it is well-known that the National Society started with the purpose of educating the people in Church principles and doctrines, and it is needless to comment on the misuse of the word "*National*" as a title for a society which was exclusive. The Catechism, Liturgy, and Church Service were declared essentials in education. "Absence from prayers and church on Sundays," says a Report of the National School Society, "is never overlooked." Such was the direction given to "national" education, in comparison with which the British School system was broadth itself, and might, with reason have claimed "to be the fair beginning of a time."

It is not a little to boast of that it should have set an

example, which a growing system of national education really worthy of the name is now in many respects following, and will by-and-by carry on to perfection.

And this was the Society against which the whole power of Church and of clergy arrayed itself. Yet when we inquire as to the teaching power that was available in those old times, it is a curious fact that the National Society, which might have been thought of as commanding the best servants from the social and ecclesiastical prestige which attached to it, found itself no better but rather worse off, in the raw material out of which its Teachers were manufactured.

While we are thus brought to consider what kind of Teachers were available half-a-century since, we touch upon some of the most painful recollections which attach to the history of Education in England.

It is sad to read in the "*Normal School Manual*," a work by Mr. Dunn, who, at the time in question, was Secretary to the British and Foreign School Society, that "one reason why schools are not more useful will be found in the fact that instructors have not qualified themselves for usefulness, and that it is utterly vain to expect lessons of virtue and wisdom from men who flee to the preceptor's chair, only as a refuge from destitution; *the last hope of the unfortunate.*"

We have already alluded to the case of a schoolmaster at Rickling, who began life as a cobbler, turned gentleman's servant, and ended as a teacher of youth. That man's case was not singular, and there is good reason for believing that it was representative of many others, if not of a class.

If we consider what were the requirements of a Society like the National, it will be at once seen what a modest measure of intelligence sufficed for their fulfilment. The Society demanded dutiful servants, who would obey its behests, and such were forthcoming. As far as the machinery of education was concerned alone, matters would be bad enough; but who shall venture to estimate the

terrible evils inflicted upon the little ones who were the victims of the system?

In proof of the total misconception, nay of the prostitution, of the office of a teacher the narration of a fact or two placed before us by one himself experienced in the working of the National Society will, while paining us at the remembrance of the way in which teachers were once made, serve to show us at what an immeasurable distance in the way of progress the present seems separated from the past. Let us bear in mind what training, what tact, what knowledge of children, and what sympathy with them are now demanded from any who would take upon them the sacred office of a teacher,—let any member of a body of managers consider the examinations through which a candidate for a teachership must pass,—and then let him try to realise, if he can, the way in which schoolmasters were manufactured in days when ecclesiastics certainly would not have hindered the simple rustic from praying

> God bless the Squire, and his relations,
> And keep us all in our proper stations.

The instances are such as have been placed before us on testimony which is unimpeachable, and gathered from actual and personal knowledge. And it will hardly be believed that so utterly low in some quarters was the estimate formed of the requirements of a teacher, that the brief space of six weeks of preparation sufficed for the procuring of a certificate of competency from the National Society.

It is astonishing, so we gather from our present source, to find how many National School masters there were about that time, who had previously been gentlemen's servants. So far indeed did matters go in this direction, that there was a period when it became very much the fashion not to take masters from the School, several having turned out very badly; nor was this to be wondered at, considering the class of persons too often admitted as training masters. A school in the country wanting a master, it would happen

that an individual was selected from the same district who was sent for six or eight weeks to London to acquire a knowledge of the system. He returned full fledged, as a master, and it is sadly significant to hear that even such men not unfrequently made better teachers than many who might have been sent direct from the National Society.

"I do not know how it is," says the Master of the Ratcliff Workhouse (quoted by the Central Society of Education), "but when the boys from this workhouse were sent to the National School in this neighbourhood, there was not one of them that turned out well; and even in reading, writing, and arithmetic, they made no progress while they remained."

Such a passage affords strange reading in regard to schools professing to set religious instruction before everything else, and making use of the Bible to the exclusion of other books, and to its own great detriment. At a meeting, for example, of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society, founded, also, it must be remembered, with the purpose of imparting a religious education, "one gentleman went so far as to assert that no lesson should be given which had not immediately, or indirectly, some reference to the Bible. "If," said he, "the lesson should be on the subject of a flower, the children should be taught to remember every passage in Scripture in which the word flower is mentioned. They should be reminded that man cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down."

And such, forsooth, was to be addressed to infants! It must be seen, however, that here we are touching upon that unwise method of making the Bible do what it was never intended to do.

This method it was which resulted in the expectation of the parson that the schoolmaster would do his work. We may smile, to-day, at thus insisting upon the Bible, and the Bible only—has the unwisdom of the past no lesson that we may take to heart? How has the Bible been made to figure in School Board contests? Are we quite free from the leaven that worked amongst our fore-

fathers? The answer is not far to seek; but the evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons delivered by Mr. Simpson is pregnant with warnings to many still to-day, when he says: "I know schools with well-meaning but imperfectly-educated directors, where the Bible is the school book, the only school book; where a large Bible is selected, and placed upon a stand in the middle of the school, impressing upon the minds of the young that the Bible is the only book in the world, and addressing to it something of an almost idolatrous respect. In these schools every lesson, however secular, arises out of and comes back to the Bible: for example, if the lesson should be the natural history of the bear, it will not be permitted to be entered into till the passage be read about the bear that tore the children that mocked Elijah; and, if the lesson should peradventure turn to the goat, the description of the day of judgment, with the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right, is, for it, found out, and read. This leads to the inculcation of the hurtful error that the Bible is given to teach all knowledge (scientific included), and that nothing can be true which is not to be found there. The question in such schools always is, 'What does the Bible say upon this point?' and the error is inculcated that God has opened only one, and not two great books—the book of nature as well as the book of revelation—and has not made one to throw light upon the other. The effect of this upon secular knowledge is such as to unfit young people, so trained, for after-life; the mind is weakened and injured by it, and it will be practically found that the children coming from such schools will be exceedingly imperfectly educated, if they can be said to be educated at all. In those of them who have particularly excitable temperaments, religious feelings will take hold, often to a dangerous extent, so as to subject the young person to the influences of fanaticism, and (if there is a free disposition) to religious insanity. But in the great majority of cases it will operate in the way of disgust by overdoing religious instruction, and the Bible,

and the reiterated instructions, will be all thrown away, whenever the pupil escapes into freedom." It is precisely so. The strictness with which people in one age attempted to chain the children's minds to the Bible, as a book of tasks, has resulted in that very natural revolution of thought upon the matter which certain folk to-day unthinkingly call godless and irreligious.

It is much to be doubted whether people really know the damage which the Bible was made by its unwise friends to sustain, some fifty years ago; and it is just this thought which prompts the production of the following amusing facts in reference to this matter.

In the words of the Central Society of Education,—"What are we to say to a system which proposes to make *an infant, not yet versed in the mysteries of the Alphabet*, correctly acquainted with all the historical events of the Old Testament, and with the names of every individual who figured in them?"

The Infants were made to learn their very letters by the Bible, for we find in circulation and use a little volume entitled "The Infant Teacher's Assistant." It was the work of Messrs. Bilby and Ridgway, masters respectively of the Chelsea and Hart Street Infant Schools. The *Literary Gazette* of the day declared the work to be one of the very best of its kind, and by the year 1838 it had reached its third edition. And this is a specimen of what the poor Infants were taught to sing, as a Biblical way of learning the Alphabet:—

A—is an angel, who praises the Lord;
B—is for Bible, God's most Holy Word;
C—is for church, where the righteous resort,
D—is for devil, who wishes our hurt.

And the culmination of the thing is found in the fact that the verses in question are required to be sung to the well-known air "*Adeste Fideles*," which renders it necessary that the first part of the last line should be repeated three times: thus,—"D is for devil—D is for devil—D is for devil, who wishes our hurt"!

But we find that in the Rules of the Glasgow Model Infant School the principle is broadly laid down that, "The only school book shall be the Bible, from which the master shall read every lesson for the day, under the following arrangements:—

Monday.—Bible biography.
Tuesday.—Bible history, or illustrations of animal nature.
Wednesday.—Moral duties from Bible examples and precepts.
Thursday.—Miracles from the Old and New Testament.
Friday.—Bible history, or illustrations of inanimate nature.
Saturday.—Parables and promises."

Yes! promises, it is to be hoped, of one day's rest for the poor little mind from such unwisely-strained instruction altogether.

But it will be further seen that neither the capabilities of the book in question, nor the ingenuity of its manipulators, are anything like exhausted at this point. Turning once again to the National Schools, we find the Bible with marvellous skill manufactured into a book of arithmetic. Still is the Bible associated with tasks, and this time the master-hand of the then secretary of the National School Society, the Rev. J. C. Wigram, is at work. He afterwards became a bishop; but it is not every one who could compile an "Elementary Arithmetic," in which nearly all the examples were taken from the Scriptures, and in the Preface to which the teacher is warned of the necessity of enforcing the serious attention of the children to the facts alluded to, and that these examples should be treated "as all other Scriptural information should be treated." And this is just how the youth of fifty years ago were to be Biblically trained in the simple rules of arithmetic. Firstly, under *Numeration*, Scripturally treated, we find a question like the following:—

The children of Israel were sadly given to idolatry, notwithstanding all they knew of God. Moses was obliged to have 3,000 men put to death for this grievous sin. *What digits must you use to express this number?*

And so we pass on to *Addition*, and under that heading

find a fact or two stated in Patriarchal History, and a seasonable question founded thereupon :—

Of Jacob's four wives, Leah had six sons, Rachel had two, Billah had two, and Zillah also had two. *How many sons had Jacob ?*

For *Subtraction* the clerical compiler betakes himself to the New Testament, and says :—

There are twenty-four chapters in the Gospel of St. Luke, and twenty-eight chapters in his Acts of the Apostles. *What difference is there in the two ?*

For *Multiplication* the following query, amongst others, appears :—

At the marriage of Cana, in Galilee, there were six waterpots of stone, holding two or three firkins a-piece. *If they held two firkins, how much water would it take to fill them? And how much, if they held three each ?*

Under the heading of *Division* the following occurs :—

Our Lord called to Him His twelve Apostles, and sent them out two and two. *How many parties were sent out ?*

And notwithstanding all this, we find the compiler himself giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, and complaining that "one-third only of the children attend regularly, and that few remain more than one year and a-half, unless they are clothed or paid."

In regard to the intellectual results of all this, it is interesting to refer to the account of a visit to the Annual Examination at the National Society's Central Model School at Westminster, which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of that time. There were present the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Bangor, and some two hundred ladies and gentlemen. The Examination of course was on Scripture,—in fact, the story of Lot. "We were struck," says the writer, "with the inappropriateness of this lesson. Perhaps there is no part of the Bible to which it is so little desirable to direct the attention of youth as

to this narrative. . . . Notwithstanding their previous drilling, one unhappy urchin, when asked 'Who were the two men who came to Lot?' blundered out, 'Sodom and Gomorrah'!" With regret, it was observed also that "notwithstanding the length of the Examination, connected with the historical facts of the Old Testament, and with some points of the Catechism, not a single question was asked relating to any of the moral duties of life, or calculated to show whether the children had been taught the connection between the moral obligations of religion, and their temporal as well as their future interests. No mention was made about duty to parents, love to one another, the importance of truth, honesty, industry, and perseverance. The friends of the working classes," it is significantly added, "will do well to consider how long this stinted measure of instruction shall continue to be doled out as the sum total of education. It is time public opinion began to be directed to this subject."

When those last words appeared in the columns of the public Press, the patient workers of the Central Society of Education must have felt that their purpose was in a fair way of accomplishment; and with that quotation our task concludes, also.

If the memories of the past are warnings for the future, and the emulation of bygone fidelity to broad principles of unsectarian education inspires us to banish utterly the last hindrances which stand in the way of a thorough and complete system of national education, the curtain which shrouds the actors and the scenes of that bygone struggle on behalf of the people's right to knowledge, may not, perchance, have been lifted in vain.

AMBROSE N. BLATCHFORD.

*FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.**

"I ALWAYS tell my pupils not to read cold impartial biographies, but to study a man's life in the book of some one who loved him. Such a person, I tell them, will alone have found out what he really was. There is no fear of their not making allowances enough for his prepossessions, or not seeing them quickly enough. We are only too sharp-scented in such cases; but if he had any heart in him, any good that could be drawn out, the loving man will have found it and expressed it; if he was nothing, we shall be more aware of that by his failure." This is a saying of Mr. Maurice's, and it could hardly have been better illustrated than by the record of his own life, which we owe to the filial piety of "the loving man" who has so conscientiously fulfilled the duty laid upon him. Colonel Maurice has succeeded in reproducing, even for those who were never brought within the circle of his father's personal influence, some of the most vivid impressions of his living presence. If there is a severe simplicity in the effect, which acquires something of monotony, as in page after page the same mind appears bent on the same problems, reiterating the same convictions, defending and illustrating the same theological positions, this is only what might be predicted of any faithful and exact presentation of Maurice's character and work. What strikes us first and most constantly is his intense and all-absorbing devotion to the theology in which and for which he lived. It is, in some aspect or other, the topic of almost every one

* *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice.* Chiefly told in his own Letters. Edited by his Son, FREDERICK MAURICE. Two Vols. London: Macmillan. 1884.

of the letters which have been selected as forming a genuine autobiography. We certainly could have wished for a little more variety of subject, more of the incidents and personal characteristics which do occasionally break this constant succession of short treatises on theology. It would have been pleasant to have had some more of Mr. Maurice's opinions about men and books, and to have seen something more of what he was in the hours when this seriousness and stress were relaxed, and the same high thought and purpose realised itself in the more common and trivial things of everyday life. In fact, we should have been grateful for more pages in the vein of those charming and impressive ones (Vol. II. pp. 284—294) which give us a glimpse of his home life, and delight us with some bright and characteristic anecdotes. But, after all, if this had made the biography somewhat lighter reading, and had demanded less of the reader, it would hardly have accorded so well with Maurice's own wish as to the way in which the memory of his life should be preserved. He lived in and for theology, —theology, that is, in the sense in which he always insisted on using the word, making it co-extensive with "the knowledge of God," the *scientia scientiarum* to which all others were subordinate. This pervades the book, from first to last. He lived and moved and had his being in the spiritual realities which, he believed, found their truest witness in the theology which he spent his life in teaching and illustrating.

However far we may be from accepting Maurice's position, doctrinal or ecclesiastical, we are made to feel how intensely real, how close and ever present to his every thought and motive were the things of God testified to by every word and act of his life. We should imagine that even the reader who took up the book in the most unsympathetic frame of mind, perplexed, perhaps, by Maurice's phraseology, and irritated by what seemed over-subtle, or paradoxical, would hardly, if he had patience to read till something of the spirit of the man had had time to penetrate beneath his prepossessions, fail to be impressed by

this intense personal sincerity. We are far from believing, indeed, that any one will be persuaded, who is not already ripe for persuasion, that Maurice's view of the Articles, the Creeds and the Liturgy, is consistent either with historical fact, or with any reasonable definition of a national Church, or with the idea of the Universal One. But after the full and reiterated statement of his theological position, and his view of subscription to the symbols of the English Church, it is hardly possible that the charge can ever be revived that he made any compromise with his conscience by entering the Church and remaining in it, or that self-interest or ecclesiastical bias wove any deceptive web of sophistry in which his mind was ensnared, and his sense of right was confused. There could hardly be a man more determined not to tolerate anything that appeared to him an unreality, or a mere form, more sensitively alive to the dangers of self-deception, and of following any given course because his personal interest or his inclination led him that way. Maurice showed this in the early days of his University career, when he would not enter his name on the books for a fellowship, still leaving himself a year and a half to make up his mind whether he could conscientiously sign the thirty-sixth Canon; his fear being lest any external motives should influence his decision. He gave up, for a time, the thought of being a clergyman, and began to prepare himself for the Bar. Still it was evident in what direction he was tending; and presently under the immediate influences of the teaching of Augustus Hare, and intercourse with others who were more or less directly concerned in applying the principles and methods of Coleridge's philosophico-theological system, Maurice's mind cleared itself by somewhat rapid degrees of its uncertainties and hesitations, and it would be hardly too much to say that, while his faith went on growing and deepening to his latest day, it never varied in any essential point, hardly even in its characteristic expression, from the time when, at the age of twenty-six he saw his way to entering the Church of England, not by a side door of compromise and elaborate self-justification,

but with open and even eager acceptance of all her outward terms of communion.

It is pretty evident that the most powerful influences to which his theological convictions were due, were setting from the first in this same direction. There is nothing to show that, even as a boy, he had ever consciously and intelligently shared the religious opinions of his father, a Unitarian minister of the rational, serious, and strictly scriptural school which prevailed in the early part of the century. Simply and earnestly devout, taking the letter of Scripture as the rule of faith, and, while zealous in good works, suspicious of the gleaming lights of enthusiasm or what might seem to him the unrealities of an emotional religion, Michael Maurice had a certain reserve and shyness of his own, which kept him tongue-tied on matters of religion even with his wife and children. The theological impressions the son received in his home life must have been due very much less to his father's teaching than to the heated controversies in which his two eldest sisters indulged after they had embraced a hard and narrow Calvinism, both being assured they were of the elect, and venting their new zeal in bitter disputes as between Church and Dissent, which had received their separate allegiance. With a gentler spirit, but with no less decided revolt from Unitarianism, Mrs. Maurice followed them a little later; and it is a singular, and, to those immediately concerned, it was a painful illustration of that constraint and reserve in their intercourse with one another of which we have spoken, that even the wife was only able to tell her husband of her change of faith, in a written document, the result of a whole year's anxious thought as to how she might put it so as to pain him least.

The young lad who seems never to have had any talk with his father about the things which had so troubled and divided the household, and who at the age of nine was a silent witness of theological controversies which could only distress and perplex him, might well say afterwards that those were years of moral confusion and contradiction. He never was

really either a Unitarian or a Calvinist; and he attributed to his impressions and recollections of all that early home life, much of his passionate desire for Unity, his dread of the worship of opinion, his hatred of the dividing spirit of sectarianism. He thought he found the safeguards against this narrowing of the soul, and the witness to this universal Church, in the Creeds and all the rest of the contents of the Prayer-Book! We venture to say that he found them really in certain ideals and aspirations which were natural to his own noble and devout spirit; which were called forth under influences that led him to see their reflection in language and in forms which, being of no modern sectarian origin, appeared to his imagination to be laden with the religious wisdom and piety of the centuries through which they had come down. He seems always to disdain to try their pretensions to Catholicity by the tests of history and the actual facts of their origin and purpose. It was almost enough to say that they were not the product of the Spirit of the Age, with which he professed to be always in open hostility; though it would perhaps be difficult to show that the *Zeitgeist* of the sixteenth century had nothing to do with them, or that it was essentially favourable to Unity, as distinguished from mere Conformity, and opposed to Compromise.

As we have said, we are unable to question for a moment Mr. Maurice's absolute sincerity, or his intense desire to base himself on the immovable rock of truth—truth of *fact* both spiritual and material. His conscience was of the tenderest, his fear of being misled in his moral judgment by his own inclinations and interests was almost excessive. He hated the word compromise; he vehemently repudiated the title of Broadchurchman, and the idea of the Church as an organisation established by law, with a guaranteed or implicit toleration of different conflicting doctrines and schools of thought. The charge that he was a Tractarian at heart was, he said, a more tolerable accusation than that of being a *via media* man. It was in quite a different sense that he believed he found the guarantee and

witness of Unity in the Articles and Creeds, but a sense in which we find it impossible to go with him. Indeed, with some acquaintance with his books, and after a very careful perusal of the Letters which form such a copious and instructive commentary on them, we hardly know how to disentangle and set out in any intelligible form any arguments by which he justified his position. He did not deal with arguments in the matter. He treated the Creeds of the Church almost as if they had a sort of impersonal origin, as the utterances of the collective religious wisdom of Christendom. The subscription then required both of teachers and students as a condition of a University education he defended as a safeguard of individual freedom and a protection against some supposed tyranny of personal opinions. His first contribution to the practical controversies of his time was a tract entitled *Subscription no Bondage;* in which he maintained that the student's subscription "was not intended as a test, but as a declaration of the terms on which the University proposed to teach its pupils, upon which terms they must agree to learn; . . . that they are not terms to bind down the student to certain conclusions beyond which he may not advance, but are helps to him in pursuing his studies, and warnings to him against hindrances and obstructions which past experience shows he will encounter in pursuing them." Mr. Maurice never receded from the position he here defended; but he reluctantly came to acknowledge that "subscription did mean to most the renunciation of a right to think, and since none could renounce that right it involved dishonesty," and this being the case he was no longer able to oppose the movement for its abolition. He never wavered however in his belief that the Articles themselves were a deliverance from the bondage of "opinion," that they were friendly to progress, and a witness to the catholic faith, as against what he contemptuously called the *caput mortuum* of "our common Christianity," which might remain when the differentiating formulæ of the various sects and churches had been set aside.

We believe entirely in the sincerity and anxious conscientiousness of the mind which evolved this curious theory of the Articles as a guarantee of freedom of faith and progress in theology; we cannot even use the phrase that Maurice "persuaded himself" of its truth, for it seems rather to disclose the natural bent of his mind from the time that he first had any clear and serious convictions, and felt that he could never rest on anything but a deep vital consciousness of spiritual reality. His lifelong war was against what seemed to him shadows and unrealities and make-believes in religion. We are inclined to ask ourselves, sometimes, when reading his appeals to the Thirty-Nine Articles as a protection against his own narrowness and want of charity, and as a witness to the true Catholic Church, whether our general impressions and not very accurate reeollections of the contents of these Articles must not be at fault. But we turn to the document itself, and try to read it in the light of the Maurician counsels of charity, and we are as puzzled as ever. We ask again how a set of theological tenets, drawn up by a body of theologians at a particular crisis in the history of a particular church, can be anything but a set of opinions, true or false, or partly true and partly false; and we even have a doubt as to how the glorification of them, and the treatment of them as if they were the results of a sort of secondary inspiration, does not perilously approach that opinion-worship which they are invoked to protect us from. The way of escape from this would probably be in the representation of the Articles as no mere system or body of theological statements, but as the *groundwork* of theology, and "of a humanity far more comprehensive, of a theology more spiritual, than the best men of the sixteenth century would have recognised." Mr. Maurice also held that "the deepest principles of theology had . . much more hold on men's minds, and were . . grasped more firmly and therefore with less frivolous irritation (earnest passion I do not speak of) against opponents in the sixteenth century than in the nineteenth." We are told, too, that if we cared for an

organic body of articles we should not raise questions about the turn of a phrase in specific articles. When Mr. Maurice was driven to explain how he reconciled certain expressions in them with his own teaching, he found some way of harmonising the language of an exclusive creed with the dictates of his own comprehensive charity, and deep sense of the realities of the religious life. But this is a very different thing from a simple *ex animo* acceptance of them as a witness to the eternal principles which transcend the grasp of individual opinion. It is rather a more or less subtle process of private interpretation, taking a term of systematic theology out of its logical connection, and discharging it of the meaning which historically belongs to it, or which it would naturally convey to ninety-nine in a hundred, whether they were ordinary folk or theological scholars;—and then substituting, sometimes awkwardly enough, the particular truth which most commends itself to Mr. Maurice's soul. There are many instances in his Letters, and more, of course, in his various theological works, in which the special applications of this method are to be studied. He joyfully accepts, for instance, the statement in the 2nd Article that Christ "truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried to reconcile the Father to us," because, he says, "Christ has died and been buried to take away sin" (this requires the further explanation that the death was the seal of his life, and it was by the sacrifice of his perfect obedience that he saves from sin)—not to exempt from any punishment from sin. Sin is separation from God, therefore when it is taken away, the barrier between the child and the Father is removed, and "in this sense (which is the sense of the article) it is as true that Christ reconciles the Father to us, as that he reconciles us to the Father." And just as the dogmatic and (in this case) unscriptural phrase is thus compelled to witness against the very doctrine it seems expressly to teach; so, to give another example, the Church's teaching on Baptism is made to denote emphatically the "universal sonship of mankind." It is true that the Catechism says of the sacrament of

Baptism, "being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby *made* the children of grace." And it is allowed that the word "made" here does not seem "quite satisfactorily" to express the truth that we are the children of God in our spiritual nature, whether we undergo the sprinkling with water or not. Mr. Maurice, however, doubts whether we should be able to find any other which was not "equally imperfect, equally onesided." If you take it away, "you lose the witness of men being above nature, above the law of their ordinary birth; you lose a witness of their being the spiritual creatures you want to affirm that they are." If the Catechism and the 27th Article do really and only teach Mr. Maurice's doctrine of the sonship of all men in Christ, we should say that it would be difficult to find any other word which was *as* imperfect and onesided and misleading.

Mr. Maurice would have us idealise all the symbolic documents of the English Church, as a witness to the central and universal truths of theology, and then he would say with regard to the interpretation of particular articles or phrases or words, that they *could not* contradict the witness of the Church. And so he was convinced that the very words which on the face of them were either the language of a theology to which he was in passionate opposition, or were confessedly equivocal in their meaning, *could not* be in conflict with the central reality; they held a deeper meaning, and it was that deeper, truer sense that we were entreated to recognise. In half-a-dozen places in the Letters, we are presented with Mr. Maurice's well-known paradoxical defence of the Athanasian Creed as a symbol of that Charity to which the Church bears witness. "The name of the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is, as the fathers and schoolmen said continually, the name of the Infinite Charity, the perfect Love, the full vision of which is that beatific vision for which saints and angels long even while they dwell in it. To lose this, to be separated from this, to be cut off from the Name in which we live and have our being, is everlasting death. . . . But

who incur this separation? I know not. You and I, while we are repeating the Creed, may be incurring it. The Unitarian may be much nearer the kingdom of Heaven than we are. He may in very deed less divide the substance, less confound the persons, than we do. For I feel myself that when I fall into an un-Christian heartless condition, I do divide the substance, I do confound the persons inevitably, even though I may be arguing ingeniously and triumphantly for the terms that denote distinction and union." Mr. Maurice's position here, strange as it may look, is not unintelligible. He says that to "perish everlastingly" is to be "separated from God," that is, not to know Him. Well, the Church Catholic has testified that the divine Name, Father, Son and Spirit, is perfect Love,—therefore a Creed which declares that all will perish everlastingly who do not hold the Catholic faith, can only mean, in the elaborate series of metaphysical definitions and distinctions which are declared to show forth this Catholic faith, that those who are separated from the living God, the Infinite Charity, are in the state of what is signified by everlasting death. One who explicitly denies the Creed, and not only does not "thus think of the Trinity," but holds the doctrine of the Trinity to be a metaphysical or scholastic conception grafted on to the simple monotheism of Christ, may be in nearer communion with the living God than the most orthodox believer. And so, solemnly to pronounce this sentence of condemnation is to condemn nobody but yourself; nay, it overcomes our tendency to condemn others—"for the more tremendous its language, the less can we dare to bring any individual within the scope of it." In all this curious melting away of everything harsh, denunciatory and dogmatic in the fire of his own glowing love and intense humility, we see only a supreme instance of the means by which Mr. Maurice, in perfect good faith, succeeded, to his own satisfaction, in transmuting even the special symbols of dogmatic, exclusiveness into a token of unity, and in softening down the hard outlines of an artificial ecclesiastical system into what looked like the natural forms of a free and living growth.

It was done by no deliberate method, and with no desire to justify his own position in the Church. It is impossible for any one to read the continuous, unreserved self-revealings in the Letters, and to hold that Maurice was ever guilty of an unworthy subterfuge, that he sophisticated his conscience, or had anything but hatred for the doctrine that the language of the Creeds must be taken in a non-natural sense, or that the legal obligation of subscription is the measure of the moral obligation. Perhaps it would be not far from the truth to say that his moral feeling and inner sense of the divine love and righteousness were the measure for him of the meaning of the Creeds. He would have said that he believed them in a deeper sense than could be extracted by reference merely to what was in the mind of the authors of them, or than could be set forth by any ecclesiastical or legal definition of their meaning.

It certainly might seem strange, and yet it was not altogether strange, that one who had such a passionate desire for absolute truth of life and faith and thought, who was accustomed, as he said, to demand "change" for every phrase he heard used, should have believed, all his life long, that he had found in the English Church a safe refuge from illusions and a safeguard of spiritual freedom. Mr. Maurice's teaching seems to us to be the result of a combination of moral earnestness and clear spiritual insight with an intellectual subtlety which often led to paradoxical and perplexing results, and was responsible for the constant misunderstandings of his position into which even those who were most familiar with his teaching were not infrequently betrayed. He was ready to own, with all humility, that it was his own fault that he was so often misunderstood, and was even taken to be teaching doctrines against which he had been all his life protesting. Certainly it was in part his own fault; and it was provoking enough to those who were most anxious to get at his real meaning, and who felt that he had something to teach them, something beyond that general impression of moral earnestness and spiritual depth which was produced by his

personal goodness and faith,—it was provoking to these willing disciples to find, as they so often did, that if they took the familiar words of theology either in the technical usage of theological science, or in the sense they bore in the language of ordinary life, they were as likely as not to entirely miss the meaning he meant to convey.

In itself, no doubt, it may be of the greatest service to a church that is for the present indissolubly bound to an unchangeable order of worship and ritual, and pledged to the recital of the traditional creeds, to breathe a new life into the antiquated forms, to take the dry definitions of dogmatic theology, and infuse into them an unwonted spiritual warmth and light. It may be a needful process of preparation for a more truly Catholic Church, and for a simpler and freer and more natural growth of the religious life. But, meantime, it must be owned that it does add something to the perplexities of human thought and faith, to have this golden haze of moral sentiment and religious emotion thrown round difficult and disputed questions of theology. We begin with what has all the appearance of an orderly logical argument, the case for both sides is fairly and clearly stated, the problem is enunciated, we are prepared for the key to its solution,—when the logical order suddenly collapses, we only know that Mr. Maurice is convinced in his own heart, that he has said some beautiful and true things in connection with the whole matter; but if our intellectual or moral difficulty has disappeared it has only been because our attention has been diverted to something other than the original question, or that we have simply yielded for the moment to the irresistible charm of that noble earnestness, that intense, living faith of the man.

So vividly does the Memoir reproduce this personal impression, so truly is the writer's inmost nature revealed in every letter that has been given us to read, that the book naturally induces in us this receptive mood; and it would be pleasanter, and more gracious, to be simply recipient of what is admirable and morally suggestive, and to be proof

against all critical and logical considerations. But it would be to little purpose merely to select what we agree with, or to present our readers with another and fainter picture of the gifted mind and saintly soul with which we have been grateful to hold communion. While we can hardly imagine a man whose teaching was enforced by the authority of nobler personal qualities, or by a more faithful and single-hearted and courageous self-devotion to the cause of God and humanity, we cannot help regretting that the bent of his mind should have been in a direction which hindered him from fully appreciating the bearings of some of the strongest intellectual and religious forces of the age; and that whilst his personal influence for good could not but be deeply felt by all who came within its immediate range, his teachings took a form which partly obscured their meaning and limited their range, and will probably have prevented his books from taking a permanently important place in the literature of modern theology. In spite of himself, and in the face of his hatred of sects and parties, he did become the founder, not indeed of a distinct ecclesiastical party within the church, but of a Maurician school of thought, and the teacher of a Maurician theology. Certain truths which were at the heart of that theology, pre-eminently those expressed in his doctrine of eternal life and death, of the divine sonship of humanity, the incarnation of God in man, the self-revelation of God in the providential history of mankind, and the perpetuity of that revelation in the human soul,—all these and the practical deductions and applications of them, were couched in terms which were essentially Maurician, and which gave an unmistakably personal colouring to his teaching. The language, indeed, sounds familiar and orthodox, but it needs a special key; for it is the language of one who has first adopted the dialect of English orthodoxy, and then used its distinctive terms in senses of his own. And when he finds in the traditional phrases of Anglican theology a way of expressing the truths we all confess, the facts of Christian experience, we ask whether a creed much simpler, perhaps,

in its form, and containing few of the theological terms on which Mr. Maurice lays most stress, must necessarily be a poorer and narrower creed. Supposing it were true, as we are repeatedly told by him, that the "Father" of the Unitarians is a distant God, "utterly severed from His creatures," with an infinite peril of his being made "a mere God of Nature, removed from human sympathies, merely beneficent, not in the highest sense benevolent;" would the only escape from this danger be found in that belief in "the eternal Son" incarnated in the Jesus of the gospels, which Mr. Maurice sets forth as the necessary condition of any real knowledge of the eternal Father? Mr. Maurice says that he distinctly and deliberately accepted the belief which is expressed in the Nicene creed, as the only satisfaction of the infinite want which Unitarianism awakened in him, as the only vindication of the truth which Unitarianism taught him. And elsewhere he speaks of the great cry of humanity to behold and understand God and converse with Him in the only way that was possible, that is as a Man; and he says "if the Infinite, Incomprehensible Jehovah is manifested in the person of a Man, a Man conversing with us, living among us, entering into all our infirmities and temptations, and passing into all our conditions, it is satisfied; if not, it remains unsatisfied." We need hardly point out how well this describes the conditions of human thought under which have arisen all the various traditions and doctrines of divine incarnation, the appearances of Deity in bodily form. Mr. Maurice would say that they all bore witness to the need that has been fully satisfied in the revelation of the eternal Son in the Christ. We acknowledge the superior simplicity and grandeur of this representation over all the other doctrines of incarnation with which it is allied; but we should take them all as pointing to a deeper, a universal principle of spiritual religion, the central fact of Christianity; namely, that God is revealed in humanity, that the spirit of the Father is in His children, that we recognise Him, not as the residuary unknown Energy that lies behind the material universe

after Science has said its last word of discovery or explanation, but as the living, self-revealing Spirit of Love and Righteousness, the Spirit whereby we cry, "Abba, Father!" —the root of human righteousness, the source of human love. All this may be expressed in much simpler terms, and supported, we believe, by a much more universal and "verifiable" experience, than can Mr. Maurice's doctrine about the second and the third Persons in the Trinity.

We should say generally of the arguments and pleadings which Mr. Maurice addressed expressly to Unitarians, that he has done them no small service by reminding them of truths which they may have been in danger of forgetting or of very imperfectly apprehending; that he must have set many a one on a fruitful inquiry into the grounds of his own faith, and the real meaning of the doctrines in which he was accustomed to express that faith. But we feel that in all that is deepest and most suggestive in the "Theological Essays," and in the many passages elsewhere bearing on Unitarianism, though the voice is the voice of a refined and sublimated orthodoxy, the spirit is, after all, more akin to that even of Channing or Martineau, than to that of the Thirty-nine Articles, or of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds; and we are at a loss to understand how the deeper grounds and principles of religion in which we are at one can be degraded into mere "opinions" or "notions" simply by being expressed in the language of current thought in our own day, or how they can be elevated into the region of divine realities by being bound up with the theological phraseology of a stereotyped set of ecclesiastical articles of belief.

Mr. Maurice seems to us never to have appreciated the real significance of the work that is being done by Biblical criticism, and the scientific study of the great historical religions. The account given us of his distress at the publication of Bishop Colenso's inquiry into the authenticity of the account of the Exodus, and the view he took of the whole affair, is curious and instructive. With his characteristic dread of the mere suspicion that in any position

he maintained he was influenced, even unconsciously, by self-interest or a desire to vindicate his own right to remain in the church, he was bent on resigning the living in Vere Street that he might be absolutely free to speak out his mind about what seemed to him to be a blow dealt at some of his most cherished convictions as to the providential teachings of the Bible. Equally characteristic was the way in which he dealt, in "The Claims of the Bible and of Science," with the questions raised by Colenso's book. His defence of the story of the Exodus was in the "message" it had been to the world; it had been used as against priests and tyrants, and was a witness to God as the God of nations. If it was history, and not legend, "Englishmen might hold up their heads against their foes, and rise up where they were ever so sunken, in the might of Him who had promised not to forsake them." In one of the Letters, Mr. Maurice says, "I do not confess to so many miracles—not a hundredth part so many (!)—in the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, as in the flight of the French from Moscow; *i.e.*, if miracles mean improbabilities—departures from the ordinary course of events. I admit the history of the Exodus to be miraculous in this sense, that it referred directly to God, and not to intermediate agents. That is just what I want it for as an explanation of the flight from Moscow, and all other flights that I read of in the *Times* or elsewhere." It is hardly necessary to point out what excellent political lessons may be evolved by this method of treating the Exodus, and, at the same time, how entirely beside the mark it is as applied to the results of Bishop Colenso's investigations. It was Mr. Maurice's way to use the Bible for edification, to take home whatever (to use Coleridge's phrase) "found him"; to draw lessons, true and noble ones, from the providential history of the Hebrew nation, and the lives of its patriarchs, and lawgivers, prophets and kings, just as they stand in the record. Where insuperable moral difficulties arise—as, for instance, in the story of Elisha and the she-bears!—they are left on one side amongst the things which we are not in a

position to understand yet, but which cannot, at any rate, be inconsistent with what we do know. There is scarcely an attempt at any discrimination of the contents of the Bible, except in so far as some parts have more direct and important lessons for the present age; and there are no signs of any serious consideration of what critical and historical investigation has done towards the analysis and reconstruction of the Hebrew literature. And yet, if the Bible contains, as Maurice held, pre-eminently the history of a practical divine education, the record of an orderly, progressive revelation, it would seem to be of the utmost importance to ascertain by other than purely subjective tests the actual course which that education took.

We have no room to dwell further on these features of Mr. Maurice's method of treating the critical side of Biblical study; but we will not leave them without recognising the firmness and consistency with which he always protested against any attempt to put down by law, or by decrees of synods and convocation, any doctrine, however unpalatable, however false and dangerous he might deem it to be. He vehemently resisted the measures which were taken by Convocation at Oxford against Mr. Ward, in consequence of his open avowal that he construed the Thirty-nine Articles in a non-natural sense, and that any clergyman was justified in doing the same; though Mr. Ward's position, in this and all other respects, was entirely obnoxious to him. He was equally opposed to the attempts to silence Colenso and to get a judicial condemnation of some of the authors of Essays and Reviews. He took his stand against the agitation in the Hampden controversy. And in all these pleas for liberty of speech and action his consistent contention was, not that the idea of the Church was inclusive of all schools of theology, Sacramental, Calvinistic, Latitudinarian, &c., but that the most extreme utterances of opinion, Protestant, Romish or Rationalistic, were positively beneficial, "the means whereby we are kept from settling on our lees; whereby we are made aware of the importance of different sides of truth

which we are striving to discard, whereby we are taught what our own position could be, and, if we will avail ourselves of it, may be—not a miserable denial of all earnest beliefs on all sides, but a reconciliation of them."

As to Mr. Maurice's own contributions towards this reconciliation and towards the solution, or, at least, the earnest and fruitful consideration, of the great problems of human life and destiny, with which each generation has to deal afresh—the form and bearings of the problems varying with the changing conditions of knowledge and experience—it is difficult to say how much of the influence he exercised in his day was due to his theological deliverances, practical or controversial, and how much must be set down to the deep impression produced by his strongly-marked personality, with the halo of spiritual beauty about it, and with that moral vehemence and intensity of conviction, that "passion for righteousness," which characterised everything he said or did. The face of the theological world has, in many respects, wonderfully altered since the time when he had to testify, almost alone among the influential teachers of his day, against the popular conception of the Gospel as providing a means of escape from a future hell of undying torture, and as the guarantee of a reward of unalloyed and unending happiness to those who fulfilled the conditions on which the prize was offered; or against the idea of Revelation as an official communication from on high, authenticated by proper credentials, and embodied in a closed and final record. It is curious to read now of the commotion caused in the "religious world" by the publication of the essay on Eternal Life and Eternal Death, which, after all, only defined and applied the convictions which had always been an organic part of Mr. Maurice's teaching. We are given a pretty full account of the controversies to which it gave rise, and the measures taken by Dr. Jelf and the authorities at King's College, London, where Mr. Maurice held a chair of Divinity, to induce him to give some explanation of his doctrine which would satisfy them, and, failing that, to get rid of him as

Professor. The whole history of the affair, ending in his dismissal from his post at the College, is in many ways instructive and significant. It marks a stage in the history of the doctrine in question; and some measure of the change that has taken place in one vital branch of theology is suggested by the alarm and anger, tempered by sheer perplexity and want of understanding, with which Mr. Maurice's representation of eternal life and eternal death was received by the theologians of his day.

The controversy itself was one which certainly excited more popular interest than any other in which he was concerned. "You may depend upon it, sir, there's thousands taking the deepest interest in it," said Mr. Parker's head shopman; . . . "if it's only the eternal punishment, there'll be thousands sympathising with Mr. Maurice; . . . if you take the Bible and common sense to judge by, why, sir, it's the most abominable and horrible doctrine ever preached." Perhaps the common sense here invoked, if we take it to include the unsophisticated conscience, and faith in the principles of justice and goodness in the providential government of the world, will go further towards settling this great controversy between light and darkness than will any interpretations of the significance of the word *αἰώνιος* as a predicate of life and of death. But Mr. Maurice's clear and consistent assertion of the essential nature of spiritual life, his vigorous and constant protest against the current material notions of heaven and hell, his "habitual assumption that all God's punishments are blessings, not curses, and that *the* great evil was not the punishment but the sin," has been, we believe, no unimportant factor in the revolution which is going on in men's thoughts of the future life. Perhaps it will prove to be his most distinct and enduring contribution to modern theology.

The other controversy in which he was conspicuously engaged was also in defence of what seemed to him the ground of all true theology, namely, the essential nature of Revelation. He entered the lists with Mr. Mansel with the impetuous zeal which always urged him on when the

faith that was most dear to him was being assailed or undermined. The intensity of feeling and the moral indignation with which he regarded Mr. Mansel's doctrine of agnostic orthodoxy placed him in some respects at a disadvantage in the face of a cool logical debater, skilled in metaphysical fence, and with no compunctions in charging his adversary with sham professions of humility, and with deliberate lying. No one probably felt quite satisfied with the course and issue of this protracted conflict of two minds which had no common ground available for a mutual understanding. Mr. Maurice's part in it, however, embodied in his inquiry, "What is Revelation?" with the calmer and more conciliatory pages of the Sequel to it, contains many passages of permanent interest, as defining and justifying that "realism" in religion which was the essential characteristic of all his teaching.

It is probable that not a few of the readers of Colonel Maurice's book will have less taste for the theology it sets forth than for its outcome in practical work, and will turn with more especial interest to the account he gives of the part that his father took in the social movements of his day, particularly the resolute and enthusiastic attempt which he and an associated band of kindred spirits made to direct to some worthy and far-reaching purpose the "socialistic" agitation which seemed to be gathering up into itself so many of the vigorous and regenerative forces of society. It would be instructive to compare the "Christian Socialism" of Maurice and Kingsley, Ludlow and Thomas Hughes, and their fellow workers, with the new developments of socialism, Christian and other, which are tending to many various issues, and in comparison with which the co-operative movement, that was deemed in its day so dangerous and revolutionary, seems timid and almost conservative. Certainly it did not come to much at the time; but it was a not unimportant part of the education of social reformers, and some of its tangible fruits may be seen in the schemes of co-operative industry which have since been tried with varying fortune, and not without

some signal and encouraging successes. Another movement in which Mr. Maurice was still more emphatically the leader and inspirer, resulted in the establishment of the Working Men's College, which has done so much excellent work. With equal energy he devoted himself to the cause of the higher education of women, the first of the "Ladies' Colleges" owing much of its success and its power of stimulating other movements in the same direction, to the zeal with which he served it. He had certain convictions as to the part which theology, in the larger sense of the word, should have in these and other institutions established for the benefit of society, which sometimes led to difficulties and disappointments. But as with his teaching so with his working, the direct contact with a soul that burned with such a steady flame of devotion to a noble idea, could not fail to kindle an effective zeal in those who were in sympathy with his aims.

Few men have been looked up to with a more unqualified admiration and reverence than Frederick Maurice was by those who knew him best. Julius Hare, for instance, said "It is impossible to know Maurice as I have done intimately for thirty years, without admiring and loving him; indeed, taking him altogether, his head and his heart, he is incomparably the grandest example of human nature that it has ever been my happiness to know." The saintly beauty of his character, his undaunted moral courage, the fervour of his love to God and man, the devotion of all his powers to the advancement of the kingdom of Heaven, make a still deeper impression on us than does his great intellectual eminence. Many of his methods may seem to us to be inapplicable to the problems they were meant to clear up and solve, and many of his characteristic positions to be untenable. But no one can fail to recognise and to reverence the nobleness of the spirit in which he taught and worked. We may be thankful if Time, that tries and changes all, leaves us as pure a spiritual wisdom, as high a purpose in life, and a faith as firmly rooted and as fruitful in good works.

THE EDITOR.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

New Books on Wycliffe.

THE approach of the five-hundredth anniversary of Wycliffe's death, which will occur on the last day of the present year, is already heralded by a crowd of small books dealing with the reformer's life and teaching. It is, we must say at the outset, very seriously to be deplored that this commemoration seems likely to be used principally as a party "demonstration" of the extreme Protestants. They are no doubt sorely in need of a new trumpet with which to proclaim the glories of Evangelicalism; but this is no excuse for reducing a truly national hero to the stature of a mere founder of a sect. Besides, Wycliffe, who possessed so fine a prophetic foresight that he was able to discern all the principles of a revolution which it took yet a century and a half to bring to effect, was not, had he lived in our time, a man to stand by a movement which had spent its force and ceased to be in harmony with the more generous sentiments of the community. For the principles for which he strove were of large expansion,—he was always consciously looking forward to an ideal future;—and we question whether he would have acknowledged his thoughts when translated into, and bound down to, formulæ of which the very language is archaic. Still, for the the moment, Wycliffe is claimed by the public as a purely Protestant champion, and the three short biographies of which the titles are given below * are written and must be read on this understanding. None of them indeed calls for detailed notice: two, the works of Dr. Samuel Green and of Dr. Buddensieg, are avowedly compilations, but compilations by men who know what they are writing about. Dr. Green's *Anecdotes* form a popular and intelligent summary of the facts of the reformer's life, while Dr. Buddensieg devotes half his volume to a series of very well chosen extracts from Wycliffe's works. The value of these selections would be indeed enhanced if there were some indication of the sources whence they are taken; but it would be ungracious to com-

* *John Wiclif: his Life, Times, and Teaching.* By A. R. Pennington, M.A., Canon Non-residentiary of Lincoln. London: S. P. C. K. 1884.

John Wyclif, Patriot and Reformer: Life and Writings. By Rudolf Buddensieg, Lic. Theol. Leipsic. London: J. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

Wycliffe Anecdotes; or, Incidents and Characteristics from the Life of the great English Reformer. By Samuel G. Green, D.D. London: R. T. S. No date.

plain of this omission when we bear in mind the editor's modest disclaimer of anything more than a popular object. With that aim the book, which is prettily printed and "got up," well deserves success.

Mr. Pennington's *Life* is of a somewhat different character. The author has bestowed a fairly comprehensive study upon the external circumstances of Wycliffe's time, and has exercised an independent judgment on the numerous "moot points" of the reformer's life. He discusses with fairness the respective claims of the different colleges at Oxford to which Wycliffe has been supposed to belong; and if we disagree with several of his conclusions, this is rather because of the conflicting nature of the evidence than from any fault in the biographer's argument. We do not, for instance, think that the best way of getting rid of the difficulty as to which of several colleges named was actually Wycliffe's, is to question, with Mr. Pennington (p. 17), "whether it is necessary to suppose him, when he first came to Oxford, to have been a member of any college;" though Dr. Green (p. 21) raises the same doubt. We are also at issue with all our three new biographers in reference to Wycliffe's supposed connection with Merton College, and even, in spite of strong presumptions to the contrary, with Canterbury Hall. In matters of more general importance there is often room for difference of opinion. We think, for instance, that Mr. Pennington exaggerates the corruption of the Church of England in the fourteenth century, and that, in his admiration for Wycliffe's work in translating the Bible, he passes over the fact that it was this which was really responsible for no small part of the excesses of the later Lollards. He gives indeed a few words about Bishop Pecock's testimony on this head (pp. 284 ff.), but seems not to appreciate its significance. It is also a pity that the author, who has evidently paid special attention to the doctrinal views of Wycliffe, has not presented them in a more systematic form. By selecting just those doctrines of Roman Catholicism which the Anglican Church condemns, and judging Wycliffe by his partial or complete agreement with them, he leads the ordinary reader to forget that there were other matters besides those of outside controversy, on which Wycliffe elaborated theories of singular boldness and originality. Foremost among these is his doctrine of Dominium, or lordship, about which Mr. Pennington says something in p. 72; but this doctrine has never been popular among modern Wycliffites, since its tendency is not merely towards congregationalism but towards communism. The style of Mr. Pennington's book, if somewhat rhetorical, is likely to help its circulation. Its general accuracy is commendable, though we notice a few slips—*e.g.*, "*John of Gandumo*" (p. 129); and an ugly misprint, "*Arminians*," occurs twice on pp. 30, 31.

In contrast with the manner of treatment adopted in these biographies we may call attention to the admirable catalogue, lately brought out by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson,* of the exhibition of manuscripts, &c.,

* *British Museum. Wycliffe Exhibition in the King's Library.* Arranged by E. M. Thompson, keeper of the MSS. Printed by order of the Trustees. 1884.

bearing upon the life and work of Wycliffe, which is now open to the public in the British Museum. The biographical introduction is a model of scholarly writing, giving just what is wanted and wholly free from any partisan colouring; nor could we wish for a more representative selection of documents than that offered in the Exhibition, the text of them being also printed in the catalogue before us.

Professor Loserth's *Hus and Wiclif*, to the high merits of which we called attention in a previous issue (*supra*, pp. 381—384), has already appeared in an English dress as *Wiclif and Hus*.* It is a book entirely to be recommended to the student of religious history, although the limitations of the author's treatment must be borne in mind, lest his proof should appear more complete than it actually is. The scholarship and correctness,—sometimes rather painfully literal,—of the translation call for special remark: no less noticeable is the fact that the book, unlike most learned books translated from the German, is published without abridgment; for the omission of one footnote and of a portion of another on pp. 42 and 44, can only be due to an oversight. In some respects the English book is even completer than the original. We observe that a reference which in our former review we said ought to have been given, now finds a place (of course, independently of our observation) in p. 101; and that some new extracts from the recently published volumes of the Wyclif Society are given in pp. 223f.

R. L. P.

Mr. Cheyne's Translation of the Psalms.†

"THE object of the present edition," says Mr. Cheyne, "is to enable lovers of literature to read the Psalter intelligently and with pleasure." No apology can be really needed for the serious work of so ripe and elegant a scholar as our translator. The Psalms of the Prayer Book and the Psalms of the Authorised Version have no doubt many charms, but they have one grave defect; they are often, to use Mr. Cheyne's phrase, "miles removed from the sense of the original." For devotional purposes, the worshipper may prefer the accustomed rhythm, and be indifferent to the meaning: for purposes of pure literature the reader must desire to be brought as closely as possible into fellowship with the poets of Israel. This is what Mr. Cheyne endeavours to accomplish for him. Much earnest labour has been bestowed upon the Psalter since the "Four Friends" founded their version upon Ewald's; and no book in the Old Testament seems to receive more illumination religiously from the new setting in which it has been placed by the reconstruction of the history of Israel's faith. It is of course superfluous to say that

* *Wiclif and Hus.* From the German of Dr. Johann Loserth, Professor of History at the University of Czernowitz. Translated by the Rev. M. J. Evans, B.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1884.

† *The Book of Psalms.* Translated by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co. 1884.

Mr. Cheyne is completely equipped with every requisite of technical scholarship; he is in full sympathy with the view (to which every year gives increasing stability) which treats the publication of the Levitical Law under Ezra as at once the close of a long period of struggle and religious development, and the beginning of a new era in the national life. So he strikes the true keynote in the interpretation of the Psalter by describing it as it appeared to the pious scribes who arranged its five books to correspond with the five "books of Moses," as "the answer of the worshipping community to the demands made by its Lord in the Law, the reflection of the external standard of faith and obedience in the utterance of the believing heart." We are not, therefore, surprised to find Mr. Cheyne placing a much larger number of Psalms in the period after the exile, and even in the age of the Maccabees, than most of the older critics allowed; he likewise accepts the theory that many of the poems deal rather with the experiences of the nation, or at least the community of pious worshippers, than with those of individuals; and the brief notes which he adds at the end of the volume contain many pregnant suggestions on this line of interpretation. Read for example Ps. xl. or li. (minus vv. 18, 19, which we wish our translator had more decidedly separated from the preceding poem), and see how much force is imparted by this idea.

The manner in which Mr. Cheyne has executed his task will be very differently estimated by different readers. Many will be offended at what seem to be needless changes: why should familiar words be disturbed, they will say, what gain is there in substituting "his kindness is everlasting" for "his mercy endureth for ever"? Is not Ps. cxxxvi. quite spoiled? It is quite true, at first sight, or first hearing; old associations will often be rudely shocked. We are by no means converted to "aeon" and "aeonian," especially as their use is hardly carried through consistently: "asylum" and "din" do not please us, though for different reasons: we should have preferred the "underworld," or better the "shadow-land," for the Greek Hades which does duty for Sheôl: "roll thy career" seems a bad literary substitute for "commit thy way." But these alterations are not meaningless; they arise very often from the fact that the older translators employed the same English word to represent different words in Hebrew, whilst Mr. Cheyne aims at reproducing the variety: thus in Ps. xxiii. 3, lxv. 11 we get "tracks" for the more familiar "paths" (as in viii. 8); Ps. xci. 4 "shield and targe" for "shield and buckler" as in xxxv. 2, because the words are different. These are only casual instances of a principle which a translator will desire to observe as faithfully as possible. It is certainly unnecessary to insist that the same Hebrew word shall always be rendered by the same English word, since it may often happen that their ideal contents are not precisely identical. But it is unjust to the copiousness of the Hebrew poets if the English translators can only find one word in the modern language to stand for two in the ancient.

The fact is that Mr. Cheyne's work must not be judged by detached

phrases but by its general effect. And here the immense superiority of his version will be at once apparent. Take one of such poems as Pss. xvi., xlv., lxxxiv., cxxxix., and compare the rendering in the Bible with this. How obscurities vanish, and the poem becomes an intelligible whole! No justification is needed for the general practice of textual emendation, though not every change made by our translator may always carry conviction. But it would be a great assistance to those who can use their Hebrew Bibles, yet do not possess the latest suggestions of Lagarde or Bickell, if in a future edition Mr. Cheyne would indicate in the notes the precise alteration he has made, while the general reader may well desire some further information than the minute sign which is at present his sole warning. We are glad to see that it is freely recognised that such poems as Pss. xxvii., xxxvi., lv., xcv. are probably composite; while frequent marks of obscurity and omission (*e.g.*, ii. 6, xxxii. 7, xxxv. 16, &c.) save the translator from the necessity of frantic efforts to rescue a meaning in defiance of grammar. Here and there a transposition, *e.g.* xxxiv. 16 and 17, is so obviously justified that the ordinary reader will—if he notices it at all—wonder how he ever could have read it otherwise. We are surprised not to find the refrain in xlvi. 7 and 11 added after ver. 8; we do not know why xix. 8 has disappeared; and if verses are struck out, we think xlii. 8, which spoils the rhythm of the stanza and is violently intruded into the sense, ought to go too. The notes are models of compactness and withal are full of suggestion; consider, for instance, the fresh remarks on Ps. i., lviii., civ. (of course Amen-*ka* should be Amen-*Ra*) cx., &c. It is much to be hoped that Mr. Cheyne's labours on the Psalms will not stop here. Can he not do for them what he has done for the book of Isaiah?

J. E. C.

An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers.*

THIS is the last instalment of the Commentary on the Old Testament produced under the superintendence of Dr. Ellicott. It extends from Jeremiah to Malachi. Its merits and its defects are much the same as those of previous volumes.† Where a large staff of scholars is employed, there must of necessity be some unequal work, and one writer will exhibit a clearer grasp and a larger learning than another. Thus, for instance, the very careful labours of Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Whitehouse in their joint treatment of Hosea and Amos stand beside the less effective performance of Mr. Warren on Joel and Micah. The two first scholars are evidently at home in all the literature dealing with their two prophets. For Mr. Warren, a quotation from Milman's 'History of the Jews' suffices to establish the date of Joel about 870 B.C.,

* *An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers.* Edited by Charles John Ellicott, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Vol. v. London: Cassell and Co. 1884.

† See *The Modern Review*, Oct., 1883, p. 844, April, 1884, p. 890.

without a hint that any other view is possible, and his jejune notes ill compare with the treatment of Micah, for example, by Mr. Cheyne, in the Cambridge Bible for Schools. Messrs. Jennings and Lowe, to whom the last books from Nahum to Malachi have been entrusted, are known as sound scholars, and we gladly meet again Mr. Aglen who contributed the admirable commentary on the Psalms to a previous volume. This time he is hardly quite so happy, but he is not less frank. He deals with the Book of Jonah, and, by the date which he assigns to it, after the year 180 B.C., plainly indicates his belief that the book possesses no historical character, and is only a kind of religious romance. To the classical parallels adduced by Mr. Aglen *apropos* of the storm, which overtakes the vessel bearing the guilty prophet, may be added a very curious story related in the Buddhist Jātakas (ed. Fausböll, vol. i., p. 289) of the unlucky Mittavindaka whose presence on board ship caused it to come to a dead stop in the middle of the ocean. Seven times did the sailors cast lots to find out the cause, and seven times did the lot fall to Mittavindaka, whereupon the unfortunate voyager was cast overboard with a bundle of bamboo—though not, however, to meet the fate of Jonah. In treating the Psalm (*Jon.* ii.), Mr. Aglen wavers too much between his view of it as an independent poem, appropriate to a writer in the Exile, and the supposed impersonation of the prophet: one conception or the other should have been definitely adopted. In the latter chapters the religious lessons are well brought out.

This is perhaps the boldest thing in the volume. Mr. Deane on Daniel is conservative, but only saves his position by simple confessions of ignorance: all attempts, for instance, to identify Darius, the Mede, son of Ahasuerus, must be abandoned: and it must be conceded that no traces of the book can be discovered before 167 B.C. But why 167? Because in 1 *Macc.* ii. 49 the dying Mattathias is represented as making a long speech in which there is an allusion to the fiery furnace and the deliverance of Daniel from the lions. It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Deane to question that we have here a verbatim report of the hero's last words; but the fact is that inquiry into the date of 1 Maccabees makes it probable that it was not written earlier than 100 B.C.; no greater antiquity can be claimed with positive certainty for the exhortations it professes to record; and the date thus sharply determined before which Daniel must have been written vanishes away. Even were it allowed to stand, however, it could still be accommodated to the view of the orthodox Delitzsch, who cannot resist the evidence that the book belongs to the Seleucidic period, though he thinks it anterior to the Maccabean rising, and places its composition in 168.* In other respects Mr. Deane has failed, in our judgment, to find the key to Daniel, and adds nothing to the defences of his post except the frank abandonment of the untenable

* Mr. Deane tries to make light of the linguistic evidence, especially of *συμφωνία* but, as we think, very unsuccessfully; for it is not of much consequence whether *συμφωνία* be a musical instrument or not in Polybius: the remarkable point is its connection with Antiochus Epiphanes.

positions of some of his predecessors. The careful work of Mr. Lowe on Zechariah results in the conviction of the integrity of the book. His arguments for the postexilian origin of *Zech.* ix.—xiv. deserve all consideration; and, indeed, after the elaborate essays of Stade the earlier dates hitherto assigned to these chapters are hardly likely to be effectively vindicated again. But some of Mr. Lowe's interpretations decidedly prove too much, at least for his own hypothesis, and rather suggest the period opened up by the Greek conquests than the era of the return from the Captivity. Thus, for instance, he finds a fulfilment of Zech. ix. 3, 4, in the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great in 333. But just the same line of argument might be applied to Amos i. 10,—a passage which may well have suggested the language of the later writer. Mr. Lowe is less successful in establishing the unity of the authorship of the book than in proving the indebtedness of the writer of the last chapters to many known predecessors. In the Messianic passages he is also somewhat hampered by the necessity of accommodating them somehow to the person and life of Jesus. His ingenious suggestion, for instance, that xii. 10 *b*—14 should follow xiii. 1—8, exposes him to great difficulty in explaining how the prophet who is thrust through by his father and mother can stand for Christ. In spite of these objections, however, the sincerity and earnestness of Mr. Lowe's contributions deserve hearty recognition.

The literary problems connected with Jeremiah and Ezekiel are scarcely so involved as those affecting Daniel and Zechariah. It is the more to be expected, therefore, that the expositions should be direct and clear. We cannot say that we think that either Dr. Plumptre on Jeremiah or Dr. Gardiner on Ezekiel has really grasped the significance of the oracles which he interprets, in their living connection either with the prophet's thought or with the national religion. Everywhere we discern that method of minimising differences and harmonising the dissimilar which is so fatal to the true understanding of great individualities. Thus, for instance, the language of Jeremiah vii. 22,—"For I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices"—which plainly implies that Jeremiah, at any rate, knew of no great Levitical code of ritual claiming divine origin in the wilderness of Sinai—receives this comment:—

> The words seem at first hard to reconcile with the multiplied rules as to sacrifices both in Exodus and Leviticus. They are, however, rightly understood, strictly in harmony with the facts. They were not the end contemplated. The first promulgation of the Law, the basis of the covenant with Israel, contemplated a spiritual ethical religion of which the basis was found in the ten great Words or commandments of Exod. xx. The ritual in connection with sacrifice was prescribed partly as a concession to the feeling which showed itself in its evil form, in the worship of the golden calf, partly as an education.

So long as this kind of treatment is popular, the prophets and their teachings will never be understood. Why is the announcement of Jeremiah's 'New Covenant,' xxxi. 31, made unintelligible by the sudden transition

to the words of Jesus at the last supper, and the intrusion of the "whole argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the whole gospel of justification by faith as proclaimed by St. Paul"? Again, why does not Dean Plumptre frankly say that the name of the future king, xxiii. 6, is not "the Lord our righteousness," but "Jehovah is our righteousness"? He tries to find room for a modified orthodoxy after this fashion—"The interpretation which sees in the words (1) the identification of the Messianic king with Jehovah, the Eternal, and (2) the doctrine of imputed righteousness, must accordingly be regarded as one of the applications of the words rather than their direct meaning." But, in such a case, no other "application" can be legitimate except the direct meaning. It is the same in other passages—*e.g.*, in xxxiii. 17, perpetual sovereignty over Israel is promised to the house of David after the restoration. This was of course never historically realised; but, "there was in fact a higher fulfilment in the continuous sovereignty of the Christ as the true son of David." The eschatology of Ezekiel (see especially xxxvii.—xxxix.) fares no better at Dr. Gardiner's hands, and an air of unreality is thus cast over the whole. We cannot follow him into his analysis of Ezekiel's ideal legislation (xl.—xlviii.), where he is unable to discern the importance of his position midway between the Deuteronomic scheme and the Levitical code. We can only in conclusion express our regret that the interpreters of some of the most important prophetic books should have been so completely under the spell of the traditional interpretation of the Church that even when they saw clearly that the prophet's words and thoughts did not support it, they still foisted it on if not into the text. There cannot possibly be any satisfactory treatment of their ancient oracles until we are content to ask simply, 'What did they mean?' The commentators in this volume too often grudgingly concede 'It is true that they mean A B: as matter of fact, however, C D happened: we must therefore *apply* A B as if it meant C D.' The significance of the prophetic utterances is thus altogether distorted: they are forced to yield what they never undertook to supply: the real function of their authors, as the moral interpreters of the events of the national life, is completely disguised; and their place in the religious education of their race, and through it of the world, is wholly lost to view. There is yet room for another commentary on the Old Testament written on the lines of recent investigations into the history of Israel's faith. May the day soon come when scholars will be found to produce it, and serious and earnest readers take its wonderful lessons to heart.

J. E. C.

Dr. Bissell on the Law of Asylum in Israel.

DR. BISSELL'S essay is designed as a contribution to the criticism of the Pentateuch, and endeavours to vindicate the traditional view of the Mosaic authorship against the modern school represented by

* *The Law of Asylum in Israel, Historically and Critically Examined.* By Allen Page Bissell. Leipzig, Theodor Stauffer. 1884.

Reuss, Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Robertson Smith. It contains an investigation into the triple form of the Law of Refuge in Israel, an inquiry into the similar usage of Greece, and an attempt to compare the history of the privilege in the two nations. Dr. Bissell appears to have read everything bearing upon the subject. His notes are full of copious references; and he has no doubt tried to enter into the position which he combats. But we cannot think his effort successful. He does not really understand the conditions of ancient religious composition, or we should not have charges of "moral turpitude" hurled against the supposed authors of the Deuteronomic Code in the days of Josiah (p. 84): he does not understand the social progress of Israel, or he would not found an argument on the supposed parallelism of civilisation in the age of Solomon and that of Pericles: he does not understand the simplest results of the modern critical school, or he would not attribute to Wellhausen a view exactly opposite to that which he really holds (p. 47.) In discussing the first form of the Law of Refuge (*Ex.* xxi. 12—14), he ignores the fundamental fact that the earliest legislation sanctions a plurality of altars (*Ex.* xx. 24): the abolition of the local sanctuaries by the Deuteronomic Code rendered a fresh arrangement necessary, and accordingly three cities were to be separated to which the manslayer guilty of death by inadvertence might flee for safety (*Deut.* xix. 2), with a prospective addition of three more (*ibid.* v. 9).* Finally, in the Levitical Legislation this law is expanded (*Num.* xxxv. 9—34). Dr. Bissell regards the Deuteronomic law as a contraction of this latter. It is impossible to argue the whole question of the composition of the Pentateuch on the narrow basis of these laws: but it must be pointed out that the law in Numbers introduces the head of the Levitical hierarchy, "the high priest, anointed with the holy oil," an officer wholly unknown in the Deuteronomic Code, and that the Cities of Refuge are closely connected with the provision of Cities for the Levites (*Num.* xxxv. 6), which is in direct opposition to the arrangements of Deuteronomy. Till Dr. Bissell can explain these and other facts of which he takes no notice, we must regard his thesis as not proven.

J. E. C.

Reuss on the Canon.†

WE welcome with pleasure an addition to the number of translations of standard works by Continental theologians which we owe to the diligence of the Scottish clergy. And the book before us is doubly

* It is an instance of the peculiar way in which Dr. Bissell often treats his texts that he says (p. 65) "the number of these cities was to be six, with a provision for three additional ones," &c., referring to *Num.* xxxv. 13, 14, *Deut.* xix. 8, 9, as though the latter passage were to be taken in combination with a wholly different form of the law, and not with the instructions immediately preceding, vv. 2, 7.

† *History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church.* By Edward Reuss, Professor in the University of Strasburg. Translated from the Second French Edition by David Hunter, B.D., late Scholar and Fellow of the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: James Gemmell. 1884.

welcome as the work of the bilingual veteran of Strasburg. The 'History of the Canon' first took shape in a series of papers contributed by Reuss to the *Revue de Théologie*, and in its later form also belongs exclusively to the French side of the author's literary activity. He himself is well aware of the difference between his German and his French, as he showed by declining to sanction a French translation of his *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften N. T.* on the ground that "its method and form were unsuitable to French readers." And this book calls to mind the days when the Strasburg *Revue* and the *Revue Germanique* did so much to lay before the world results of research which the German "termites of erudition," as Coquerel called them, could attain, but sometimes could not expound, as well as the first-hand contributions of a school of French theologians whose labours we remember with gratitude. Colani, Scherer, Stap, D'Eichthal, Steeg, Carrière—are they all silent now? A vigorous Faculty of Protestant theology is established in Paris under such men as Sabatier, Lichtenberger, and Stapfer: but Reuss in the new University of Strasburg, and Nicolas, still, we trust, at Montauban, represent the "old guard" of liberal Theological study in France.

The 'History of the Canon' is admirably adapted for translation into English, and Mr. Hunter has done his part well. The book is eminently readable: while it in no wise enables the student to dispense with such a collection and criticism of documents and authorities as is furnished by Volkmar's edition of Credner, or Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, it forms an excellent illustrative commentary upon them. Nor does it stop short at one of those points at which the canon is supposed to have attained a sufficient ecclesiastical fixity, such as the Council of Laodicea or the decree of Gelasius; the history is continued through the middle ages and into the theological systems of the reformed churches.

We do not like to close this brief notice with words of general commendation, without noticing one or two points of interest which will not be strange to readers of *The Modern Review*. After a summary of the evidence afforded by the literature of the primitive church, Reuss concludes that

> Towards the year 180 the writings of the apostles, while continuing to be diffused through Christendom, and already serving directly or indirectly for the instruction of the faithful, did not yet form a special collection intended to be used along with the Old Testament in the periodical and regular readings; that tradition was valued and employed with the same amount of confidence; and that where scriptural, inspired, authorities were to be quoted, they were selected outside of what we now call the New Testament, and this was done without any very exact conception of a canon, without any very prudent choice of texts, and without showing any very close attachment to the letter (p. 27).

In the succeeding period (180—180) Justin broaches a theory of plenary inspiration, and applies it to the Septuagint. "He would have said, *The Old Testament is the canon of Christians*, if that term had been in use

in his day." Of New Testament books, he only mentions the Apocalypse of John with the name of its author, and places the Sibyl and Hystaspes on a level with the prophets. Certain gospels, however, which are the *Memoirs* of the apostles, are read in the meetings of the Christians. The term *gospel*, in so far as it is used of *books*, is a new one, and is "a popular term, introduced naturally when the preaching of the *gospel* became connected with reading to the people the facts of the history of the Lord." After a brief but striking summary of the evidence afforded by Justin's quotations, and the historical facts which Justin says he found in the Memoirs of the Apostles, Reuss arrives at the conclusion that

> If these quotations do not compel us to attribute to Justin the knowledge and use of a gospel differing from those which the Church finally and exclusively adopted, it must, at the very least, be granted that he considered the extra-canonical tradition to be an authority equally worthy of respect, and that in any case the question had not emerged in his day of what was afterwards called the canon of the New Testament.

And in reviewing this period, our author adds—

> We have seen that apocryphal books, or at least books afterwards excluded from the canon, were quoted, lent, and officially read. The canon of the Old Testament is no more fixed than that of the New. Melito excludes Esther from it; Clement adds Judith. In several respects the prophets are preferred to the apostles; the latter are never regarded as holding the first rank. The miraculous inspiration of the Septuagint is insisted on far more emphatically than that of the writers of the first century, considered as such (pp. 55, 56).

Reuss does not directly touch the question of Justin's acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel: but in the succeeding chapter, on 'Heresy,' he points out that "the Gnostics were the first exegetes of the apostolic books," and adds—

> The Fathers who afterwards took up the struggle with Gnosticism are unanimous in directing attention to this fact. . . . And this fact is all the more curious that the very existence of several parts of the New Testament was first revealed to us by these exegetical studies of dissenting philosophers. Thus the gospel of John, the name of which first occurs among the Catholic party . . . in Theophilus of Antioch, about the year 180, had been commented on forty years before by a Gnostic author! (pp. 63, 64).

Apparently our author shares the opinion of the late Dr. Ezra Abbot that this gospel was in the hands of Valentinus himself. We still doubt, however, whether the evidence usually adduced from Hippolytus is sufficient to support this conclusion; nor does it appear to have as much force as the simple statement of Tertullian, "*Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur.*" This, which is quoted in a footnote on the page following our last quotation (a footnote, however, which appears to have strayed from its context), seems to point its application to Valentinus: perhaps, however, we ought to understand that the reference is to Basilides.

The next period, including the end of the second century and the beginning of the third, is one of considerable advance. Catholic theology as expounded by Theophilus of Antioch and Irenæus, and, in this particular at least, by Tertullian, now places the writings of the apostles, in

regard to inspiration and authority, side by side with those of the prophets. Here Reuss acutely points out that the assertion of the *apostles'* inspirations precedes the declaration that their *writings* are inspired scripture. Their doctrine is in the possession of the churches; if they had written nothing, recourse could be had to the unbroken tradition of the churches they had founded; the apostles knew everything, and have transmitted everything to their successors. So Irenæus holds that the same spirit which spake in the prophets, interpreted the oracles in the LXX, and declared their fulfilment by the apostles. Hence, therefore, the apostolic writings are to be included under the category of Holy Scripture.

It is therefore by a singular delusion that certain modern authors transform these Fathers into Protestant theologians, solely intent on the absolute and exclusive authority of the apostolic scriptures, and setting out from this gratuitous supposition, which is entirely contrary to the spirit and the texts of the period, infer the existence of a scriptural canon which had been for some time fixed and universally adopted (p. 86).

We must not follow our author further. Few scholars carry their learning so lightly as he does. This book is not for a small, but for a wide, circle; and we hope its value and interest will be widely recognised.

J. E. O.

Dr. Weiss's Life of Christ.*

ALTHOUGH two volumes of Professor Weiss's Life of Christ have come to hand it will be best to treat at present only of the first portion of the work which deals with the Sources, and reserve any remarks on the Life itself until the whole can be considered together. Whether we accept the author's conclusions or not it is impossible to deny the value of his very careful and for the most part candid treatment of the great question as to the origin of the four Gospels.

Earliest of all Professor Weiss places a lost Aramaic Gospel written by Matthew, as he supposes, in the year A.D. 67. Supplementing his own recollections of Peter's preaching more or less from this document, Mark wrote his gospel in 69. These two documents then form "the foundation of our evangelical tradition," and the latter of the two is "in many respects of equal value" with the former. Next follows our present Gospel according to Matthew, which is described as the "Gospel of the Jewish Christians." This is not simply a translation of the Aramaic Matthew, but is based upon that and Mark. The author is not a Palestinian Jew, but one of the Jews of the Dispersion, and he writes not for Palestinians, but for the Dispersion and for Gentile Christians among whom "Paul's doctrine of freedom was misunderstood and abused." The third Gospel is the work of Luke, who "gives us, in the first place, to understand that he himself had not been an eye witness of the life of Jesus, but that he had followed with the very greatest care the tradition of the eye-witnesses. Whether he means by this oral or written

* *The Life of Christ.* By Dr. Bernhard Weiss. Vol. i. Translated by John Walter Hope, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1883.

tradition his expression does not determine (p. 78). . . But certainly as it can be demonstrated that Luke employed the Gospel of Mark, so certainly can it be proved that he was not acquainted with our canonical Matthew. . . . The oldest apostolic document [*i.e.* the lost Aramaic Gospel of Matthew, or a Greek version of it, which Professor Weiss seems to think was probably made almost immediately (p. 54)], found for him a second source from which he derived the tradition of eye-witnesses" (pp. 75, sq.). In the first division of his Gospel Luke follows Mark. Here "there is certainly a number of narratives omitted (Mark vi. 45—viii. 26), partly because they took place outside Galilee, partly because they concern circumstances which had lost their significance for his Gentile-Christian readers, partly because the evangelist, embarrassed already by the abundance of material, was of two related narratives wont to adopt only one. But as for the rest there is in this narrative, apart from the repetition of the anecdote of the visit of the relatives to Jesus (viii. 19—21), neither any variation from the sequence of Mark, nor the introduction of anything new. In contrast to this, the second division begins with a great interpolation (ix. 51—xviii. 14), in which materials from the apostolic source are actually employed" (p. 77). "Luke returns to Mark in order to glean from him what he states regarding the ministry of Jesus in Perea and Judea . . . while an occasional parable is inserted from the apostolic source. In the third division (xix. 28—xxiii. 56), which contains the ministry in Jerusalem with the addition of the history of the Passion, Luke was of course quite dependent on Mark" (p. 78). Unfortunately Professor Weiss's view with regard to Luke's other sources is confused in the translation by a manifest blunder, which makes him first say, "It can only have been the public life of Jesus, or a single view of it, his teachings, his works of healing, his contests with the Pharisees, which were represented in such writings" (p. 78), and afterwards, "the supposition is ever suggesting itself that besides Mark's Gospel there lay before the evangelist another comprehensive delineation of the whole life of Jesus" (p. 80). No doubt the first statement should be "it may have been only the public life," &c. Though Luke's own words do not show us whether he availed himself of oral tradition, it is held by Professor Weiss on other grounds to be "after all certain that Luke compiled his gospel mainly from documentary sources. Only so can it be explained why the style of the preface to the Gospel, showing as it does the hand of a practised Greek writer, never occurs again, but gives place to the Hebraic style of his sources" (p. 82). "Luke himself is a Pauline Gentile Christian; and so, too, Theophilus and the wider circle of readers, among whom the Gospel was closely associated with his person, are to be sought for on the soil of Gentile Christianity, where the Pauline doctrine was dominant" (p. 85). "The Gentile Church founded by Paul probably received her Gospel [Luke] shortly after 80 A.D. But with the destruction of the Jewish state and temple, the reasons had vanished which in earlier times served to maintain the state of separation between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, and early in the second

century we see how the Gospel of the Jewish Christians, together with that of the Gentile Christians, and along with the Mark-Gospel, which lies at the foundation of both, were a common possession of the great collective Church." (pp. 88, sq.).

The Fourth Gospel is regarded by Professor Weiss as the work of the Apostle John, as well as the Apocalypse. The latter he assigns to the year 70 A.D., the former he places "between twenty and five-and-twenty years" later. The very striking difference between John and the synoptics is granted. "It is by no means merely the narratives of the Gospel which strikes us as strange; the very speech of Jesus appears transformed (p. 109); . . . there are long conversations, full, not of short telling answers, but of obscure enigmas, the misunderstanding of which often only provokes to new paradoxes, and full of dialectical terms which tend more to make one marvel at the acumen of the disputants than to hope for any advance in comprehension. . . . That which was most characteristic of Christ's mode of teaching—the circumstantial parable narrative—has altogether vanished" (p. 110). "How little, for his speeches of Christ, the evangelist himself lays claim to a literal authenticity is shown by the indisputable fact that he repeatedly points back to expressions of Jesus which, as given in the earlier document, had the same purport, but were not uttered by Jesus in the form given here . . . that he gathers a series of the sayings of Jesus into a connected discussion of a definite subject (xii. 44, sq.), though his own representation makes it abundantly clear that in its present form this was not a speech of Jesus, but was only a carrying out of his own way of dealing with the words of Jesus" (xii. 37—43), &c. (pp. 121 sq.). . . .

Certainly the historical colouring of the life of Jesus has lost all significance for this evangelist, though occasional indications show us that he was acquainted with it as well and even better than the others. Only a limited circle of great universally applicable abiding truths is constantly mirrored in the history, viz., the revelation of the divine Lordship of Christ, the inexcusableness of unbelief, and the blessedness of faith in Him. But his history is not the more transparent garment of this idea, self-woven out of synoptic reminiscences and original creations of the phantasy; for it deals here not with ideas, the value of which lies in their being thought, but with truths which have value only if they actually are. (p. 130.)

Having completed his review of the origin of the Gospels, Professor Weiss proceeds to consider their historic value. Only one is, as we possess it, the work of an eye-witness. The others are based on the testimony of eye-witnesses. "In spite of daily experience we frequently over-estimate the certainty as well as the reach of the human memory" (p. 134). . . . That the memories of the eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus were liberated from the conditions common to men can only be affirmed through arbitrary dogmatic assumptions. (p. 135). . . . The unembarrassed confidence with which simple faith or trammelled apologetic vaunts the literal accuracy of the words of the Lord contained in the Gospels, is certainly not justified by historical criticism (p. 136). . . . No one relates verbally what he has heard; he could no do it if he desired to; and it is only in the rarest cases that he would

desire to do so even if he were able (p. 148). . . . Every one relates the matter in the way in which it lives in his imagination. . . . He assumes with perfect justice that the eye-witness to whom he listened did not communicate every detail, and thus he does not hesitate to supplement, from his general conception of the course of events, the details, the description of which has escaped his memory or was lacking in the original narrative (p. 144). . . . The evangelist who writes at a later period [than that when the oral tradition was forming] . . . does not shrink from expressly formulating thoughts or motives which the older narrative only hints at, and from placing suitable expressions in the mouths of the persons concerned (p. 145). . . . Thus it happens that all our Gospels, and the Fourth most of all, are by no means mere biographies. They are really didactic writings, in which it is the dominant interest to make as clear as possible, and bring to actual expression the view of their authors as to the nature of Christianity" (p. 176).

Notwithstanding these admissions Professor Weiss refuses to allow that there is anything "one-sided" in any of the Gospels. The "Tendenz" criticism, which has its origin in the Tübingen school, and which, in a slightly-modified and more reasonable form, throws so much light on the whole of the New Testament writings, is in his view based entirely upon a delusion. He finds no trace in the Gospels of any antagonism between Gentile and Jewish Christianity. Of Professor Weiss's treatment of the "mythical theory" of the Gospel narratives it is unnecessary to speak; it may be said almost to have died out in Germany, and in England it has never taken root. Nor is it possible to discuss within the limits of this notice his arguments in favour of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, further than to warn his readers against accepting too readily his opinion regarding the use of it by the early Fathers, or they may easily be misled by such statements as that "now and then in the writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers, such as Barnabas, Hermas, or Ignatius, we come upon more or less explicit points of harmony with the peculiar mode of expression, and the speeches of Christ of our Fourth Gospel," and that "about the middle of the [second] century, in Justin Martyr, . . . there is found an indubitable allusion to the history of Nicodemus, contained in the Fourth Gospel."

The translation of this first volume is extremely slovenly and inaccurate, and at times entirely misrepresents Dr. Weiss's meaning. The second volume is from the hand of another—and it is to be hoped more competent—translator.

F. H. I.

Mr. Savage's 'Beliefs about the Bible.'*

THE twelve lectures on the Bible which make up this book were delivered by Mr. Savage in Boston last year, and are evidently printed just as they were delivered to a popular audience. They are full of

* *Beliefs about the Bible.* By M. J. Savage. London: Williams and Norgate. 1884.

vigour and point, brief, clear and decided. Perhaps a little too decided and self-confident in dealing with some problems which competent scholars hesitate to settle dogmatically; a little too off-hand in answering questions which will long continue to exercise the mind of that part of Christendom which reads and thinks. But Mr. Savage, though he seems to us to be somewhat too much bent on putting everything in plain black and white, where the truth he wants to set forth demands more half tones and more delicate lines, has the art of seizing, at any rate, the most telling and significant features of what he has to describe. His readers must not take it for granted that the things which could not be dealt with in a popular lecture may be comfortably ignored in their own study, or that the striking facts and illustrations and comparisons that are given are completely and necessarily conclusive. Mr. Savage himself would be sure to urge this same caution, and it does not prevent us from recommending his book very cordially to any earnest and thoughtful reader. The interest is sustained from beginning to end, and the tendency of modern criticism to give life and reality and consistency to the whole subject of Bible history, morality and religion is well brought out.

Short Protestant Commentary on the New Testament.*

WE are glad to notice the appearance of the third and last volume of the Short Protestant Commentary on the New Testament. The character of the work must by this time be pretty generally understood, and it is not necessary here to say more either of its merits or defects. The writers are all men of acknowledged ability as Biblical critics, and among those who contribute to the present volume will be found the well-known names of Hilgenfeld, Pfleiderer, and Holsten. The reader may not, of course, always agree with the opinions expressed. It is surprising, for instance, that any one with the least feeling for style should be able to believe that the first epistle to the Thessalonians is a genuine composition of St. Paul, as Professor Schmidt does; but he will not fail to appreciate the advantage of having, in this work, a clear statement of the results of a perfectly unbiased criticism of the New Testament, put forth by competent scholars, together with the reasonings by which those results have been reached. R. B. D.

Strack and Siegfried's Manual of Later Hebrew.†

THE study of late, or Talmudic and Rabbinical Hebrew, which has undergone such a revival in our time, will be further promoted by this valuable addition to Petermann's *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*,

* *A Short Protestant Commentary on the Books of the New Testament:* with General and Special Introductions. Edited by Professor Paul Wilhelm Schmidt and Professor Franz von Holzendorff. Translated from the Third Edition of the German by Francis Henry Jones, B.A. Vol. III. London: Williams and Norgate. (Theological Translation Fund Library Thirty-first Volume.)

† *Lehrbuch der Neuhebräischen Sprache und Literatur:* von Herm L. Strack und Carl Siegfried.

from the joint pens of the distinguished specialists, Professors Siegfried and Strack. The former supplies the outlines of the grammar of the New Hebrew language, and the latter a bibliographic sketch of the literature in it, and especially of the helps now available for students who wish to prosecute the study of both the language and the literature. At a time when valuable tracts from the Talmudic and kindred collections are being published in accessible and well-edited forms, such a little manual as this will be very acceptable even to students who may never contemplate exploring the immense piles of Rabbinic literature, and we believe we shall be doing useful service in calling attention to its appearance.

J. F. S.

The Life and Philosophy of Leibnitz.

THE philosophy of Leibnitz* possesses far more than a merely historical interest. Recent scientific theories and particularly recent attempts to explain the continuity of development between the apparently unconscious mineral world and the conscious life of animals and men, have sent many minds to the study of Leibnitz in the hope that in his monadology they may find the means of crossing without supernatural aid that chasm between matter and mind which evolutionists must either bridge over or confess themselves fundamentally baffled. Nor is it in the interest of the doctrine of Evolution alone that there is a revival of attention to the speculations of this philosopher. The gradual reconciliation between science and theology will probably proceed in some important respects along the lines of thought which Leibnitz has laid down. Among the systems of philosophy which have the largest following and the most vigorous life in the present day are those of Herbart and Lotze, and each of these thinkers, particularly the latter, have confessedly found much inspiration in the teachings of Leibnitz. It is therefore a happy coincidence that simultaneously with the appearance of the English translation of Lotze's important treatises on Metaphysics and Logic Mr. Merz puts the knowledge of Leibnitz as a man and a philosopher within easy reach of English readers.

Mr. Merz tells us in his preface that he has endeavoured to confine himself as much as possible to those points in the life and the doctrine of Leibnitz which "cannot be easily gathered by a perusal of Guhrauer's biography, of the principal works of the philosopher himself, or of the well-known historical treatises of Ueberweg, Kuno Fischer, Erdmann, and Zeller." Beginning with a graphic description of the intellectual and political state of Germany, into which our philosopher was born and which largely determined the direction of his thought and the character of the activity of his busy life, the biographer gives us a lively account of a career which has as close relations with the external world of society and politics as it has with the inner development of philosophical ideas.

* *Leibnis.* By John Theodore Merz. William Blackwood and Sons; Edinburgh and London. 1884. [Philosophical Classics for English eaders.]

As Mr. Merz sketches for us this courtly philosopher in whom personal ambition was evidently strong and who cultivated assiduously the acquaintance of political magnates and princes, the force of contrast suggests to us the exquisite picture which Dr. Martineau has drawn of Leibnitz's contemporary, the retiring, unambitious Spinoza. Our intellectual sympathies are more with the former, but it is the latter that commands our reverence and love; his single-mindedness and pure passionate devotion to truth raise him to a spiritual height far above the ordinary level to which the German philosopher attained. The celebrated question as to the relative claims of Leibnitz and Sir Isaac Newton to the discovery of the infinitesimal calculus is fully and fairly stated by Mr. Merz. It is admitted that Leibnitz gave more complete and finished expression to the method, and that he may possibly have made the discovery of it independently of Newton; but it is quite certain that Newton's discovery was the earlier, and although the biographer tries to excuse his philosopher as much as possible, he is obliged to admit that Leibnitz's insinuation that Newton was a plagiarist admits of no justification.

The essential merit and present worth of Leibnitz's philosophy consists, we think, in its insistence on the doctrine that each spirit is an individual and indestructible principle and not merely a phænomenal phase of the eternal Being. The drift of Spinoza's system, on the other hand, and that of its modern equivalent the system of Hegel is to represent the spirit of man as merely a transient expression of the divine thought. In like manner Mr. Spencer's philosophy, by representing man as a compound of several psychical elements similarly leads to the conclusion that the decomposition of the body is the dissolution of the soul also. The system of Leibnitz destroys the Cartesian antithesis of body and mind, and by its theory of monads represents all nature as due to the living presence and activity of spiritual entities. In opposition to the view of Descartes that the essence of matter is extension, "Leibnitz," says Mr. Merz, "was led to look for something else in matter, and this something else was Force or Power, which may be there when the body is at rest as in the spring which is wound up or in the weight which is prevented from falling. This suggested to him the idea that this principle which underlies material things is something analogous to the power we experience in ourselves." Hence the universe, in his view, consists of simple beings with no extension, but endowed with the depth of an internal life, which beings he called monads to distinguish them from the material atoms of the Epicureans. That which appears to us as an extended body is in reality an aggregate of many monads, and it is only in consequence of the dimness of our sensuous perception that this plurality presents itself to us as a continuous whole. Hence Leibnitz regards plants and minerals as consisting of monads which are as it were sleeping, and which only awaken when they pass into the animal and human stage. God is the primitive monad and His energy has called into being all the rest and established the relations among them. Leibnitz was still sufficiently under Descartes' influence

to deny that monads can act on each other, and therefore he represents the relations between body and mind as not due to reciprocal influence, but to a pre-established harmony arranged by the Creator. This view of his system is hardly likely to be adopted by evolutionists, though a few years ago the late Professor Clifford and some other eminent men promulgated a similar doctrine of the mere parallelism of psychical and physiological changes.

It seems to us that the great defect in the system of Leibnitz is that, while it gives to souls an individual and indeed indestructible substance, it virtually denies to them all original causality. God is with him the single source of all original causation, for though he declares that the mind is free to follow its own internal development and is not at all constrained from without, he yet maintains, as does the late Professor Green, that there is always a predisposing cause or sufficient reason why we make one moral choice rather than another. This view has dominated German philosophy up to the present day, Kant being the only thinker of note who has broken away from it, and even he was not self-consistent in his defence of Free-will. It is the more remarkable that Leibnitz should have insisted on the moral determinism of man, because he declares that the soul is an imperfect image of God, and that God in the creation of the world was free to select how he would act, and out of an infinity of possible worlds chose to give actuality to this present one. The complete determinism which pervades the philosophy of Leibnitz will probably be rather a recommendation than a disqualification in the eyes of the majority of present scientists and psychologists; we cannot, however, help thinking that it is quite at variance with the manifest deliverance of man's moral and religious consciousness. Leibnitz's own interest in religion appears to have been connected far more with the head than with the heart, and Mr. Merz fixes on the lack of emotional warmth and enthusiasm as the weak side of his philosopher's character. Our space has confined us to a mere glance at the subject, and we must conclude with the assurance that the present volume of the "Philosophical Classics for English Readers" is on a par with its forerunners in accuracy and interest.

C. B. U.

Mr. Sully's Outlines of Psychology.

THOSE ladies and gentlemen who need a knowledge of psychology to qualify themselves for some University degree may be congratulated on the publication of Mr. Sully's new volume.* That this treatise will have considerable success as a hand-book for examinations may be safely predicted. Hitherto candidates for graduation have been practically limited to the use of Prof. Bain's "Mental and Moral Science," and this substantial volume, though it, no doubt, contains much valuable and some

* *Outlines of Psychology*, with special reference to the Theory of Education. By James Sully, M.A., author of "Sensation and Intention," &c. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1884.

original matter, is on the whole so unattractive and indigestible that the study of it is wont to produce a strong disrelish for mental diet of the psychological sort. "Cramming" is in general a reprehensible practice, but in the case of Prof. Bain's book it cannot be wholly avoided, for some of the sections, such, for instance, as the exposition of the origin of the idea of space, are so unintelligible that the poor student has no resource but to swallow them whole and then reproduce them *memoriter* in the examination room. Another cause of legitimate dissatisfaction with this older manual is the author's habit during the earlier half of the book of using without explanation language which naturally implies that he holds the common ontological beliefs respecting the substantial nature of the *ego*, the independent existence of external matter or force, the efficiency of causation, &c., all of which beliefs the student gradually learns as he gets far into the volume are implicitly discredited by the later expositions, and the consequence is that he feels that his ideas have been needlessly muddled, and indignantly asks, "Why was I not told at the beginning that 'mind' only means 'the aggregate of conscious states,' that 'matter' means 'the possibility of sensation,' and that 'causation' only means 'temporal antecedence.' As it is, I must go back again to the beginning and re-read the work if I am really to get at the author's true meaning." But even after this has been done no satisfaction is attained, for we remember more than one bewildered student remarking "But after all I really cannot tell what Prof. Bain means by the distinction between 'body' and 'mind.' He says in one part of the book that the difference is that the one has 'extension' and the other hasn't; but when I enquire what is meant by 'extension,' it turns out that 'extension' is an idea derived from the association of the passive tactual or visual feelings with the active feelings of muscular movement; 'extension,' then, is also a mode of feeling or consciousness, and as 'mind' means the sum-total of states of consciousness, the inevitable conclusion is that in Prof. Bain's view 'body' is a peculiar part of 'mind.' But if so, why should he not plainly say so rather than write just as if he regarded the two as quite distinct realities?" The key to all this confusion is that Prof. Bain never distinctly realises in this book the all-important difference between Psychology and Philosophy. He seems indeed to have thought that Hume and the Mills had effectually demolished the foundations of Philosophy proper, or Ontology, and that all that was worth keeping of old treatises on philosophy could be transplanted into psychology and there explained by processes of association. Since Prof. Bain wrote, however, the theory of Evolution has exerted a growing influence over popular thinking, and no evolutionist will long be satisfied with regarding the universe as existing merely in subjective states of mind. The external world whose method of development the evolutionist expounds must be regarded as having some independent basis of reality; and it is quite repugnant to the prevailing mode of thought to treat the geological ages as having no existence apart from and anterior to the consciousness of the animals and men for whose advent these geological ages seem to

have prepared the way. Hence the *Zeitgeist* has shelved the sensational idealism of Prof. Bain, and the powerful competitors for philosophical dominion in this country, at present, are the realistic theories of Spencer, Herbart or Lotze on the one hand, and the Hegelianism of the two Cairds and the late Prof. Green on the other.

Mr. Sully's ably written book occupies a somewhat curious position. His intellectual ancestors are, no doubt, the Mills and Prof. Bain, and in his earlier book, 'Sensation and Intuition,' he enthusiastically endorses the position that it is an illusion to suppose that the *ego* is at any moment anything more than the aggregate of feelings and ideas which then exists (*v.* p. 180), but it is evident that in common with most other prominent members of this school he has now come to see that it is no longer feasible to maintain that a satisfactory *rationale* of the universe can be arrived at by the mere association of phænomenal states of consciousness. It is admitted now that the *ego* may be something other than a mere aggregate of passing mental states, and that external things may be something more than groups of sensations having no other ground of union than the merely psychological one furnished by the laws of association. This remarkable change of front and concession to realism takes the shape in the writings of Prof. G. Croom Robertson and of Mr. Sully of the assertion of a distinction between Psychology and Philosophy, and of the recognition of the respective rights of each of these provinces of study. They no longer dogmatically teach that it is an illusion to suppose that there may be a substantive personality, or *ego*, which unifies our successive mental states, or that it is an illusion to suppose that there is an external cause to which our sensations are due, but they relegate the discussion of all questions concerning the substantive bases of mind and matter and their interaction to *philosophy*, and declare that psychology need not concern itself with the settlement of these ontological controversies. The recognition of this distinction is an immense gain, and it is mainly owing to the want of it that Prof. Bain's work is marred by the confusion to which we have called attention. We are far from denying that Prof. Bain has done eminent service in the cause of psychological analysis, and it is a great pity that his futile attempt to merge ontology and its claims in a system of mere phænomenal psychology should have detracted so much from the intelligibility and usefulness of his 'Mental and Moral Science.'

While we notice with much satisfaction that Mr. Sully is the first of the disciples of J. S. Mill to recognise in a systematic treatise on psychology the legitimate functions of philosophy we are far from thinking that the true relations of philosophy and psychology are such as are set forth in the treatise before us. The only real use which Mr. Sully makes of the distinction between the two spheres of thought is to secure himself from coming into direct collision with common-sense and evolutionist notions, and this he does by at once shunting the discussion, when there is danger of such a collision, on to the philosophical line and then retiring with the remark that to pursue it further would lead him beyond the

legitimate scope of his treatise. He thus escapes the dilemmas into which Prof. Bain at times heedlessly plunges, but in other respects his book essentially agrees both in spirit and in letter with those of his predecessors in the same school. Its real merit and value is undoubtedly considerable, and it consists mainly in this, that it presents in a very clear and systematic form all the more noteworthy psychological views which appear in the writings of James Mill, J. S. Mill, and Prof. Bain, and combines with these many valuable illustrations and additions from the works of G. H. Lewes and Mr. Herbert Spencer. His exposition is also enriched by ideas drawn from many German sources, especially the writings of Beneke, Volkmann (the Herbartian), Wundt, Brentano, &c. There are also some striking quotations from occasional papers by that promising psychologist, Mr. James Ward, of Cambridge, one of the present examiners in the London University. Nor should we do full justice to Mr. Sully by simply calling his work a very careful and able compilation, for in several departments of the subject, particularly when discussing the origin of the idea of space, and in the analysis of volition, he contributes original suggestions which are well worthy of attention. We gather also that in reference to the important controversy whether the mind exists and works unconsciously or whether the so-called "unconscious mental modifications" are merely cerebral changes, Mr. Sully inclines to side rather with Hamilton than with J. S. Mill, and from this, as well as from several other indications in the book, it would seem that his thought is beginning to drift away from the school in which he has received his psychological education, so that probably we shall see him in a few more years reach that Leibnitzian or, rather, Herbartian position to which Mr. James Ward has already attained. It deserves noticing that Mr. Sully, as might be expected, makes much greater use of the principle of Heredity than Prof. Bain does, but he also insists very strongly on the influence of the social environment of a child, and especially on the influence of language; and it would appear that he has not yet made up his mind whether Heredity or the Social Factor is the most potent agent in determining the character of the seemingly intuitional element in the mental development of the young. One of the features of the book for which advanced students will be particularly grateful is the appending to the several chapters copious references to the particular parts of important English and foreign works where may be found a fuller exposition of the doctrines set forth in the text. As the title-page declares, the work has special reference to the Theory of Education, and several paragraphs bearing on this subject are opportunely inserted which teachers will find very serviceable. We are glad to see that Mr. Sully has not allowed himself to be carried away by the materialistic tendencies of the day, and that he seems far less inclined than Mr. Spencer is to take for granted that there is a complete parallelism between nervous changes and psychical states and activities. Facts, he says, indicate

> A certain parallelism between the processes of psychical and physical development, but how far this parallelism extends is a doubtful point.

Whether, for example, it is possible as yet to find a physiological counterpart, or equivalent for what we call association, seems uncertain. However this may be, we must be careful not to press this parallelism into a final explanation of psychical products. Thus from a mere consideration of the gradual differentiation of the cerebral nerve-substance we could not deduce the laws of development of intellectual activity, the discrimination of impressions, &c. Mr. Spencer seeks to identify the psychical and physical processes to the utmost by resolving them both into the results of continual differentiations and integrations. But since psychical integration appears to mean assimilating or classing it is a little difficult to recognise any real identity or equivalence between the physiological and the mental process here called by the same name (p. 55).

Students of psychology of every school will find Mr. Sully's book a very useful *vade mecum* in their researches, but those of them who have a strong taste for metaphysical inquiries will perhaps think with us that the effort to exclude philosophical questions which pervades the volume is forced and unnatural and inevitably leads at times to the complete distortion of psychological facts. Psychology and philosophy simply deal with two distinct aspects of our mental experience, and though the attention may be directed predominantly to one or the other of these aspects, the two cannot be logically separated and treated apart from each other. Every intellectual act necessarily implies the action of the *ego* which discriminates, as well as the presence of the sensations or ideas discriminated, and every volition is psychologically misrepresented if it is not referred back to an ontological source. Hence the view of causation which runs through Mr. Sully's book seems to us to be fundamentally erroneous. With him the cause of any mental phænomenon is always a previous phænomenon; but this definition of causation, though it may for practical purposes meet the needs of the student of natural science, is felt to be utterly unsound the moment it is applied to explain our mental acts of attention and other conscious volitions. Mr. Sully truly says popular psychology clearly implies the existence of a substance of mind as well as of mental phænomena, and he inclines to admit now that this popular idea is no illusion; but it is equally certain that this same popular psychology declares that all our volitional activity is due, not to any previous mental phænomenon, but to the noümenal activity of this mental substance or personal self. It is not to a phænomenal *ego* (that groundless figment of Kant's imagination) that the popular consciousness refers all man's voluntary acts, but to the metaphysical or ontological *ego*, whose activity is the sole type of all real causation, and which, as the late Professor Green has abundantly shown, is indispensably present and active in every self-conscious mental act. The ignoring of the existence and activity of the noümenal *ego*, or true self, is, in our opinion, the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of Mr. Sully's treatise, and his consequent endeavour to explain all mental phænomena without going beyond the phænomenal sphere leads, we think, inevitably to a misrepresentation of many facts of consciousness, and precludes the possibility of the fair and adequate treatment of such important questions as man's moral freedom. But while differing thus

fundamentally from our author, we cordially thank him for the pleasure and the help which we have already derived, and which we expect to enjoy in fuller measure from the further study of his very able and carefully-written work. C. B. U.

Professor Godwin's 'Intellectual Principles.'

WHILE dealing with Psychology we will briefly refer to another treatise* on the same subject which appears simultaneously with Mr. Sully's but comes from the opposite philosophical quarter. Professor Godwin's book is probably intended chiefly as a manual for theological students and as a safeguard against the agnostic influences of the day, but its simple and graceful style will probably win for it a fair share of popularity. It is not devoid of originality either in method of arrangement or ideas, but the conclusions generally agree with those set forth by Dr. Noah Porter in his large work on the 'Human Intellect.' There is some new light thrown on the psychology of the senses, and an interesting attempt is made to revive the old doctrine, which Hamilton supports, but which is now generally abandoned, that in sensation the mind is present and conscious at the peripheral extremity of the nerves, where the sensation is felt, and not merely in the cerebral centres. We are inclined to think that the author carries his agreement with "common-sense" notions rather too far when he maintains that just as we know by consciousness the self, which is the substance of mind, so we likewise know by consciousness the solidity which is the substance of matter. It seems to us that Mansel was quite right when he said that the substantive character of the *ego* is known intuitively, but that the substance we ascribe to material objects is a matter of inference.

C. B. U.

Mr. Guthrie on Mr. Spencer's 'Data of Ethics.'

MR. GUTHRIE, in this new book,† brings to a close the able criticism of Mr. Spencer's system which occupies his two earlier volumes. In a very interesting Preface he sums up the results of his previous examination, and arrives at what we regard as a thoroughly sound conclusion, namely, that—

> Whatever of worth there is in Mr. Spencer's works (and there is very much), derives its value from *a posteriori* grounds and not from its *a priori* reliance on first principles, nor from its place in a deductive system of cosmic philosophy.

We do not remember to have ever met with a more just and forcible

* *Intellectual Principles; or, Elements of Mental Science*, Intuitions—Thoughts—Beliefs. By John H. Godwin, Hon. Prof. New Coll., London. London: James Clarke & Co. 1884.

† *On Mr. Spencer's Data of Ethics.* By Malcolm Guthrie, author of *On Mr. Spencer's Formula of Evolution*, and *On Mr. Spencer's Unification of Knowledge.* London: The Modern Press. 1884.

characterisation of the weak side of Mr. Spencer's philosophy than is contained in the following passage :—

> Mr. Spencer's philosophic conception was indeed imposing, and before its magnificent proportions many have bowed down in sincere respect. But his cosmical scheme when carefully examined proved to be constructed of terms which had no fixed and definite meaning, which were in fact merely symbols of symbolic conceptions, conceptions themselves symbolic because they were not understood—and the moment we began to put them to use as having definite values they landed us forthwith in alternative contradictions! Then to effect cosmical evolution, which is a process of imperceptible objective change, what was necessary, but to adopt a system of imperceptible word changes, so that the imperceptible word changes accompanying the imperceptible objective changes should lead us in the end to the completed results, and the process of evolution should thus be made comprehensible! In this manner over the spaces of an enormous work have we been skilfully led by a master of language till we find ourselves in imagination following out mentally the actual processes of the universe. But after all it has only been a process in our own minds, of the skilful substitution of words!

Mr. Guthrie is a disciple of Mr. Spencer's in so far as the latter simply maintains that the universe has reached its present state by an orderly process of imperceptible or gradual development, but when Mr. Spencer goes further and pretends to explain how the great transitions from the mineral kingdom to organism, and from organism to consciousness and purposive action have necessarily come about, Mr. Guthrie's discipleship ceases, and he vigorously disputes the validity of his former master's colossal claims. In his previous volumes he has shown that Mr. Spencer has failed to explain how mechanical and chemical activities could generate organic life; in the present book he points out that our great evolutionist has been equally unsuccessful in his attempt to affiliate Ethics upon the earlier cosmical processes. In Ethics purposive action, or the subjective factor, is an energetic and efficient principle; but we search Mr. Spencer's writings in vain for any explanation of the correlation between this mental action and the laws of mechanical and biological change. Mr. Guthrie gives the name "philosophy" to the ambitious attempt to unify in thought all the successive stages of evolution, while he reserves the modest word "science" for that research which, accepting as inexplicable the fundamental principles which underlie the phenomena of physics, biology, and ethics respectively, endeavours to show how in each of these provinces the elementary principle passes from its lowest to its highest manifestation. Thus Mr. Leslie Stephen's treatise is rightly called 'The Science of Ethics,' because it limits itself to inquiring how a being like man, capable of purposive action in reference to pleasure and pain, has reached his present moral consciousness. With Mr. Stephen's ethical views and indeed with Mr. Spencer's (if we exclude that gentleman's "philosophical" ambition) Mr. Guthrie is substantially in accord, and he supplements their teachings by accepting Mr. Fiske's view of the relation of evolutionist ethics to religion. In an interesting chapter on Free-will our author vigorously defends the determinist position, and his views on this question

are closely akin to those of Leibnitz. We cannot say that he has converted us to Determinism. As he asserts, in reply to Mr. Spencer, that in order to explain the purposive actions of animals we must assume the existence of some other factor than those of chemistry and physics—"a factor which, inasmuch as it is inscrutable, spoils our systems of explanations and laughs at our formulas," so we maintain that in passing from the mere susceptibility to pleasure and pain to the higher consciousness of moral obligation we must in like manner assume another factor, the spiritual, a factor which implies in its possessor some power of original causation, and justifies us in saying, if he wilfully sins, that he is deserving of blame because he has taken the lower course when he could have taken the higher. We have a strong feeling of incongruity when we find Mr. Guthrie in one chapter arguing that every act of moral choice in man is strictly necessitated, and then read in another chapter that man comes to feel

> A sense of responsibility towards a Power which demands from him a surrender, so that he shall work towards its great ideal and find his happiness therein.

How the same power can at once determine every act of ours, and yet at the same time consistently demand that we shall surrender ourselves to its guidance, is one of those paradoxes which only an Hegelian could explain. Here, however, Mr. Guthrie has most of the eminent living scientific and philosophical authorities on his side. On the whole, his book, while strongly in sympathy with the Evolution theory, utters a most just and timely protest against the extravagant pretensions in which Mr. Spencer and some of his followers are wont to indulge.

C. B. U.

Dr. Georg von Gizycki's Outlines of Morality.*

ENGLISHMEN have the reputation on the continent of being practical, if nothing else, and therefore it is not, perhaps, altogether surprising that when an essay had to be written by a German Privatdocent, on the Outlines of Morality, which should serve as a practical guide to conduct, and should be based on "undeniable facts of ordinary consciousness," inspiration should be chiefly sought from the reputed English masters in moral philosophy. This, at any rate, seems to have been the course pursued by Dr. von Gizycki in preparing the essay mentioned below, which, out of sixty-five competitors, gained a prize recently offered by the Verein-Lessing in Berlin. Dr. von Gizycki appears to have little sympathy with German metaphysics. Kant is quoted once or twice, and there is a reference to Fichte, but only for the sake of a strong condemnation of his unpractical idealism. The names most frequently recurring throughout the pages of this essay are those of Locke, Hume, Grote, Bentham, Mill, Bain, and Spencer. It is with these writers that

* *Grundzüge der Moral.* Gekrönte Preisschrift von Dr. Georg von Gizycki, Privatdocent der Philosophie an der Universität zu Berlin. Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich. 1883.

the author is evidently most in sympathy, and on their lines he expounds his theory of right and wrong.

The essay opens with the same plea as Mr. Spencer's *Data of Ethics* for the secularisation of morals. The supposed authority of divine revelation in the enforcement of right conduct being no longer generally available, it must be clearly demonstrated what right and wrong are in themselves, and what reason there is in the nature of things for right conduct, for only in this way can society be saved from anarchy. Then follows a concise exposition of the nature of good and evil, as what affect sensitive beings with pleasure and pain respectively, and a definition of right conduct as that which adds to pleasurable feeling or diminishes the painful, while that which has a contrary effect is wrong. Thus Dr. von Gizycki claims, with his English masters, that the initial steps in the exposition of morality are very plain for any ordinary intelligence to grasp. But how out of these simple data any true moral perception can be built up, and where the notions of obligation and duty come from, is not explained. And there is another stumbling-block put into the way of any satisfactory explanation of the actual phenomena of our moral life by the adoption of Dr. Bain's theory of the will, as being merely the resultant of contending forces in the individual, who is always carried along into action by the strongest feeling, and only deludes himself by any imagination of free agency or choice. But Dr. von Gizycki does not seem to be troubled by these considerations. In the midst of these statements of theory and definition are introduced other equally uncompromising statements as to moral duties. There is no doubt in the author's mind of the reality of virtue, and no attempt is made to reduce the expressions it involves to terms of the primary definitions. It is pointed out that the individual *summum bonum* must be distinguished from the ethical, that while the former is of necessity the greatest amount of pleasurable feeling for self, the latter is the greatest amount of pleasurable feeling or happiness for all, and the man who is moral acts for the general good rather than for his own selfish pleasure. But how it happens that there are moral people at all is not explained. Good people are moral, heroes and martyrs lay down their lives and resolutely suffer anguish, because they really have more pleasure so, because the thought of possible unfaithfulness is far more terrible to them than anything they suffer. But why it should be so, if "good" is merely synonymous with "pleasurable," we are not told. There is no suggestion that such experiences point to the need of a different interpretation of the facts, and to a deeper influence at work in the unfolding of the moral life. If Dr. von Gizycki has ever considered he certainly has not accepted the theory, which alone seems to us able to account for the facts of our experience—viz., that the nobler ideal of life *claims* our obedience in quite a different way from the mere desire for pleasure, that the supreme end of righteous conduct is not pleasure but righteousness, that an action is not right because it is pleasant (in whatever wide and impersonal sense), but to the true man is pleasant because it is right. Dr. von Gizycki apparently

despises metaphysics, and has aimed at being very practical; but it has been, we believe, at the cost of real consistency. His "Outlines" of morality do not fit together in a harmonious whole.

Nevertheless, apart from theory, the sketch of the actual duties of life, which occupies the greater part of the book, is excellent. It deals with both personal and social duties, and in detail with justice, faithfulness, truth, benevolence. It pictures the higher ideal of honour, especially in regard to duelling and seduction, which has made its way in these latter days, and needs to be more and more emphasized by all good men. It contains a timely word about the duty of moral self-culture.

On the whole, although Dr. von Gizycki's essay cannot be regarded as a contribution of any value to the questions of moral philosophy on which it touches, it is interesting as a sign of the curious cross-currents in the sea of thought, and may be accepted with warmer appreciation than that, since as far as its influence may reach it will be among the books that make for righteousness.

V. D. D.

Professor Bain on some Questions of the Day.*

THE very wide range of Professor Bain's studies entitles him to a respectful hearing even on questions which cannot strictly be called *speculative*. In the present volume, which consists for the most part of articles contributed to Reviews, our author brings his great psychological powers to bear upon the various practical aspects of the educational and religious problems of our time. That the answers here given to these public questions are to be considered final, cannot certainly be admitted; but we must all be grateful to a writer of such eminence for his careful elucidation of the subjects which, to a greater or less degree, are occupying all men's minds.

In the first two Essays the well-ascertained laws of mind are applied to some prevailing Errors. As regards the *feelings*, for instance, it has been generally assumed that they have their basis in the Imagination, whereas the converse is the truth. And the like holds of the *will*. Dr. Bain points out what a centre of fallacies the free-will doctrine has been, and takes occasion to have what seems to us an unnecessary fling at Sir W. Hamilton. Then the numerous errors of suppressed correlatives arising from non-recognition of the law of relativity are dealt with.

The Essays on the Civil Service Examinations and the Classical Controversy are both historical and critical. After considering the Commissioners' scheme, considerable doubts are expressed as to the expediency of the competitive system. And here we are inclined to agree with Professor Bain. Not only does the Commissioners' Table mistake the relationship of the various sciences, but the choice allowed is not founded on a proper principle. According to Professor Bain there are at least

* *Practical Essays.* By Alexander Bain, LL.D. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1884.

three regions of study in which every successful candidate should show himself proficient—namely, the Sciences as a whole, in their order of interdependence, English Composition, and the Humanities, in the sense of constitutional history and literature. In his treatment of the Language question our author does not allow for the growing interest, even in England, in semasiology and comparative conceptology.

Under the head of the University Ideal, Professor Bain gives a most interesting account of the growth of the Universities, and says a few words about the ideal graduate and the Logic of Freedom.

By far the most important Essay, in our opinion, is that which deals with religious Tests and Subscriptions, albeit the spirit in which it is written is not always so reverent as it might be. Beginning with the three departments of the pursuit of truth—namely, the order of nature, the ends of practice, and the supernatural—Professor Bain shows the evils attendant on intellectual and spiritual thraldom. The history of dissent from the State Church is an abiding record of the inherent fallacy of the practice of Subscription. Indeed, the logical outcome of the study of the rise and progress of Free Churches, whether in our own country or on the Continent, is too obvious to need stating. All who are interested in the emancipation of the clerical class should read this exhaustive treatment of the subject.

The Procedure of Deliberative Bodies is the subject of the ninth and last Essay. Our author claims no novelty in his statement of the question beyond that of proposing to carry out, "more thoroughly than has yet been done, a few devices already familiar." Though dealing more especially with the present deadlock in the House of Commons, the suggestions here made may well be considered not only by members of Parliament, but by all who have to do with deliberative bodies whether in the Church or in the world.

HERBERT BAYNES.

MR. STOKES ON THE OBJECTIVITY OF TRUTH.*

THIS is the third contribution to philosophy which has been published by the Hibbert Trustees. Their travelling scholars are restating or trying to solve those problems of mind and life which will for ever fringe with gleam and gloom the intellectual vision of mankind.

The task which Mr. Stokes has set himself is by no means easy. It is nothing less than an attempt to show in what way the realistic element latent in the conception of "creative thought" may be stated and developed. In its main outlines the theory of the objectivity of truth had occurred to him when he first became acquainted with "The Secret of Hegel," and since then his views have been maturing in Germany.

Of the five chapters into which the book is divided, the first two deal with the empirical and dogmatic schools and idealistic and realistic

* *The Objectivity of Truth.* By GEORGE J. STOKES, B.A. Williams and Norgate. 1884.

objectivity. In these Mr. Stokes enunciates a principle which "reunites the divergent streams of speculation which flowed from Kant and Reid." The sense in which the phrase "objectivity of truth" is used may be seen from the following:—

> Truth is the agreement of thought with its object, but the object with which thought agrees is not merely itself in a state of alienation, outwardness, a mere outward being and working of thought, but a system of things, a world of reality in organic correlation with thought. In general the objectivity which Truth involves, is not so much an objectivity which thought *is*, as an objectivity which thought *has*. This objectivity is not Kant's. In his system the object derives all that makes it an object, gives to it order and regularity from the activity of the intelligence in cognition. His forms and categories are therefore in a sense objective, and operate in the only world of objectivity with which we are acquainted. But it is an objectivity which they *are*, not *have*. This objectivity is not Hegel's. It is true that there is for him objective thought, a thought and a Reason which is in the world. But this is a bastard objectivity. It merely points to thought here, and thought there; here conscious, there unconscious, as if the naming and not the explanation of the fact were sufficient. If the arguments urged in this chapter are well grounded, an objectivity which is not removed altogether beyond the range, nor yet is a mere state or phase of thought itself, but which thought implies, not as put forth by itself, but as already there, is the Objectivity of Truth.

The last two chapters are an application of this principle to science and religion. As regards the latter, Mr. Stokes' efforts are mainly directed against the current philosophy of religion in Germany, as we have it in Biedermann's *Christliche Dogmatik*, Pfleiderer's *Religionsphilosophie*, and Von Hartmann's *Religion des Geistes*.

Now, we are bound to confess that the essay is in many respects disappointing. In the first place, Mr. Stokes' style is both heavy and obscure, and, with respect to the more immediate object of the book, namely, the endeavour to prove that the Personality of the Divine Being must be accepted on strictly philosophic grounds, he seems to us to have failed. None can hold the truth of God's personality more strongly than we, but, apart from revelation, we venture to think that it cannot be said to be anything more than an "immortal longing" of the human religious consciousness.

HERBERT BAYNES.

DR. TULLOCH'S STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.*

THE contribution which Principal Tulloch has recently made to our philosophical literature is one of great interest and value. It consists chiefly of Essays that have already been published in periodicals, but they have been revised and extended, and now form parts of one integral work. They all deal with the question, "Is there a spiritual world? Is there a metaphysical as well as a physical basis of life? Is Reason or Soul, in other words, an entity, and not a mere manifestation of nervous force—a life behind all other life, and not merely the highest

* *Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion.* By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1884.

and most complex phase of natural life? All the naturalistic systems of thought, so prevalent at the present time, assume a negative answer to these questions. These systems of thought Dr. Tulloch examines one after another under the headings of "Positivism," "The Author of 'Thorndale' and Modern Scepticism," "Modern Scientific Materialism," "Pessimism" "Morality," and "Religion without Metaphysics." "Natural Religion," by the author of 'Ecce Homo,' is briefly discussed, and the views of Professor Ferrier and the recent Kantian revival more fully considered. This enumeration will show the scope of the book, and also the impossibility of our attempting to do more than send our readers to study it for themselves. Students of Dr. Martineau will appreciate the graceful reference to him, as one whose name it would be "unpardonable to omit. There is no Christian thinker of our time who has seen with a clearer eye the essential question between modern empiricism and spiritual philosophy, or who has more felicitously and powerfully, in many essays, maintained the cause of Christian theism." And they will all rejoice to think that the same cause is upheld with such simplicity of thought and directness of speech as Dr. Tulloch shows in the volume before us. It is a book which every thoughtful minister should read, and then lend to as many thoughtful laymen as he can find. It goes straight to the very heart of questions which the present age has to settle, and which are settled the wrong way by being left alone. It may be long before the intellectual scepticism of thinkers penetrates to the masses of the people; though already the question, Has man a soul? is a favourite topic for Secularist discussions; but ultimately all faith in a heavenly Father, in Prayer, in a Future Life, and in the Categorical Imperative of Duty, depends upon whether we place mind first or last, and regard it as "the great first cause" of all things, or as the final product of phenomenal changes, the foam into which the highest billows of organic life occasionally break. Dr. Tulloch is a noble defender of Christian Theism, but in his essay on Natural Religion he seems too anxious to prevent the name of God from being used in any but its accepted meaning. The perpetual aim of the modern secularist is to make an impassable gulf between morality and religion. The aim of the Theist should be to show how possible it is to pass naturally and without break from morality to religion; how almost inevitably this is done; how immensely slow is the tendency in human nature to do it; how the real question at issue is nearly always, not between religion and no-religion, but between one kind of religion and another. This is what the author of Natural Religion has endeavoured most successfully to show; and there can be no doubt that the Christian Theist has far more chance of influencing a man who has got so far as to admit the inevitable existence of a natural religion, than a man who blatantly insists on being called an atheist. As Theodore Parker said, "Theoretical atheism hardly exists; it is practical atheism with which we have to deal, and that is found within Christendom as well as without, and means much the same as deliberate self will. No man is an atheist who reverences a higher moral law; his knowledge of God may

be most imperfect, may be merely rudimentary; but it is real knowledge as far as it goes, it is knowledge of the God whom Jesus Christ taught us to call our Heavenly Father. There are many other points we might touch on, the interesting biographical sketches in the book, and the able way in which most "modern" theories of an anti-Christian type are shown to be revivals of very ancient opinions, but we must forbear, and, instead, once more commend the book itself to our readers.

H. S. S.

Christian Beliefs and Modern Thought.

WE must cordially thank Mr. Henslow for his excellent little book,* and sincerely trust that it will be widely read. There is a constantly-increasing number of people ready to reconsider what have long been regarded as Christian Beliefs, and to do this in a spirit thoroughly friendly to Christianity, and thoroughly appreciative of its great central truths; and to all such people, as well as to those who seek to address them, Mr. Henslow's book may be most useful. He writes frankly and soberly on Creation and Evolution, comparing the account in Genesis with the Chaldean story, and with the latest modern theories, and calls due attention to the moral aim of the author of the Biblical narrative. The Fall and the Curse are well dealt with, and the meaning of salvation from sin illustrated by a vigorous reference to the immorality of Greece and Rome. The Atonement is shown to be Reconciliation, dependent on Penitence and Forgiveness. Faith is defined in the words of Dr. Channing, while the belief required in the Athanasian Creed is "faith made to do duty for credulity, or for a sort of spiritual charm." False ideas connected with "Regeneration" are exposed, and the questions, Who are Christians? What is Communion? and What is the Gospel? are answered in the broadest and most liberal spirit. The book is written in a popular style, and should serve a temporary purpose well. It is not likely to be of permanent value, for it betrays too imperfect an acquaintance with modern scholarship, and shows very little of that historical sense which is more and more required for the consideration of religion. Nor can it be said to rest on any real rock of deep religious philosophy. The distinction between man and the lower animals in regard to sin is ascribed to man's power of abstract thought, while what is really meant is that it is due to man's exclusive possession of self-consciousness; and no notice is taken of that scale of motives which no system of ethics can dispense with without utterly failing to give adequate account of moral facts. These are reasons why the book will not be read twenty years hence. But it should be read now, and we hope it will be.

* *Christian Beliefs reconsidered in the Light of Modern Thought.* By Rev. George Henslow, M.A., Lecturer to St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical School, Professor of Botany at Queen's College, London, &c. London: Frederick Norgate. 1884.

The New Atlantis.*

THIS volume covers a good deal of ground in its 200 pages, setting forth "Ideals Old and New, emanating from the Masters of man belonging to the great races, who conducted the past course of the civilisation, culture and education of humanity." In the first half of the book dealing with Confucianism, Buddhism, Brahmanism, Parsism, Judaism, Hellenism, and Latinism, European Christianism and Mohammedanism the writer is on well-trodden ground. In these days of specialism he is necessarily indebted to others for his materials on such far-reaching subjects: but he may fairly claim credit (?) for a style, which we sincerely hope is all his own. Perhaps it would be a narrowness in an impartial cosmopolitan, who has "sat at the feet of all the priests, poets, and philosophers of Britain, Europe, and America," to look after his English; but if not for his own sake, at any rate for that of his readers he would do well, we venture to think, to pay a little attention to this matter. (We may refer *ex. gr.* to pp. 82, 89, 151.) The latter half of the book is the more interesting, in which the author suggests a historical parallel between the 300 years terminating with the Council of Nicæa and an equal period preceding the year 1870. In the closing chapter on "the Genesis and Development of the New World," he gives an enthusiastic account of the progress of America, leading to the conclusion that the future leadership of modern civilisation will be in the hands of our kindred beyond the sea.

J. H.

Mr. Boulger's 'History of China.'†

MR. BOULGER'S third volume runs through eight hundred pages, exclusive of his copious index. In four years he has traced the history of China from its earliest dawn to the complications with the French in Tonquin. This is a stupendous task, and would perhaps have been better done if more time had been allowed for its accomplishment. We find in the concluding volume the same traces of haste, and absence of literary form, which marked its predecessors. The present volume, however, is occupied exclusively with the nineteenth century, and is therefore necessarily of deep and vivid interest. Mr. Boulger relates the story of our Chinese wars, with large knowledge and considerable effort to be fair; but he fails in those qualities of historical and moral imagination which would enable him to realise the springs of Chinese sentiment and conduct, and he arraigns the statesmen of China before the tribunal of an opinion based solely on Western ideas. This gives a British bias to his narrative which must prevent his work from satisfying the impartial historian of the days to come. Many readers will turn with interest to the chapters which, relating the story of the great Taeping rebellion,

* *The New Atlantis*: A Dialogue. By a Disciple of Buckle. London: Williams and Norgate. 1884.

† *History of China*. By Demetrius Charles Boulger. Vol. III. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1884.

detail the brightest and most extraordinary episodes in the life of "Chinese" Gordon. His portrait, too, on the frontispiece, is a pleasant and suggestive variation on the photographs which have recently become familiar; for we have here vivacity and humour.

R. A. A.

Mr. Greg's Miscellaneous Essays.*

THE review articles re-published as a second series of the miscellaneous essays which had been prepared for publication by Mr. Greg shortly before his death, might have been designated Political Essays. The volume contains five essays, two of which, at least, will certainly not have been forgotten—those on France since 1848, and France in January, 1852, which appeared in the now defunct *North British Review*. They contain a clear and powerful statement of the French political outlook at a most critical period; and the course of history since they were written has unhappily justified only too many of Mr. Greg's forebodings and warnings. "England as it is" is an examination of the statistics, observations and conclusions published by Mr. Wm. Johnston, just a generation ago, the drift of which was to show that England had gone back morally, politically, and socially, within recent years. Mr. Greg challenges some of the statistics and draws less gloomy conclusions from others than Mr. Johnston does; and he takes, on the whole, a much more hopeful view of things, without, however, committing himself to that easy optimism which not unfrequently serves instead of argument, and supplies us with rose-coloured spectacles through which to study our social state. A wise and sympathetic study of the character of Sir Robert Peel is reprinted from the *Westminster Review* of 1852; and the volume is completed by a paper on the Employment of our Asiatic Forces in European Wars, suggested of course by Lord Beaconsfield's audacious and startling stroke in 1878, and contravening the views expressed thereon by the *Spectator*, which took a decidedly alarmist view of the matter, and wrote in favour of conscription and universal military training. Mr. Greg, on the contrary, held that the latter measures were immoral, wasteful, unscientific and unstatesmanlike, and, while admitting the wisdom of some of the warning considerations which had been urged, as regards the employment of Indian soldiers in European wars, his conclusion was that "having this superb strength in reserve" there were no moral reasons he could see to deter us from using it to the fullest extent in every adequate emergency, and in every righteous cause. Those who differ the most frequently and the most widely from Mr. Greg's social and political views will hardly read this volume without a renewed sense of the loss which the debating power of the Press has sustained by his removal from the scene of our present-day controversies.

* *Miscellaneous Essays.* Second Series. By W. R. Greg. London: Trübner. 1884.

Dr. Aspland on the Law of Blasphemy.

DR. LINDSEY M. ASPLAND, in a learned and thoughtful pamphlet (published by Stevens and Haynes), gives reason for not accepting Mr. Justice Stephen's view of the present range and bearings of the Blasphemy Laws. He discusses in detail the main cases that are relied on, and so far as his argument covers the same ground as that of Dr. Blake Odgers in our own pages (*M. R.*, July, 1883, p. 586), he comes to very much the same conclusions; holding that the actual guarantees for the right of freedom of thought and speech in matters of religion are sufficient to prevent the law from ever conflicting seriously with that right. Still, Dr. Aspland agrees with Mr. Justice Stephen in desiring to see the Blasphemy Laws got rid of,—a consummation devoutly to be wished, and one for which we hope the public mind is being surely, if slowly, educated. When blasphemy is no longer recognised in the statute book as an indictable offence, it will remain to be seen whether it is right and practicable to provide some means of restraining gross and malicious outrages on people's religious feelings and convictions. This is a point, however, on which Dr. Aspland leaves his opinion unexpressed.

Thoreau's Walden.

AMERICAN editions are not often found on our booksellers' tables; and Mr. Douglas, by republishing on this side the water Thoreau's most characteristic book (*Walden.* By Henry D. Thoreau. Edinburgh: D. Douglas. 1884), has done a real service to all who know how to appreciate a fresh, original book, devoted to outdoor life, full of minute, loving observation of Nature,—its whole texture interwoven with the thoughts and fancies of the moralist, poet and naturalist. We hope that *Walden* will meet with a welcome which will encourage the publisher to re-issue here the whole series of works of the quaint, pleasant, poetic egotist.

WE can merely acknowledge, at present, the receipt of *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece*, by E. M. Geldart; *Christian Legends of the Middle Ages*, by W. Maccall; *What is Art?* by J. S. Little; *The Contemporary Pulpit*, Vol. I.; *Converts to Rome during the Nineteenth Century*, by W. G. Gorman (all these published by Messrs. W. S. Sonnenschein); *Earth's Earliest Ages*, by G. H. Pember (Hodder and Stoughton); *Bible Folk-Lore* (Kegan Paul); *Thirty Thousand Thoughts*, Vol. II. (Ditto.) Also various pamphlets. We hope to give some account of most of the above, and to review also Von Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, translated by W. C. Coupland, 3 vols. (Trübner); Lotze's *Logic and Metaphysics* (Clarendon Press); *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, by Professor J. E. Thorold Rogers, 2 vols. (W. S. Sonnenschein); *Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity*, by Professor G. Bonet-Maury, D.D. (37, Norfolk Street, Strand); *Memoir of Charles Lowe*, by his wife, Martha P. Lowe (Boston: Cupples. 1884).

THE MODERN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1884.

EZEKIEL.

WE cannot agree with the Roman poet when he pronounces it "sweet" to stand safe on shore and contemplate the crew of a distressed ship struggling with the raging billows. But if we know that the seafarers will escape with their lives, and have done what we could ourselves, towards rescuing them, we may be permitted a sense of relief and thankfulness as we reflect that we are neither their fellow voyagers to-day, nor called on to commit ourselves to their shattered hulk to-morrow or the day after!

Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that these reflections have been suggested to the present writer by a renewed perusal of the prophecies of Ezekiel. As he closed the book the thought rose involuntarily to his mind, that we who have learned to regard the Bible as a precious collection of *human* writings, do, indeed, enjoy a rich privilege over those who still reverence it as a book of divine oracles! From their position they have no choice but to bow their heads in wonder and admiration, and to find some deep meaning in all that is most grotesque or repulsive in it. And, in truth, this is a task in comparison with which the wrestling of the distressed seamen with the elements is mere child's play. How much is there in

Ezekiel alone, for instance, that has to be explained away, twisted and turned, and in one fashion or another set right! What a piece of work to be sure for the well-meaning Bible-reader to get some of his prophecies into shape, and hammer out an interpretation that permits him still to regard them as a part of the word of God! Who can tell, for example, how often the believing commentator has bent his brows over the scene depicted in chaps. xxxviii. and xxxix.? When Israel has returned from the captivity into his own land, and is living there in prosperity and untroubled peace, Yahveh summons from the far North, Gog, the prince of Magog and the suzerain of a number of other tribes and peoples. At the head of an innumerable host he marches upon Canaan. It is greed for plunder that urges him on; and so certain does the success of his undertaking appear, that merchants from every quarter of the globe attach themselves to his expedition to drive their trade in the treasures he is about to seize. In reality, however, this is but the carrying out of the counsel of Yahveh, who seeks the long-announced occasion for the display of his might. Hardly has Gog overstepped the boundaries of Israel when a mighty earthquake spreads terror and confusion through his host. The peoples of which it is composed fall into mutual strife, and destroy each other to the last man, while the Israelites they came to attack have no need to lift a finger. Even the countries from which the enemy came are smitten by the judgment. So great is the number of the slain that their weapons supply the inhabitants of Canaan with fuel for seven years, while as many months are needed to bury the bodies and purify the sacred soil. Thus shall the heathen world be taught to recognise and revere the might of Yahveh. For it is now, and now only, that the irrefragable proof has been given that the carrying away of Israel to Babylon was a manifestation, not of Yahveh's weakness, but of his unbending justice. The destruction of Gog's army makes it abundantly manifest that Yahveh could have destroyed the Chaldeans likewise, and that the latter only saw their

designs against Jerusalem successfully carried through because they were the unconscious and involuntary instruments of Yahveh's sentence against his apostate people. The restoration of Israel partially vindicated Yahveh's supremacy and glory; but this slaughter of his assailants is the final and conclusive proof thereof. . . . . Is this the word of God, and, as such, at once the announcement of an event that we must still look for, and a true indication of God's disposition towards his children upon earth? Truly, we may congratulate ourselves on not thinking it our bounden duty to answer these questions in the affirmative.

There is, as we all know, an extremely simple escape from all these difficulties, and the number of those who avail themselves of it is daily increasing. It consists in simply giving up reading Ezekiel, and troubling oneself no more about him. Now, as far as the reading is concerned, we may well be content to leave it to a few special students; for the book of Ezekiel's prophecies has never been, and even in the best of translations will never be, either edifying or attractive. But if all serious attempts to understand Ezekiel himself were likewise abandoned there would be real cause for regret. For more reasons than one he is deeply interesting. In the historical development of Israel's religion he occupies a place of his own. If he excites little sympathy he earns much respect. As soon as we are relieved from the painful duty of justifying and admiring *everything*, and can judge impartially, we are struck by more than one trait that arrests our attention, and may well put us to shame. It would be sad, indeed, if so much that is good and beautiful were lost to us. Let me, at least, do what I can to make this champion of two thousand five hundred years ago live once more for some few of the children of our age!

It was in the year 597 B.C. Jerusalem had been forced to open her gates to Nebucadrezar, the mighty ruler of the Chaldean empire. With anxious hearts the inhabitants

looked for the conqueror's sentence upon them. Jehoiakim's revolt would be severely punished. Of that there was no question. But how? The uncertainty was of no long duration. The kingdom of Judah, it was decreed, should still exist; but the kernel of the nation, with the king, Jechoniah, the youthful son and successor of Jehoiakim, should be carried away captive to Babylonia. It was a terrible doom; but no repeal or mitigation could be so much as thought of. The families and the individuals who were to be torn from the land of their fathers were forthwith selected. Preparations for the sad journey took but little time. Under proper escort the caravan started within a few days on its long and painful journey.

The majority of the captives reaped what they had sown, inasmuch as they had helped to stir the king to his rebellion against the Chaldeans, or encouraged him in his resistance. But some of them were punished for an offence of which they were not guilty. Like Jeremiah, they had opposed a rebellion which seemed to them equally impious and hopeless, and yet they must now pay the penalty of a course of action which they had openly or secretly condemned. Amongst these was Ezekiel-ben-Buzi, one of "the sons of Zadoc"—*i. e.*, one of the priests who conducted the temple service at Jerusalem.

Babylonia, the goal of the journey, was reached. Of the dispositions now made with regard to the Judean captives we know but little. Jechoniah was kept a prisoner in the capital itself,* together, probably, with a number of his courtiers. But the great majority seem to have had abodes assigned them in the country. They were probably split up into small bands, as a necessary precaution against conspiracies. One of these colonies was settled at Tel-Abîb ("Corn-ear Hill"), not far from the river Chebar; and it was there that Ezekiel dwelt.

How gladly would we look into the soul of this pious priest, and follow the reflections to which he surrendered

* 2 Kings xxv. 27—30; Jer. lii. 31—34. Had Jechoniah been confined in any other city it would have been mentioned here.

himself in the foreign land! But his inner life, even more than his outward fortune, is a closed book to us. We can, therefore, give no answer to the question how he was trained and formed to the prophetic work. But is this really anything peculiar? Isaiah * and Jeremiah † describe the visions of their call—and so, indeed, does Ezekiel himself ‡—but they keep silence respecting all that went before. And yet we are better informed concerning both Isaiah and Jeremiah than concerning the prophet-priest on the banks of the Chebar; for we can follow the former along their path by the clue of their successive prophecies; they make us witnesses of their changing moods, and of the impression they received from the events of their day; but Ezekiel is only known to us when he has reached his full maturity. The final result is all that remains to tell us of his growth and development.

This assertion will sound strange to the attentive reader of Ezekiel's book; and as I would not willingly incur the charge of arbitrariness, let me hasten to justify what I have said. Numerous superscriptions in the book of Ezekiel mention the year, the month, and the day on which revelations were vouchsafed to him from Yahveh, or communicated by him to his fellow exiles.§ Nothing is more natural than that we should begin by accepting these chronological data, and therefore thinking that we can walk by the prophet's side, so to speak, at any rate from the fifth year of his captivity onwards. But when we look closer, and observe both the systematic plan of the whole work, and the mutual relations of the several prophecies, we see that our first impression cannot be trusted. The book of Ezekiel is a carefully planned and studied literary whole. In the first half (chap. i.—xxiv.) the announcements

* Chap. vi. † Chap. i. ‡ Chap. i. 4—iii. 21.

§ See Ezek. i. 2; viii. 1; xx. 1; xxiv. 1, where the fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth years of Ezekiel's captivity are successively mentioned. Many of the prophecies against the heathen are dated—xxvi. 1; xxix. 1, 17; xxx. 20; xxxi. 1; xxxii. 1, 17. The eleventh year of the captivity is mentioned in xxxiii. 21 (for "the twelfth year" is a copyist's error, cf. xxvi. 1), and the twenty-fifth year in xl. 1.

of Israel's punishment are collected, while the second (chap. xxv.—xlviii.) is devoted to the future of the chosen people, and refers, at first (xxv.—xxxii.), to the lot of Israel's foes, the neighbouring tribes and peoples, and then to the restoration of Israel and the founding of the new community (xxxiii.—xlviii.). The occasional departures from this arrangement are really only apparent. Within the several parts of the book the sub-sections mutually support and illustrate one another. The beginning implies the sequel and conclusion as much as the end depends and rests upon the beginning. There is, therefore, no kind of modification to note in Ezekiel's judgments and expectations, from first to last,—no progress or development whatever. The only apparent exception is really a confirmation of this.* From the first, the conquest of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and the wiping out of the kingdom of Judah are regarded as certain; and even the incidental details of these great events are not only foretold but actually assumed in prophecies, which, according to the superscriptions, were delivered four or five years before the fall of the city and temple.

These phenomena, taken all together, admit of but one explanation. We might call Ezekiel's book his last will and testament. When he had passed five-and-twenty years in captivity, and was probably an old man, he resolved in the interest of his own and future generations to compose his prophetic work. More than any one of his predecessors he must have felt the necessity of such a step; for in the foreign land he had never been able to reach more than a few scattered fellow countrymen, and the people as a whole had never heard his voice. He gave his work, which was intended for all Israel, the form of a record of his prophetic activity. He drew upon his memory for certain details, but

* In Ezek. xxix. 17 sqq., the prophet himself confesses that his expectations, with regard to the conquest and sacking of Tyre (xxvi. sq.), had not been fulfilled, and he assures Nebucadrezar of compensation for the promised reward which he had not received. But these verses are a postscript, added in the twenty-seventh year (xxix. 17), probably after the completion of the whole book.

his purpose was not to reproduce the past point for point. His careful figures only serve to complete his picture and give it distinctness. Israel must be taught to know that "a prophet has been in his midst,"* and—for this is the real point—must yield to the solemn preaching of repentance upon which the event had set its seal.

When we know the character of Ezekiel's book we are naturally cautious in our use of the details concerning the past which it contains. It is very often impossible to tell for certain whether they belong to the literary dress or are genuine historical reminiscences. Did Ezekiel, soon after beginning his public work as a prophet, meet with material resistance and find himself compelled to desist from teaching openly?† Did he remain thenceforth the adviser of some few better disposed than the rest, and is it to them that he refers as "the elders of Judah," who came to consult him in his own house?‡ Did he subsequently, when Jerusalem had fallen, begin to speak in public once more?§ All this is probable enough, but I would not vouch for it. Let us leave these details, then, for what they are worth, and confine ourselves to what is beyond dispute. Even in a wholly fictitious scene a writer, whatever else he does, must at least reveal *himself* to us, showing us what he is, what fills his soul, whither his desires tend, and what are his expectations for the future. How much more must Ezekiel do so, in his prophetic testament, the materials of which he borrows from his own past! Let us see then how he presents himself to us in it.

We choose as our point of departure the last sub-section of Ezekiel's book—chaps. xxxiii.—xlviii. A prophet, like other men, is best and most quickly known by his ideals; and in these chapters Ezekiel has drawn out in clear and orderly array the constituents of his ideal. After a word about himself and his task by way of introduction (chap. xxxiii.) he begins with a sketch of the restoration of the Israelitish

* Ezek. ii. 5; xxxiii. 33; cf. xxi. 12. † Chap. iii. 22—27.
‡ Cf. chap. viii. 1; xiv. 1; xx. 1.
§ Chap. xxiv. 26, 27; xxxiii. 21, 22 (on the text of this passage see note on page 621.

state, or perhaps we should say of the Israelitish government (chap. xxxiv.). At the outset he is impelled to deliver his soul on the subject of "the shepherds of Israel," and dark indeed is the picture he presents of their reckless neglect of duty and of the wickedness which they permitted or even encouraged in civil life. The denunciation, however, ends in a promise; Yahveh will raise up one shepherd for Israel, David, his servant, who shall rule as prince ("Nasi") in the midst of a people reunited to Yahveh (vv. 23 sq.). Elsewhere he expresses this same expectation again,* making it clear at the same time that for fear of the Nasi abusing his power he would only allow him a strictly limited authority. His revenues and his duties are closely defined, and indeed he is no more than an official charged with the protection of the temple, and useful, in his own way, in heightening the splendour of its services, but in no way corresponding to the royal head of the people before the captivity. The prophet next turns to the land of Israel. The Edomites, who had appropriated a part of it, will be expelled, and their punishment will overtake them in their own abodes in the mountain land of Seir (chap. xxxv.). On the other hand "the mountains of Israel" will now be inhabited by their rightful owners once more, and their fertility will give the lie to the reproaches once hurled against them by their now humbled neighbours (chap. xxxvi. 1—15); and thus will the doubt as to Yahveh's might, which was raised by the carrying away captive of his people, be refuted (vv. 16—38). But this people itself: where was it to be found? The scattered exiles against whom Ezekiel had so much to urge were alike unfit for the duties and unworthy of the blessings laid up for Israel. The answer to this objection is contained in the first half of chap. xxxvii. Yahveh himself would bring life into the dry bones and create himself a new people. So should the one Israel, no longer divided into two often hostile kingdoms, be restored (vv. 15—28). What would now take place we know

* Not only chap. xxxvii. 24, 25, but also xliv. 3; xlvi. 2 sq.; xlviii. 21 sq. and *passim*; xlv. 7 sq.

already; for it is here that we read that description of Gog's attack upon Canaan and the penalty that will overtake him, to which I called attention at the beginning of this article (chaps. xxxviii. sq.). And now has the prophet uttered all that he has to say in the name of Yahveh? No, not yet. We know that Israel is to return to his fatherland and to live there in inviolable prosperity, but we have not yet been told *how* he is to live there, and especially how the worship which lies so close to Ezekiel's heart is to be conducted. In the last nine chapters of his book, Ezekiel makes known his expectations, or rather the ordinances of Yahveh, on these subjects. The chapters include the minute regulation of the new order of things, with a description of the temple, its forecourts and chambers, regulations concerning the priests and their servants, their rights and their duties, ordinances about the sacrifices and feasts and the functions of the Nasi. But although these subjects occupy the chief place in Ezekiel's mind, he has some concern with other matters too. In chap. xlvii. 13—23 he accurately defines the boundaries of the land to be occupied by Israel. The Transjordanic district is excluded, but the whole territory between the Mediterranean and the Jordan belongs to Israel. To each of the tribes a strip of this land is assigned by Ezekiel, and he determines the order of their succession from North to South. Near the middle, between the territories of Judah and Benjamin, a piece of land is left over, on which the temple and the holy city are to rise, the remainder of the strip being divided between the priests or sons of Zadoc, the other Levites, and the Nasi (chap. xlviii.).

In all this we might go into much greater detail, but we have already said enough to give an adequate idea of Ezekiel's wishes and expectations. Without at present dwelling upon the character and tone of his ideal, let us compare it with the state of things actually existing before the exile. It is not too much to say that the two pictures stand over against each other in sharpest contrast. And yet the prophet was acquainted with the former condition

of things by no mere hearsay, but by his own experience. It is no accident, therefore, but a deliberate purpose that makes him depart so widely from it. He is evidently convinced that Israel must make a fresh start. Observe that he does not, with the second Isaiah,* look for "new heavens and a new earth"; but, standing upon the soil of reality and confining himself within the accurately defined limits of the holy land, he sketches a new and minutely regulated national life. Everything is changed, though everything remains sober and matter of fact. If we knew nothing else about Ezekiel, this alone would justify us in ascribing to him a very unfavourable opinion of Israel's past; for nothing else could explain his expecting and even demanding an entire breach with it.

But the prophet has not left us to mere inferences concerning his views of the former condition of his people. The picture he presents of it is dark beyond all description, and the sentence he pronounces on it so terribly severe that we are inclined to call it pitiless. To convince ourselves of this we really need only dip here and there into the first great division of his book (chaps. i.—xxiv.) But I may be permitted to give the reader who desires to be better informed some few particulars. During the first years of Ezekiel's activity Israel was partly in exile and partly resident in Judah. Even his fellow-exiles he judges severely, and calls them not the "house of Israel" but the "house of rebelliousness."† They are not worthy of hearing the word of Yahveh.‡ Their corruption is so deep that they would be ready for their part "to become like the heathen, like the peoples of the lands, serving wood and stone."§ But the case is far worse yet with the inhabitants of Judea, and more especially with the citizens of Jerusalem. They deem themselves exalted above their brethren in the foreign land, because they have the dwelling of Yahveh in their midst.‖ Even after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

* Isaiah lxv. 19 sq.; lxvi. 22.

† Chap. ii. 5—8; iii. 9, 26, 27; xii. 2, 3, 9, 25; xvii. 12; xxiv. 3.

‡ Chap. xiv. 3; xx. 3, 31. § Chap. xx. 32. ‖ Chap. xi. 14 sq.

the insignificant remnant still left in Judea persists in regarding itself as the people of Yahveh and in hoping for better times.* All this stirs Ezekiel's deepest indignation, and he cannot find words strong enough to express his wrath against such presumption. Judah is ruled by a king who is guilty of shameful breach of faith with Nebucadrezar, and who will therefore receive the perjurer's chastisement.† Jerusalem is "the city of blood."‡ Every manner of abomination is practised there. In the very temple itself idols are worshipped.§ There is no commandment which the men of Jerusalem do not break: they shed innocent blood, they have no respect for their parents, they oppress the stranger, the orphan and the widow, they desecrate the sabbath, they commit adultery and all manner of uncleanness, their judges take bribes, their prophets seek nothing but their own gain, their priests neglect their duties, their princes fatten on the inheritance of their victims.‖ And over and above all this they slaughter and burn their children in honour of their dung-gods—apostasy from Yahveh compounded with murder.¶

Such a sentence on the present naturally implies a very unfavourable judgment upon Israel's past. But here again Ezekiel does not leave us to guess his thoughts. We have already heard the grievances he had to urge against "the shepherds" of his people. But he also lays open the record of the whole nation's sins in more than one of his prophecies. From her earliest youth upwards she has trespassed against Yahveh. In Egypt she served the gods of the land and gave no ear to the exhortation to abandon them; and even then Yahveh would have relinquished his purpose of delivering her had not his own honour been at stake. In the wilderness things went no better. The generation that was redeemed from Egypt was so rebellious that it must needs be left to die out; but the sons and daughters were as corrupt as the parents! Arrived in

* Chap. xxxiii. 23—29.
† Chap. xvii. 1—21. ‡ Chap. xxii. 2; xxiv. 6.
§ Chap. viii. ‖ Chap. xxii. 6—13, 25—27. ¶ Chap. xxiv. 6 sq.

Canaan, Israel fell away to the service of the idols worshipped on the "high places" instead of Yahveh, or by his side.* Jerusalem was a heathen city from the first. "Her father was an Amorite and her mother a Hittite." What wonder then if her history was an unbroken succession of abominations? Samaria and Sodom are her sisters, and as they have been smitten by Yahveh's judgments and destroyed, so must she, too, look for a like destruction.† The parallel between Samaria ("Oholah") and Jerusalem ("Oholibah") is elsewhere worked out more fully. The two sisters had been guilty of inchastity even in Egypt, and they continued their evil practices in Canaan and remained the same to the end. "Oholah" gave herself to the Assyrians, and by the Assyrians she was stripped naked and deserted. "Oholibah" followed her example, committing adultery at a later time with the Babylonians, and it is from their hand accordingly that she is now to receive her doubly-earned punishment.‡

I must be content with this rapid summary of Ezekiel's denunciations. Even if the space at my disposal allowed of more detail, decency would forbid it. In working out the image he has chosen the prophet knows no limits. He seems to find a kind of satisfaction in dragging his sinful people through the mire. The violence of his indictment is unqualified by a single word of approval or praise. Not a single ray of light breaks the thick darkness of night. What wonder, then, if his visions of the future bear so little resemblance to the present or the past! That which Yahveh will one day bring to pass—as surely as he can never forsake his people—will not be the restoration of the old order of things, or its continuance in a modified form, but something altogether new. A new Israel, in a land with changed boundaries and divisions, under a different government, ranged round a new temple of Yahveh and subject to other laws—nothing less than this can Ezekiel contemplate in the future.

We have, however, accomplished but half our task. We

* Chap. xx. † Chap. xvi. ‡ Chap. xxiii.

can now understand why Ezekiel's ideal differs so widely from the actual past; but the positive contents of that ideal itself are still unexplained; nor shall we be able to understand them till we have considered the man himself who elaborated them, and have thus brought the structure into connection with its architect.

To begin with, Ezekiel, as one of the series of prophets whose writings are preserved to us in the Old Testament, belongs to the small minority that waged war against the popular religion and the sins of the people from the beginning of the eighth century onwards. When he places himself over against Israel and inveighs against its moral and religious condition, he treads in the footsteps of all his predecessors, and especially makes himself the ally of the last of them all, namely Jeremiah. Again, the characteristics by which, in the midst of all similarities, he is severed from these other prophets, find their explanation partly in the fact that he was a priest, not only by descent and calling, but in tone of mind and disposition. It is only in a priest's ideal that the temple and its servants could take such a place as is distinctly assigned to them in chapters xl.—xlviii. Very characteristic in this respect is the description of the stream which rises under the threshold of Yahveh's sanctuary and flows eastward*:—it is from that sanctuary that life and fertility go forth even into regions hitherto parched and pestilential. Nor is the fact that Ezekiel belonged to that priestly family which filled the most important offices in the temple of Jerusalem without its influence on his ordinances for the future. Had he not been one of "the sons of Zadoc" himself, he would hardly have come to regard them as so much superior to the other sons of Levi, or to exclude the latter from the priestly office altogether. †

Ezekiel is far from representing the ideas of his fellow exiles in general, and he is equally far from being a mere typical specimen of the priestly clan. On the contrary his own special individuality is strongly marked. He has a

* Chap. xlvii. 1—12. † Chap. xliv. 6—16, cf. xl. 46; xliii. 19; xlviii. 11.

pronounced personal character of his own. If we wish to appreciate this character we must turn our attention in the first place to a thought which stands in the foreground both at the beginning of Ezekiel's denunciations,* and again when he is declaring his anticipations as to Israel's restoration.† He represents his own task as similar to that of the sentinel in time of war. If from his watch-tower the sentinel has seen the foe approaching, and has given the concerted signal and so warned every one of the danger, then whoever has failed to seek timely refuge has only himself to blame. "His blood is upon his own head." "But if the watchman sees the sword coming and blows not the trumpet and if the sword comes and takes away a soul from amongst them, then is this soul taken away in its iniquity, but I will demand its blood at the watchman's hand."‡ So, too, with Ezekiel. He is responsible, not indeed for the impenitence of "the house of rebelliousness," but for seeing to it that no single soul perishes without having received an earnest warning. So speaks the man who more than once complains of the reception he meets with at the hands of his people. This is the standard by which he tries himself and desires to be tried by others, for he registers, in the book of his oracles, the word of Yahveh that lays this heavy burden upon him. This indicates a scrupulous and earnest conscientiousness, a strictness in the conception and the carrying out of his life-task which cannot fail to impress us. When we hear Ezekiel recounting their sins to the exiles or to the citizens of Jerusalem, or note how he descends to trivial details in his sketch of the restored Israel, we might well grow impatient; but when we see that he is at least as exacting and punctilious in his demands upon himself, we are ready to repress our first feelings. There may be little to attract us in him, but at any rate he deserves our respect.

The consideration of this first trait in Ezekiel's character has brought us at once to the true standpoint. We have heard his witness concerning the task entrusted to him *by Yahveh*, and the responsibility laid upon him *by Yahveh*. It

* Chap. iii. 16—21. † Chap. xxxiii. 1—9. ‡ Chap. xxxiii. 6.

is no exception for him to contemplate his own life and his surroundings from this, the religious point of view. Yahveh is to him all in all. It is as the servant and interpreter of Yahveh that he stands before us. His sole aim and purpose is to fulfil this duty. And if this is so, then his own personality must find its clearest reflection in his religion, in the conception of Yahveh that stands before his mind, and in the impression it makes upon his heart. "As is the man, so is his God, and so his faith." If this saying of the poet be true—and who does not see it confirmed by his own daily experience?—then we must study Ezekiel's personality in his conception of God, and conversely illustrate this conception itself from his character.

And here, again, we cannot hesitate for a moment as to what it is in the first instance that distinguishes the Yahveh before whose face Ezekiel stands from the god in whose name the other prophets speak. The god of the other prophets is indeed the Righteous One, the rewarder of good and the punisher of evil; but in Ezekiel's conception these attributes not only come prominently into the foreground, but they receive a special and characteristic colouring. The fundamental thought which he shares with the others he works out in a special way that distinguishes him from all his predecessors and successors. Yahveh is to him, in a single word, *the rigidly just one.* Ezekiel has taken care to leave no doubt as to the weight which he attaches to this conviction of his. More than once he brings it forward and applies it to typical cases which are admirably calculated to bring out all that it involves.* The Israelites had a proverb which Jeremiah as well as Ezekiel refers to: † "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." But the words sounded like blasphemy in the ears of our prophet, and he cried out against them: "the soul that sins, it shall die."‡ This rule he goes on to work out. First, he draws the picture of a righteous man—and the sketch itself deserves our close attention, for it shows us

* Chap. xviii.; xiv. 12—20; xxxiii. 10—20. † Jer. xxxi. 29.
‡ Chap. xviii. 4b, cf. ver. 20.

the standard which the prophet was accustomed to apply* —and we are assured that such an one "shall surely live." The son, on the contrary, who does not tread in the steps of such a father, shall be struck by the judgment and shall not be spared. But likewise in the opposite case: the son who takes warning by the bad example of his father and the punishment which has overtaken him, shall surely be spared and made to prosper. † And if the consequences of good and ill are thus confined to those who themselves have trodden the path of righteousness or of sin, they are likewise limited in their duration by the period during which that way of life is persevered in to which they have been bound by Yahveh. If the sinner repents he shall live: "Should I, Yahveh, have pleasure in the death of the wicked?" But on the other hand: if the pious man forsakes the good path, then his former "righteousness which he has done" shall avail him no more: "in his sin which he has sinned, in that shall he die." ‡ Elsewhere the prophet illustrates his belief in yet another way. Suppose, he says, that a sinful land is visited by the judgments of Yahveh, and that three righteous men dwell in it, such as Noah, Daniel and Job. In such a case these three shall without doubt be spared, and shall deliver their souls. But think not that they will protect the land in which they dwell from beasts of prey, from the sword, from famine, and from pestilence—no, not so much as their own sons and daughters, nothing but their own bare lives! §

These assertions are assuredly not drawn from experience; for her teaching is nearer that of the Israelitish proverb: that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, and that the righteous suffer with the godless, sometimes even more severely than they. All the more certainly then may we affirm that Ezekiel is here drawing from some other source than that of experience. His conception of Yahveh's justice is the reflection of his own scrupulous and precise character. Such as he represents

* Chap. xviii. 5—9. † Chap. xviii. 10—13, 14—17.
‡ Chap. xviii. 21—24. § Chap. xiv. 12—20.

Yahveh in his judgments and dealings, such would he be himself, giving "to every man his due," and, let us add, taking care above all to let no man suffer a heavier or longer punishment than he had deserved. For we must not fail to observe that Ezekiel, though pressing his ideas of Yahveh's justice as a warning to his sinful people, is yet principally actuated by the desire to comfort and encourage those Israelites who had entered on the path of repentance but yet did not dare to hope for restoration. It is expressly with this intention that he once more repeats his conviction on this subject before setting forth his ideas concerning Israel's future. *

Yahveh, then, is strictly just; but is he also merciful, pitiful and long-suffering? The answer to this question is really implied in what I have just said. The epithets in question are never applied to Yahveh by Ezekiel, nor does he speak of Yahveh's love or fatherly tenderness. But ought this really to surprise us? With regard to a people so deeply sunk as Israel was, in the prophet's estimation, there could hardly be room for such emotions of tenderness. And yet they are rather passed over in silence by Ezekiel than denied or excluded by him. We may even say that they are implied throughout in the recognition of the indissoluble bond of union between Yahveh and Israel upon which all Ezekiel's preaching rests. Both in the past and present Israel fails to respond to this relationship; but Yahveh does not on that account lose sight of his people, but repeats the promise again and yet again: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people." † Nay, even with respect to the present time, that same "house of Israel" which has earned the name of "house of rebelliousness" is also called "my people" by Yahveh.‡ And, indeed, it is this fidelity to the covenant on Yahveh's part that secures the promise of life to all who genuinely repent. It is because Yahveh is inseparably bound to the nation which

* Chap. xxxiii. 10—20.
† Chap. xi. 20; xiv. 11; xxxvi. 28; xxxvii. 23, 27.
‡ Chap. xiii. 9, 10, 18, 19, and in twenty other passages.

he has chosen that he can have no pleasure in the death of the sinner. For his grace does not extend beyond Israel, and would seem therefore to be not so much a part of his very being as a result of the special relation in which he has placed himself to this one people. In contrast, for example, with his immediate predecessor, Jeremiah,* Ezekiel has not one friendly word or wish or promise for the heathen peoples.

No! It is not mercy that stands by the side of justice in our prophet's conception of Yahveh, but rather majestic might. Indeed, this latter is the real kernel of Ezekiel's idea of God, or rather (for it is from the religious rather than from the philosophical or theological side that we must approach his mind) this is the divine attribute by which he is most powerfully laid hold of and under the impression of which he lives. We see this at the very outset, in the vision of his call,† to which he subsequently refers more than once.‡ Is this an account of an actual vision seen by the prophet in an ecstasy? Or is it the freely adopted form under which he endeavours to set visibly before his readers his own conception of Yahveh's being? The latter supposition is, in my opinion, far more probable than the former, and indeed is alone consistent with the character of the picture here presented. But, be this as it may, so much is certain: that to the man who speaks in these pages Yahveh is, above all else, the infinitely exalted, the Almighty, the unapproachably glorious one. The attitude of soul that was provoked by the vision—or rather that expressed itself in it—is exemplified by the words that close the description: "I saw it, and fell down upon my face."§ Under the crushing sense of his own littleness he lies overwhelmed and powerless on the earth, nor can he rise again till the spirit of Yahveh comes into him and raises him upon his feet. The very name by which he

* See, for instance, the identical conclusion of the three prophecies against Moab, Ammon, and Elam, Jer. xlviii. 47; xlix. 6, 39; and cf. my *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, pp. 249—251.

† Chap. i. ‡ Chap. iii. 22, 23; x; xliii. 1 sqq.; xliv. 4.

§ Chap. i. 28; iii. 23; xliii. 3; xliv. 4.

hears Yahveh address him emphasizes this same feeling of littleness and humility. "Son of man" (that is to say, "weak mortal") is the constant appellation under which Yahveh speaks to the prophet. How different is the spirit of the well-known saying of Amos: "The Lord Yahveh does nothing without revealing his counsel to his servants the prophets."* The time of such confidential relations is clearly at an end. Yahveh's throne is loftier and more dazzling now than in earlier times, but also more far-removed. And accordingly we need not wonder if sometimes the angels, who stand nearer to Yahveh, appear to the "son of man" to make known the will of the deity or to interpret his oracles.†

But there is more evidence yet of the wide space occupied in Ezekiel's field of vision by the majestic might of Yahveh. Whenever he lays open the counsels of Israel's god, we are impressed by the fact that this deity is concerned above all things in guarding against the suspicion that he is powerless to accomplish his promise, and to work out his designs concerning Israel. It may well be that the fall first of Samaria and then of Jerusalem was really taken in heathen circles as a proof of Yahveh's impotence, and that the prophet had heard something of it. But even apart from any such specific occasion he clearly felt called upon to support the honour of his god and so to represent him as jealous of his own fame, and always planning the confusion of those who impugned his greatness and his honour. We have already had an opportunity of noting the lengths to which this is carried in the great indictment of Israel in the twentieth chapter. In spite of Israel's repeated disobedience Yahveh preserves his people and continues his benefits "because of his name's sake, that it may not be desecrated before the eyes of the heathen, in whose midst Israel dwells, for in their sight had Yahveh made himself known to Israel and led him out of Egypt."‡ So, too, the restoration of Israel tends to the

* Amos iii. 7. † Chap. ix. 2 sqq.; x. 2 sqq.; xl. 3—5; xliii. 6; xlvii. 3.
‡ Chap. xx. 9, 14, 22, 44.

vindication of Yahveh's honour: "When I bring you out from amongst the peoples and gather you together out of the lands in which you are scattered, then shall I be hallowed in you (*i.e.*, recognised and adored in this change in your lot) before the face of the heathen."* If Yahveh turns against Sidon it is "that he may be glorified in her midst, and that she may acknowledge that he is Yahveh when he executes judgment upon her and is hallowed in her (*i.e.*, in her destruction)."† It is not only in passing that Ezekiel expresses this idea. When he has announced to "the mountains of Israel" the glorious restoration of their former fertility‡ he opens a kind of parenthesis in order to explain the significance of this deed of Yahveh. He now declares expressly that the carrying away of Israel captive has given rise to doubts as to the might of Israel's god. With the exiles in view, men had cried "They are the people of Yahveh and (yet) they have been torn from their land!" This was more than Yahveh could endure: "he had respect to his holy name, which the house of Israel had put to shame amongst the heathen in whose midst they dwelt." Not for the sake of Israel, but for his name's sake would he bring them back into their land. This great name, now dishonoured by the heathen, he will hallow, and "the heathens shall know that I am Yahveh when I am hallowed in you before their eyes!"§ Nor is even this enough. The most obstinately incredulous must be put to silence. It must be rendered clear as the sun that Yahveh did not yield to the Assyrians and Chaldeans, but made use of them to execute his judgment on the apostate people. And this purpose is served by the expedition of Gog and his armies against the holy land, once more inhabited by Israel. When the countless hosts are destroyed by Yahveh with no human instrumentality, even the blindest will be forced to admit that he is the Almighty One.‖

There is an unmistakable connection between this con-

* Chap. xx. 41, cf. xxviii. 25. † Chap. xxviii. 22.
‡ Chap. xxxvi. 1—15. § Chap. xxxvi. 16—23.
‖ See for example xxxviii. 16, 23; xxxix. 7, 25, 27, 28.

ception of God and the representation which Ezekiel gives us of Israel's future state. This connection will come out very clearly if we turn our glance backwards for a moment. The writer of Deuteronomy—whose life may have lasted well into the time of our prophet—had exhorted the Israelites "to love Yahveh with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their strength," * to "cleave to him,"† in a word to give themselves up and consecrate themselves to him wholly. Is that Ezekiel's conception of the true relation between Israel and Yahveh likewise? And is his prophetic eye directed to the restoration of it? No doubt we meet with some expressions from his lips which remind us of the Deuteronomic exhortation, and particularly of that trait in it which attracts us most, viz., the ready love with which the people ought to serve their god. Does he not announce that in the time to come "Yahveh shall hide his countenance no more, for he will have poured out his spirit upon the house of Israel"?‡ Do we not read elsewhere in his book the beautiful prediction that Yahveh will give the Israelites "a new heart, and put a new spirit within them, taking away their stony heart and giving them a heart of flesh"?§ And so, too, the promise that Yahveh shall henceforth dwell in the midst of his people,‖ indicates a closer relationship which at any rate is not alien from the Deuteronomic ideal. But for all that we must not overlook the great difference. Ezekiel's promise of "a new heart and a new spirit" is immediately followed by the words, "that they may walk in my ordinances, and may observe my statutes and accomplish them."¶ And we see that this is no mere phrase, for when we come to the description of the new Israel** we find that Ezekiel is not content to assure his readers that all, without distinction, will love Yahveh and serve him freely after the impulse of their hearts, but he must needs prescribe the way in which the

* Deut. vi. 5. † Deut. x. 20; xi. 22, and elsewhere.

‡ Chap. xxxix. 29.

§ Chap. xi. 19 (for "one heart" read "a new" or "another heart"); xxxvi. 26.

‖ Chap. xxxvii. 26—28. ¶ Chap. xi. 20; xxxvi. 27. ** Chap. xl. sqq.

temple is to be arranged, the sacrifices that shall be offered there, and the feasts that shall be celebrated, who may and who may not do service as priests, and how the expenses of the whole institution are to be met. Nay, what trivial detail is there which he does not make Yahveh expressly regulate? The "ordinances" and "statutes" according to which the Israelites will have to live, and which they have only neglected hitherto to their own sorrow, are always upon Ezekiel's lips.* Henceforth they are to be put into practice. In a word: Yahveh is to Ezekiel the *lawgiver* of his people. In this one function his rigid justice and his uncontrolled supremacy are united. Or, if we look at the same thing from the human side: the religion which Ezekiel bore in his own heart and which with the eye of faith he saw established in the future, is the religion of *legalism.*

It is not easy to pass a fair and impartial judgment on such a man as Ezekiel. The temptation to side against him is obvious. The companions of his exile in Babylonia treated him with mockery or turned away from him in wrath. We will not undertake to defend their conduct—but we can very easily understand it. If we had been of their number we should perhaps have done as they did. For, if we are to go by what we read in his book, Ezekiel certainly did not make it easy for his contemporaries to give him an impartial hearing. He does not conciliate, but repels. Sometimes it seems as though he were bent on embittering his hearers rather than winning them over. We have all of us met such men from time to time on our way through life; and we have only to remember the impression they made upon us in order perfectly to understand Ezekiel's unpopularity in his own day.

We, however, for our parts, stand far enough away from the prophet to be able to drop these personal considerations; but there is yet another difficulty in the way of an impartial estimate of Ezekiel and a recognition of his true deserts.

* Chap. v. 6, 7; xi. 12; xviii. 9, 12, 17, 19 and elsewhere.

He did not live and work in vain. Power went forth from him. We are not left to guess what he accomplished, for we can lay our finger upon it not only in past history but in the actual surroundings of our own lives to-day. Ezekiel, in a word, is the first designer, so to speak, and in so far the father, of *Judaism*. We have just noted that he failed to bring over the majority of his contemporaries to his views, and he did not therefore actually found this new form of the religion of Israel. But a band of faithful disciples must have gradually gathered round him. Thus rose what we might call "the school of Ezekiel," only that we must not think of it as a close and organised body. In this school "the ordinances, the laws and the statutes" of Yahveh were reduced to writing, partly in accordance with the scheme drafted by Ezekiel himself, and partly in accordance with the oral priestly tradition. From this school there sprang, a century after Ezekiel's death, the man who was to put his ideas into practice, the priest and scribe Ezra. And this brings out the difficulty of which I have just spoken. Judaic legalism, not to put it too strongly, inspires us with but slender sympathy. As a form of religion it seems to us to stand below the prophetic Yahvism out of which it sprang. Indeed, the fact that it survives to the present day—I am not speaking of the Jewish people, nor of their religion in general, but of Talmudism, the present form of Judaic legalism—is one of the causes of that antagonism between Christians and Jews which we so justly deplore as amongst the saddest phenomena of national life in the Europe of to-day. Is it any wonder that our want of admiration for the edifice should be transferred to the architect, and should therefore translate itself into an unfavourable judgment on Ezekiel?

But would this really be, as I have intimated, unfair to the prophet? Beyond all question it would. We cannot indeed surrender the right to have feelings, opinions, and preferences of our own even with respect to historical phenomena. It is a demand which cannot be complied with and which should never be made, that requires us to

stand as cool and indifferent spectators over against the past, with no sympathy or antipathy for what it exhibits to us. But neither must we allow our judgment of facts, still less of individual characters, to be determined exclusively by these likes or dislikes of our own. Let us rather begin by asking what was inevitable at a given period; and what was beneficent or even indispensable for the time which gave it birth. This twofold test Judaism at any rate can pass through victoriously. It was alike inevitable and indispensable. Inevitable,—for the little community which should recognise the Almighty and Righteous One, the Creator and Lord of heaven and earth as its God, could not but reverence him, as the slave his master, making religion consist in absolute subjection to his law. Indispensable,—for in what other form but this could the worship of Yahveh become the possession and the passion of a nation? And unless it became such how could the Jewish people fulfil its mission in the history of the world, and in the fulness of time give birth to Christianity? If we place ourselves at this point of view in forming our judgment we shall be able to do justice to Ezekiel; and all the more fully and gladly because the influence he exerted was due in the last resort not to any brilliant qualities or talents which he possessed but to the moral kernel of his character. He was in earnest, passionately in earnest, to the very bone. There lay his power, and there, too, in connection with the outcome of his work, lies the lesson he may teach us yet.

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THE ARGUMENT FROM DESIGN IN THE ORGANIC WORLD

RECONSIDERED IN ITS RELATION TO THE DOCTRINES OF EVOLUTION AND NATURAL SELECTION.*

THE request which has been courteously presented to me on your behalf, that I should address you on a subject on which Scientific thought is at present much exercised, and which has a direct and important bearing on Theological inquiry, gives me an opportunity of which I am very glad to avail myself, of setting forth the results of the careful and, I hope, candid reconsideration of the old Theistic "Argument from Design in the Organic World," which has been continually before my mind from the time when the publication of Mr. Darwin's *Origin of Species by Natural Selection* brought its validity seriously into question.

You are all familiar with the frequently repeated remark, that whenever Science and Theology have come into conflict, Theology has had to "go to the wall." And there are probably several among you whose faith in the old "Argument from Design" has been more or less seriously shaken by the confident assertions of men of high scientific distinction, that the last victory which Science has gained over Theology has been its greatest,—consisting in nothing less than the complete subversion of the whole doctrine of Final Causes. For, as they affirm, the adaptation of means to ends which is recognisable in the structure of Plants and Animals, can now be so fully accounted for by natural

* An Address delivered to the London Ministers' Conference at Dr. Williams's Library, June 6th, 1884.

agencies, as to afford no evidence whatever of an originative intention, a creative purpose.

Now, if I regarded this claim as Scientifically valid, I should unhesitatingly counsel you to abandon your former position without any attempt to defend it. For if we look back at the results of former conflicts, we see that nothing has been more injurious to Theology than the persistence of Theologians in antiquated error. We of the present time can only wonder at the obstinacy with which the self-styled 'Orthodox' have clung to the idea that the World with its living inhabitants was created in six successive days of the year 4004 B.C., the Creator resting from his labours on the seventh; that our own Terrestrial globe is the fixed centre of the Universe—sun and moon, stars and planets, revolving around it every twenty-four hours; that not more than 6,000 years have elapsed since Man was first called into being; and that the Noachian Deluge extended over the whole globe, and destroyed all the animals then living on its surface, except the few pairs that found a refuge in the Ark. As each of these positions has been successively impugned by Scientific research, Theologians have raised the cry that the foundations of Christianity were being undermined; and yet they have now, tacitly if not openly, agreed to abandon them all, as ancient traditions altogether destitute of historical value. That Theology has gained and not lost by this abandonment, I do not suppose that any one now doubts; the lamp of Truth must always shine brighter, when no longer darkened by the mists of error. But Theologians have not come out unharmed from the conflict; for they have given their opponents a right to charge them with either a wilful blindness to scientific truth, or an intellectual incapacity to recognise it; and this lesson should not be lost upon us of the present time.

I cannot doubt that all whom I am now addressing agree with me in the conviction that Theology can only maintain its ground in the future, by placing itself in accord with the highest Scientific thought of the time,—by readily accepting all that Science reveals to us in regard to the

Order of Nature,—and by rigorously abstaining from all attempts to fetter or discourage its advance. Such has ever been the teaching of one to whom we all look as the best exponent of Liberal Theology, and the influence of whose writings is more and more advancing its progress. Whilst strenuously defending the Theistic position against its scientific as well as its non-scientific assailants, Dr. Martineau has ever cordially welcomed every real advance in Science, not merely as extending our knowledge of the material Universe, but as leading us to a more thorough recognition of its Unity, its Order, and its Harmony. And he has shown us how, by availing itself of the highest and best results of Scientific investigation, Theology is expanding and elevating itself above the narrow limits of Mosaic Anthropomorphism, so as to reveal to us the Divine Thought as pervading all Space, and exerting itself in action through all Time.

It was in this spirit that, two years ago, I reviewed, before a different but kindred audience,* the bearing upon Theistic belief of that doctrine of the Progressive Evolution of the Inorganic Universe, which modern Astronomical research, by the help of methods of observation altogether new, has now established beyond reasonable question. For, I maintained, if ever the entire succession of changes by which the consolidation of the original Nebular matter into the multitude of Suns and Systems that have sprung out of it, shall be scientifically shown to be the work of Physical Forces acting in accordance with determinate Laws, we shall have only arrived at a knowledge of the Order of Creation, and shall have advanced no nearer to that of its primal Cause. The Physicist who deduces from the activities of different forms of matter certain 'properties' which he attributes to them, and then uses these very 'properties' to account for those activities, is obviously reasoning in a circle. What he calls 'properties' and 'laws' are really but *forms* or *categories* under which he finds it desirable to correlate those

* "The Doctrine of Evolution in its Relations to Theism";—an Address delivered at Sion College. MODERN REVIEW for October, 1882.

"uniformities of co-existence and sequence" which his observation of Nature brings under his cognisance. "Why does an apple fall to the ground?" is a question which has as great a significance to us now as it had before Newton was led by pondering upon it to the discovery of the Law of Gravitation. For that Law only expresses the *conditions of action* of a universal force tending to draw together all masses of matter; while of the *force* itself it gives no account whatever. We recognise it by our own consciousness of effort in lifting a weight from the ground; and this recognition carries us from the sphere of Physical into that of Moral Causation. For, as Sir John Herschel long ago pointed out, our consciousness of direct Personal causation in the performance of a voluntary act, leads us to regard what we call the "Forces of Nature" as the emanations of an all-pervading Will, and those uniformities in their action which we term her "Laws" as the manifestations of its unchanging continuity. As Dr. Martineau has admirably expressed it, "In whatever sense, and on whatever grounds, we affirm the tenancy of our own frame by the soul that governs it, must we fill the Universe with the ever-living Spirit of whose thought it is the development." The very conception of Evolution involves a beginning; and for that beginning, which *de facto* excludes all antecedent Physical agency (otherwise it would not be a real *beginning*), none but a Moral Cause can be assigned. And thus the continuous Uniformity in the Evolutionary process, which some have regarded as *explained* by the Laws that merely *express* it, really testifies to the perfection of the Original Design, the progressive unfolding of which has never needed a departure from it.

I have never met with a valid reason for regarding the relation of the Evolution-doctrine to the Organic World, as in any respect different from that in which it stands to the Physical Universe. All the elders among us were brought up in that anthropomorphic conception of 'special creations,' which seemed natural to the Childhood of our race, just as it does to the Child-mind of the present day. And to the

older Geologists, who regarded the successive Geological 'periods' as marked off, one from another, by cataclysmic interruptions that involved the destruction of all the existing races of Plants and Animals, a similar introduction of fresh forms, to re-people the newly-modelled globe after each cataclysm, seemed quite as conceivable as the original Creation. But all Geological and Palæontological inquiry has of late so decidedly tended towards the substitution of the idea of slow continuous change for that of violent convulsionary disturbances, that when Mr. Darwin showed that a doctrine of continuous "Descent with Modification" might be built upon a really scientific basis, it gained a much more ready reception among unprejudiced thinkers than he had himself ventured to expect. Many of us had been already prepared to entertain it favourably, by the plausible and in some respects forcible manner in which a similar doctrine had been previously presented in the *Vestiges of Creation;* in reviewing which book, nearly forty years ago, I expressed myself as fully concurring with its Author in regarding the idea of a *continuous ascending succession*, along which the various races of Plants and Animals of the past and present epochs, each of them adapted to its external conditions of existence, have come into existence according to 'laws' of genetic descent, as a far higher expression of Creative Wisdom and Power than that of Special Creations devised to meet each exigency as it arose.

Considered from this point of view, the Darwinian doctrine of "Evolution," even when based on "Natural Selection," seems to me to have no other bearing. For it is simply a concise expression of what is maintained to have been an orderly and continuous succession of phenomena, referable to natural causes; and no more *excludes* the idea of Moral Agency, than does the substitution of the idea of the continuous Evolution of the Inorganic Universe for that of the Creation of that Universe in its present form. In the pursuit of Biological as of Physical Science, I most fully recognise the essential importance of keeping clear of

what are termed 'final causes,' or assumptions of purpose, and of rigorously limiting our study to 'physical causation.' But the question now before us,—whether the evidences of Intelligent Design, which Theology has hitherto recognised in the structure of Organized beings, are or are not any longer tenable, when viewed under the new light thrown upon them by the Darwinian lamp, is one which—though Science has much to say upon it—it is beyond the province of Science to decide. Newton and Laplace were both accused of Atheism by their contemporaries for setting up their own conceptions in the place of the action of the Creator; and you well know that the same charge has been brought against Darwin. I shall endeavour to show you that in his case, as in that of his great predecessors, the real result of his scientific work has been to effect for Biology what they are well said by Dr. Whewell to have effected for Astronomy—the "transfer of the notion of design and end from the region of facts to that of laws."

For the thorough consideration of this question, I think it very important that we should start with a clear conception of what the "Argument from Design" really means, and with a right appreciation of the probative value of the evidence on which it rests; and these will therefore be the subjects to which I shall first direct your attention.

It is a mere truism to assert that Design implies a Designer; because the definition of design is "the intentional adaptation of means to a preconceived end." We do not perform any voluntary motion without a preconception of the action we 'will' to perform. It is this preconception of result that constitutes the foundation of the effort made to carry it out. I may determine the action itself; as when I 'will' to bend my fore-arm on my arm. Or I may 'will' to do something—as to lift a book from the table, or to carry a spoon to my mouth—which requires this flexion to carry my purpose into effect. But no action,

in which there is not such a preconception, is "intentional" or "voluntary." We are constantly using the word 'design' in this sense. An architect 'designs' a building; a ship-builder 'designs' a ship; an artist 'designs' a picture, and so on. In all such works, we unhesitatingly recognise an intentional adaptation of means to a preconceived end (though the designer and his purpose may be alike unknown to us), from our personal experience of other cases more or less similar.

But we have now to deal with cases in which we have had no such experience; and to consider the grounds on which, in any individual instance, we should feel justified in concluding that an obvious *adaptiveness* has been 'intentional,' or, in other words, that the object has been 'designed' for the use which we find it to answer. I do not affirm that we can in any case obtain logical or demonstrative *proof* of such 'designed' adaptation; but I think I can make it clear that this is one of the numerous instances in which a *convergence of separate probabilities* acquires the probative value of a *moral certainty*.

What we call 'demonstration' rests entirely upon our mental inability to accept as true anything that contravenes the thing affirmed; and if, in a chain of demonstrative reasoning, every link has the strength of a necessary truth, we accept its conclusion as having the same validity as the *datum* from which it started. Now, I hold that exactly the same state of 'conviction' may be produced by a concurrence of probabilities, if these point separately and independently to the same conclusion,—like radial lines that converge from different parts of the circumference of a circle, though none actually reach its centre. For the result of that concurrence may be as irresistibly probative as any demonstration; the conclusion to which they all point being one which we are compelled to accept by our inability to conceive of any other explanation of the *whole aggregate* of evidentiary facts, though any one of them may be otherwise accounted for. I am not aware that this principle has been discussed in any treatise on

Logic; but it is familiar to every lawyer who practises in Courts of Justice; and its validity cannot, I think, be questioned by any one who has studied the theory of what is commonly called 'circumstantial' evidence. Indeed, it would be difficult to adduce a more remarkable example of the stability of an argument erected on a broad basis of independent probabilities, than is presented in the wonderful fabric built up by the genius of Darwin; the general acceptance of the Evolution-doctrine resting on exactly the same kind of evidence as that on which I base the Argument from Design. The most pronounced Evolutionist may be challenged to produce anything like a 'demonstration' of any one of his propositions. But (as I showed in my Zion College address) the concurrence of probabilities supplied by Morphology and Embryology, by Physiology and Palæontology, is so complete as, in the minds of those most competent to appreciate their probative value, to exclude any other hypothesis. Those, therefore, who find in this concurrence a sufficient reason for their assent to the doctrine of Evolution, should be the last to impugn the validity of the same mode of reasoning, when brought to bear on the evidences of Design, which are afforded by the very orderliness of that Evolution.

In applying this principle to the question we are now considering, I am quite willing to admit, *in limine*, that the mere adaptiveness of a thing to a particular purpose, is often a very unsafe ground for concluding that it was devised for that purpose. For cases are constantly occurring, in which we find ourselves able to turn some instrument to a use altogether different from that for which it was intended by its maker; and every one who has had much experience of changes of residence (as happened to myself in early life), has found pieces of his furniture fitting into appropriate recesses just as exactly 'as if they had been made for them.' But I rest my argument on cases in which the idea of such *casual* adaptiveness is altogether excluded by the *accumulation* of separate and independent evidentiary facts, all indicative of the same purpose; and I

shall further show you that it is not invalidated (as Professor Huxley has maintained it to be) by a possible misapprehension of that purpose; the evidence of a 'design' being the same, even though we may be mistaken as to what that design was.

Necessarily limiting myself to two typical illustrations, I shall select one of a very simple nature, in which conviction is produced by the accumulation of *similar* evidentiary probabilities, each of which—taken individually—is of the slightest character and the lowest value, their probative force depending entirely on their collocation; whilst in the other I shall show that our conviction rests on the elaborate character of the constructive arrangements by which a small number of separate but *dissimilar* adaptations are so combined as to work out a single product.

About 30 years ago we began to hear a good deal about "flint implements." They had not been altogether unknown previously, as specimens of them were to be found in Museums of Antiquities; but they had never been brought to light in such numbers, and under such very peculiar circumstances, as in the working of the gravel beds of the Valley of the Somme, near Abbeville and Amiens. The matter was brought into notice by M. Boucher de Perthes, a distinguished antiquarian and collector at Abbeville. English men of science went over to study the conditions under which these flint implements were found; and very soon satisfied themselves of the genuineness and importance of this discovery. There were many who at first denied that they afforded any evidence of the existence of Man at the time when these gravel-beds were deposited; maintaining that their peculiar shapes had been given by accidental collisions. I do not know that any sane man now questions their human production; and I ask you to follow me in the examination of the evidence which has wrought that universal conviction. We are all familiar with the opening passage of Paley's Natural Theology:—"In crossing a heath, suppose I pitched my foot against a *stone*, and were asked how the stone came to

be there, I might possibly answer that, for anything I knew to the contrary, it had lain there for ever: nor would it perhaps be very easy to show the absurdity of this answer. But suppose I had found a *watch* upon the ground, and it should be inquired how the watch happened to be in that place, I should hardly think of the answer which I had before given—that, for anything I knew, the watch might have always been there." Now, if you were to "pitch your foot" against one of these *flint implements*, you would find it very difficult to account for its condition by any hypothesis of accidental configuration. Flints are found, in considerable numbers, wherever there has been a great denudation of the chalk; those originally embedded in it having been left on the surface of the ground. You will generally find them whole, but not unfrequently they have undergone fracture. If, in walking through a chalk country, you look at a heap of flints collected by the roadside for mending the road, you will find the greater part of them entire, having shapes that suggest to the Naturalist the forms of the Sponges, by the silicification of which they were originally produced. You will doubtless find some broken; but you will never meet with one that even remotely resembles the characteristic 'flint implement' of the Amiens and Abbeville gravels. They may have one or two, or perhaps half-a-dozen, fractured surfaces; but these are quite irregular, having no relation one to another. Now, a 'flint implement 'exhibits, perhaps, fifty fractures; and they are all so related in size and position as to bring out a very definite shape. Yet this consideration alone did not by any means satisfy those who were unwilling to admit the conclusion that this shape had been worked out by human hands. I well remember that when these objects were first brought into public notice, there were many persons who said, "The shaping of these flints is merely accidental; the flint fell into a river in which there were many stones knocking about, and the fractures have been produced by the flint having got, so to speak, under a number of hammers; so that, a bit having been

broken away here and a bit there, it has come to be shaped as it is now found." I will not say that this is an absolutely impossible supposition with respect to any single example; but when we find numbers of these flints, all showing the same form, in one gravel bed,—when we meet with forms exactly similar in other gravel beds—and when we learn that exactly similar flints are used at the present time by peoples (some of the hill tribes of India, for instance) among whom iron implements, have not yet found their way, the implements being held in a cleft stick, and bound round by a leather thong,—then, I think, we have an accumulation of evidence which makes it inconceivable that these gravel flints, of which I have spoken, owed their shape to anything else than human handiwork. But besides these large and powerful implements, there are also a number of other kinds. Some of these, though smaller, are of the same general shape, each showing a similar series of regularly disposed fractures. But there are also found, in the same beds and in the same numbers, smaller 'flakes' of flint, whose shapes might more easily be supposed to have been accidentally acquired, for many of them exhibit only two fractured surfaces, indicative of two knocks; so that it would be by no means inconceivable that any single flake had been casually struck off by a second blow from a flint which had already sustained a fracture nearly in the same direction. But when we look at a number of these found together, and when we know that similar flakes are used as cutting instruments at the present time by some of the survivors of the old "flint folk" (being often retained for sacrificial purposes, long after the use of metallic cutting instruments has become general), then we come to feel sure that even these small flakes must have been struck off *with a purpose.*

Such is the *cumulative* argument that I would draw from a consideration of this case. Even if we admit it as conceivable that any single flint implement, or a small number of such implements, might have derived their regular shape from a number of accidental blows, and that

the people who now use such instruments might have adopted and turned to account such as thus came to their hands ready made, I hold it impossible for any one who brings an unprejudiced mind to the examination of a sufficiently large collection of them, brought from localities widely remote from each other, to come to any other conclusion than that they have been shaped by Human handiwork.

I might carry this argument from the "palæolithic" to the "neolithic" forms; in the latter of which smooth surfaces and sharp continuous edges have been given by friction on other stones. It is true that every pebble of a shingle beach exhibits the result of similar attrition against other pebbles, in the shaping and smoothing of its surface; but any one who should maintain that a characteristic flint implement of the neolithic kind could have got its shape and polish from any such casual milling, would be accounted destitute of common sense.

Now, although we can assign a use for each kind of implement, it does not at all follow that such was the use for which it was designed by its maker; but the argument that it *had* a maker, and that he designed it for *some* purpose, is not in the least weakened by this uncertainty. And I shall hereafter show that we are justified by exactly the same kind of evidence, in distinguishing the variations in Organised structures, which persistently take place in definite directions, and culminate in the evolution of a more elevated type, from those 'aimless' variations which correspond to the accidental fractures of flints.

From one of the earliest products of human ingenuity I now pass to one of the latest—the Walter printing-press, which I first saw in operation in the Great Exhibition of 1862, and which embodies one of the most marvellous combinations of different actions, all related to one and the same end, that I have ever seen in any single machine. In fact, it more impressed me with its resemblance to an *organised structure*, than any other piece of mechanism that I am acquainted with. If you were to join on to the Walter printing-press

the paper-making machine, which is worked separately for convenience merely, you might put in paper-pulp at one end, and this would come out at the other end as printed *Times* newspapers, at the rate of 15,000 per hour, without any human intervention. For the paper-making machine is now so perfected, that a continuous sheet can be produced of any length desired. Rolls three miles long are brought to the *Times* printing-office, and put into the machine: the paper, as it is unrolled, is damped-through by passing over a hollow roller pierced with multitudes of small holes, through which water is ejected from the inside; and the superfluous moisture is then squeezed out by passing the paper between another pair of rollers, so that it is prepared to receive the impression. Then there are a number of most elaborate and beautiful contrivances, by which for the flat 'form' of the ordinary printing-press is substituted a stereotype plate, wrapping completely round a cylinder, the continuous revolution of which at a very rapid rate impresses the paper that is made to pass over it. When the compositor has finished setting up his type, and the proof has been taken, read, and corrected, so that the 'form' can be 'made up', an impression of it is taken off on a sheet of damp *papier maché;* and this, having been bent round the interior of a hollow cylinder and rapidly dried, serves as the mould from which a cast is made in type-metal, exactly representing on a cylindrical surface the flat type-surface of the 'form.' This cast, after being examined for defects, which are rapidly repaired, is fitted on the printing-cylinder; which is thus made ready, in a wonderfully short space of time, for impressing the paper which is to pass over it, with the 'matter' of which the original 'form' was composed. As the paper has to be printed on both sides, two such cylinders are needed; and the sheet, having been printed on one side by passing over the first, is printed on the other by being conducted over the second. Another set of beautiful and yet simple contrivances is provided for distributing the ink with the most perfect uniformity, and for preventing

any accidental deficiency, such as might be produced by an air-bubble, from leaving a blank on the type. After having passed over both cylinders, the continuous roll passes through a cutting-machine, which cuts off the sheets one after another at the proper length; and these fall from above to one and the other alternately of two boys who receive the sheets and lay them in two piles.

Now, could any one who should see such a machine in operation, doubt that every part of it had been constructed with a view to a preconceived purpose, whatever he might suppose that purpose to be? An illiterate savage who knows nothing about the meaning of *Times* newspapers, would none the less (if he had a capacity for reasoning upon the matter at all) recognise an intelligent purpose in the construction of the machine. But it is by him who knows something of the difficulties which baffled all previous attempts at printing from a continuously revolving cylinder, and can thus appreciate the beautiful simplicity of the method by which these have been overcome, and by which the machine has been brought to its present perfection, that the greatest admiration will be felt for the ability with which so many separate and dissimilar arrangements have been brought into consentaneous and mutually related action, so as to concur towards a common result, which the machine would altogether fail to work out, if any one of its processes were to suffer derangement.

Now, in the first of these cases we have a very close parallel to those forms of Vegetable and Animal life, which are characterised by the Biologist as of "low organisation"; by which is meant that there is comparatively little differentiation in the structure of their several parts, which are often repeated almost without limit, performing actions identically the same. And yet in these, as in the collocation of the individual fractures which have shaped out a flint implement, we see evidence of a *plan*, in the orderly arrangement of these parts, and in the adaptiveness of their combined action to the well-being of the organism as a whole. Look, for example, at a Sea-anemone in the act of

feeding; and see how its multiple tentacles attach themselves to a piece of fish, or to the shell of a mussel or periwinkle, and draw it by their united contraction into the creature's stomach. The adaptation is not less perfect, because the action is so simple; nothing could be conceived more suitable to the conditions under which the sea-anemone lives; and the multiplication of *similar* parts, so disposed as to enable them to work together to a common end, seems to me as clear an evidence of 'designed' adaptation in the sea-anemone, as it is admitted to be in the 'flint implement.' But, as we ascend the scale of Animal life, we find this repetition of similar parts giving place to differentiation, alike in structure and in action; and in proportion as each kind of functional activity becomes limited to a particular organ, does the mutual dependence of the several parts of the organism necessarily become more intimate. With this functional limitation we commonly find an increasing complexity of structure, which enables the function to be more effectively performed; and thus the body of any 'highly organised' animal consists of a number of *dissimilar* organs, each—like the several parts of the Walter-press—doing its own proper work, but thereby contributing, at the same time, to maintain the activity of the rest.

It has been on this marked adaptiveness of particular organs to the kinds of action they respectively perform, that the "Argument from Design" has been commonly based; and no case of this adaptation has been more frequently dwelt upon, as showing in its perfection the most obvious and convincing evidence of "design," than the Human Eye. The perfection of this adaptation, however, has been partially denied by several modern writers, who have based their denial on a statement contained in a most interesting and instructive lecture on "The Eye and Vision," given some years ago by my very distinguished friend, Professor Helmholtz.* The first part of this lecture is devoted to an exposition of the structure and actions of the eye,

* *Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects.* Translated by Dr. Atkinson. London, 1873.

considered merely as an optical instrument, and of those more recent researches, which have shown that, in addition to retinal defects previously known, the eye is not perfectly corrected for either spherical or chromatic aberration, that the crystalline lens has by no means the perfect clearness it has been supposed to possess, and that its fibrous structure produces an irregular radiation in the image of any single bright point. "Now, it is not too much to say," continues the lecturer, "that if an optician wanted to sell me an instrument which had all these defects, I should think myself quite justified in blaming his carelessness in the strongest terms, and giving him back his instrument."*

Every one who has any knowledge of theological controversy, will recollect how frequently the charge has been justly raised of unfairness of quotation; a single passage, detached from its context, often conveying a meaning altogether different from that which it bears when taken with its context, so that even "the Devil can cite Scripture for his purpose." Those who take the anti-theological side are specially bound, as it seems to me, to abstain from doing the very thing for which they would severely blame their opponents; and yet I have seldom met with a case so unfair as the citation of this statement without any of the qualifications which it subsequently receives. Thus, after showing that these defects scarcely reveal themselves in our ordinary vision,—some of them requiring most refined methods of observation for their detection,—Professor Helmholtz continues: "If I am asked why I have spent so much time in explaining the imperfection of the eye, I answer, as I said at first, that I have not done so in order to depreciate the performances of this wonderful organ, or to diminish our admiration of its construction. It was my object to make my readers understand, at the outset of our enquiry, that it is not any mechanical perfection of the organs of our senses which secures for us such wonderfully true and exact impressions of the outer world. The extraordinary value

* *Popular Lectures*, p. 219.

of the eye depends on the way in which we use it: its perfection is practical, not absolute, consisting not in the avoidance of every error, but in the fact that all its defects do not prevent its rendering us the most important and varied services." This "practical perfection" he afterwards defines as "adaptation to the wants of the organism"; the defects of the eye as an optical instrument being "all so counteracted, that the inexactness of the image which results from their presence very little exceeds, under ordinary conditions of illumination, the limits which are set to the delicacy of sensation by the dimensions of the retinal cones."*

An optical defect which has long been known to Ophthalmologists,—the inferiority in the sensitiveness of the retinal surface generally, to that of the central spot known as the *macula lutea*,—is shown by Professor Helmholtz to be fully compensated by the facility and rapidity with which we move the eye, in such a manner as to bring the image of the object, or of any part of the object, which we wish to examine minutely, upon this sensitive spot; whilst the field over which our vision ranges with sufficient distinctness to see our special object in combination with its surroundings, is far larger than is attainable in any optical instrument of human contrivance.

I venture to think, moreover, that my special experience as a Microscopist has given me the means of adding something to Professor Helmholtz's demonstration of the practical efficiency of the Eye.

Until recently, it has not been found possible by the most skilful constructors of the Microscope to produce object-glasses of high power and wide angular aperture, which should be perfectly free from both *spherical* and *chromatic* aberration. This, however, has recently been accomplished by what is called the 'oil-immersion' system; but the correction can only be perfectly made for a certain relative position of the conjugate foci;—that is, when the object is at the precise distance in front of the

* Ib. p. 226.

lens, and its image is formed at the precise distance behind it, for which it is adjusted by the maker. Hence, the principal Continental constructor of these lenses, Zeiss, of Jena, makes two forms of each power: one for the short 8-inch body of the microscopes generally used on the Continent, and one for the long 10-inch English body. Neither of such object-glasses will work perfectly with a microscope of the other length. For, in order that its image may be projected at ten inches' distance, the object must be brought nearer to the objective than when its image is formed at eight inches' distance; and this diminution will sensibly disturb the performance, on the English Microscope, of the combination which was perfectly corrected for the Continental microscope; whilst a disturbance in the opposite direction will be produced by the increase of distance between the object and the objective, which becomes necessary when an objective corrected for the long English body is used with a short Continental microscope. These disturbances will alike affect the chromatic and the spherical aberration; and there is no known method by which they can be prevented. In fact, I believe I may say that it is demonstrable that no combination *could* be constructed, which should give perfectly aplanatic and achromatic images at different focal distances.

Mark, now, the superiority of the Eye. In its normal condition, this wonderful organ possesses a power to which no optical instrument of human construction can show the remotest parallelism,—that of *adjusting itself* to differences of focal distance. Thus, if I close one eye, and hold up my finger between my other eye and the clock at the far end of the room, I cannot see both of them distinctly at the same time, because, as they are at different distances from my eye, their pictures on my retina cannot both be distinct. But, without moving either my head or my eye, I can so 'focus' my eye on either as to see *it* distinctly, the *other* becoming hazy. This we all constantly do without the least knowledge of the mechanism by which it is

effected: and all that the most careful and refined investigation has revealed to the Physiologist, is that the focal adjustment is made by a change in the curvature of the crystalline lens; its curvature being increased when the rays that fall upon it are *more* divergent, because proceeding from a nearer object; and being diminished when the rays, proceeding from a more distant object, are *less* divergent;—so as in each case to bring them to a focus on the retina. This change of curvature is produced, it is believed, by the action of the ciliary muscle which surrounds the lens; but *how* that action is called forth we do not know. Indeed, we are quite unconscious that we are putting it into contraction. I simply determine, "I will look at the clock," or, "I will look at my finger," and my eye adjusts itself accordingly. If, on the other hand, I were to look with a Telescope, first at a watch-face a few feet off, and then at a church-clock at a distance, I should have to diminish the distance between the object-glass and the eye-piece; and I cannot conceive of any optical mechanism by which the telescope could be enabled to make this adjustment *for itself*. That the Eye should be provided with such a mechanism, has always seemed to me a most wonderful evidence of intelligent design; and the importance of this provision in our daily life is so great (as every one knows in whom it is even partially deficient*), as to outweigh beyond all comparison the slight want of optical perfection, which—as I have already shown you—is inseparable from it.

Let us now turn our attention to the fact that it is only in the sensitive spot of the retina, the *macula lutea*, that we have the most perfect provision, in the elaborateness of its structure, for the reception and transmission of the visual picture. The 'rods,' and 'cones,' as they are called, of

* While a person with good ordinary vision has a range of focal adjustment from six or eight inches (ten inches being the ordinary 'reading distance') to as many miles, that of a 'short-sighted' person is limited to near objects, and that of an elderly 'long-sighted' person to distant objects A *complete* want of power to adjust the focus of the eyes is seldom met with; but sometimes occurs as one of the odd local paralyses often left for a time by an attack of Diphtheria.

that spot are much smaller than they are in any other part of the retinal surface; and our vision of objects whose picture falls upon it is proportionately distinct and minute. Now to me it seems that the inferior visual perfection of the rest of the retina, far from being disadvantageous, is a positive advantage. How completely the disadvantage is compensated by the facility with which we move our eyes, I have already shown in Professor Helmholtz's own words. The direction of their axes which is required to bring upon the *macula lutea* the image of any object at which we wish to look, is given without any conscious exertion of our own; we have only to 'will' to look at the object, and the muscles of our eyes automatically bring their axes into convergence upon it. If you look at the eyes of a person who is reading or writing, you will see them move from left to right as he follows each line across the page, and then turn suddenly to the left again as he begins the next line; and yet he is not conscious of giving them any such direction. So, again, if we fix our gaze on any object, and move our head upwards or downwards, or from side to side, another person looking at our eyes will see them move in the opposite direction, so that their axes continue to point to the object at which we are looking.* Now while the disadvantage of the limitation of distinct vision to the *macula lutea* is thus fully compensated, I hold that this limitation is positively advantageous in this way,—that we see the object, or the part of the object, at which we will to look, with *much greater distinctness* than we should do if the whole of the visual picture which we receive at one time were as complete and vivid as that portion of it which is formed on the central spot of the retina. For our *mental* receptivity of this picture depends upon the *attention* we give it; so that the more completely our attention is concentrated upon the thing at which we specially wish to look, the more distinctly

* Any one may make this experiment for himself, by looking at his own eyes in a looking-glass, and moving his head either horizontally or vertically.

we see it. The Microscopist well knows the great advantage of limiting his field of view when he is examining objects of the greatest difficulty. And every one who has been accustomed to visit Picture-galleries is aware how much more fully he is able to appreciate a picture, when he looks at it in such a manner that its surroundings are kept out of his view.

To be able to bring our fullest measure of visual power to bear upon any object we desire to examine, and at the same time to see surrounding objects with sufficient distinctness for the recognition of their local relation to it, is, thus, far more advantageous to us, than would be the extension of that highest degree of visual power over the whole range at once. Here again, therefore, the asserted imperfection of the eye as an optical instrument proves to be the very contrary, when its structure and action are regarded in their relations to the use we make of the organ; added force being thus given to the final conclusion drawn by Professor Helmholtz, that "the adaptation of the eye to its function is most complete, and is seen in the very limits which are set to its defects" (p. 228).—Those who quote his previous statement for the purpose of depreciating the perfection of the organ, are bound in honesty to cite this also.

In the human Eye, then, as in the Walter printing-machine, we find a combination of a number of separate contrivances, each individually of the most elaborate kind, yet having most complete consentaneousness of action, all tending towards one common end, which is attained with a perfection not theoretically surpassable by our highest science. And the cumulative probability that the eye, like the machine, is the product of "intelligent design," though not logically demonstrative, has a cogency not inferior to the "moral certainties" on which we are accustomed to rely in the ordinary conduct of our lives.—This argument seems to me not to be in the least invalidated, but rather to be strengthened, by the fact that in the ascending series of animals we meet with eyes which, compared with ours, are very imperfect. Beginning at the bottom, we find a little

coloured spot, generally on some part of the surface of the animal, with a nerve-fibre proceeding from the central ganglion to that spot; and we judge this to be a rudimental organ of vision, by what we encounter as we proceed upwards. The next stage consists in the addition of something like a crystalline lens—a little, bright, pellucid particle on the end of the nerve-fibre, that seems by the concentration of luminous rays to intensify the sensation of light. We have strong reason to believe that Animals very low in the scale are guided by this sensation; not in the manner of Plants, whose *growth* towards light is accounted for by its physiological action on the formation of their tissues; but in *movements* directed by a conscious perception of light, resembling that of a nearly blind person who can just distinguish light from darkness. We find this direction towards light, and the avoidance of intervening obstacles, more and more obviously manifested in the movements of animals, as we pass upwards to higher forms of the visual organ. In front of the crystalline lens, we meet with a transparent film representing a cornea, separated from it by an anterior chamber; and behind it we come to distinguish a vitreous humour, covering an expansion of the nerve-fibre which is backed by a pigment layer. When we have arrived at this stage, seen in the 'simple eyes' of Insects, it is most beautiful to trace how the further ascent takes place along two distinct lines; one culminating in the 'compound eye' of the Insect, and the other in the single eye of the Vertebrate animal, of which that of the predaceous birds is, perhaps, the highest type.

The 'compound eye' of the Insect, as you all know, is, in its typical form, an almost hemispherical mass projecting from the side of the head, which is made up of a number of separate 'eyelets' of nearly cylindrical form, whose several axes are directed radially towards the spheroidal surface. Each 'eyelet' consists of a number of different components which appear to correspond with those of our single eye; probably giving an achromatic character to the minute picture formed by its refractive action. But each can

receive only those rays of light, whose direction corresponds with that of its own axis; and as the eye of the insect is immovable, no eyelet can be made to turn towards any particular object. By the multiplication of these eyelets, however, and the radial direction in which they are fixed, the aggregate 'compound eye' will have a range fully equal, and probably superior, to that of any single eye constructed on the Vertebrate plan. In some Butterflies and Dragon-flies, each 'compound eye' is made up of many thousands of these 'eyelets,' the individual 'corneules' of which give the 'facetted' appearance presented by the exterior of the aggregate mass; whilst the inner extremities of the cylinders abut upon a bulbous expansion of the optic nerve, from which a filament proceeds to each of them. Now we seem fully justified by observation of the movements of Insects, in concluding that these are guided by visual perceptions of external objects not less distinct than our own. And it seems probable, therefore, that the action of the compound eye is to impress the sensorium of the insect with a single picture, corresponding to that which is formed upon our own retina, though received through a very differently constructed instrument. Modern investigations, moreover, have shown that the difference is rather apparent than real. For it is now known that the retinal layer of the human eye is not a mere spreading-out of the fibres of the optic nerve; but that in front of these terminal fibres is a layer of 'rods' and 'cones' on which the retinal picture is formed. Thus, the visual picture which our mind receives from either retina, is made up (so to speak) of the aggregate of the visual impressions made separately and individually upon each of its 'rods' and 'cones,' and—through these—upon the individual fibres of the optic nerve on which they severally impinge. And thus what may be called the 'mechanism' of our own vision, is really analogous to that of the vision of the Insect. In fact, it would now seem probable that the 'rods' and 'cones' of our own retina are really homologous with similar structures contained in the cylin-

drical 'eyelets' of the insect; so that the difference between its 'compound eye' and our own 'single eye' lies only in the arrangement of the parts of the recipient nerve-structure. Whilst *we* have a single refractive apparatus for the whole retinal area, by which a continuous picture is thrown upon its entire expanse, the Insect has a separate refractive apparatus for each of its retinal elements; but as the retinal elements themselves are essentially the same in both cases, we may fairly presume that the resulting visual sensation, which the Insect receives by the combination of their separate actions, corresponds closely with our own. That in the Insect the same effect is produced by *multiplication of parts*, as is produced in ourselves by their *concentration in a single apparatus*, is altogether conformable to their general type of organisation. And it seems to me greatly to strengthen the argument of "intention," that a similar perfection of adaptiveness should be attained by the working-up of the same elementary materials on two different methods of construction, in accordance with the general plan of Articulates and Vertebrates respectively. With regard to those more simple forms of visual apparatus which *we* regard as inferior or rudimentary, it is to be borne in mind that they prove no less suitable than our own to the requirements of the animals which possess them, and are therefore *equally perfect in their kind.* All the wants of the Leech, for example, are provided for by its very simply-constructed eyes; and it would have no use whatever for the elaborately-constructed eyes of the actively-flying Insect,—the evolution of the visual organs in the animal series showing a close relation to that of the locomotive apparatus.

Further evidence of 'intelligent design' is supplied by the history of the development of any one of the highest forms of the Eye, such as that of the Chick *in ovo*. For it has been ascertained by the careful study of this process, that the complete organ is the joint product of two distinct developmental actions, taking place in opposite directions,—a growing-inwards from the skin—and a growing-outwards

from the brain: the former supplying the optical instrument for the formation of the visual picture, and the latter furnishing the nervous apparatus on which this is received, and by which its impression is conveyed to the sensorium. A hollow, pear-shaped projection is sent out from the division of the brain called the mesencephalon; the narrowed neck or stalk of which afterwards becomes the optic nerve, whilst its expanded portion, pressed back into a concavity, becomes the retina. At the same time, an inward growth takes place from the skin, at first strongly resembling that which gives origin to a hair-follicle; a sinking-in of the surface of the dermis or true skin, being accompanied by an increased development of its epidermic cells. This depression deepens into a round pit, the lower part of which expands whilst its orifice contracts, so as to form a closed globular cavity, which is at last completely shut off from the exterior. This cavity is lined by epidermic cells, out of which the crystalline lens is ultimately formed; the derm on which they rest becomes its capsule; and the loose tissue which underlies the derm becomes the vitreous humour. The back of the globe thus formed, meeting the pear-shaped projection of the brain, pushes it, as it were, inwards; and thus derives from it the retinal investment which is necessary to bring the Optical apparatus into relation with the Nervous centres. Neither of these developmental processes would be of any use without the other. It is only by the conjunction of the two, that this most perfect and elaborate instrument is brought into existence.

I have now put before you the original Argument from Design, as set forth by Paley, expanded by the more advanced knowledge of the present time. That this argument, based on the combination of adaptations presented in the structure of each Organic type—considered as a 'special creation'—to the external conditions of its existence, needs now to be reconstructed under the new light of the Evolution-doctrine, must be freely admitted

by those who (like myself) maintain it to be still tenable. And I have now to inquire how it is affected, first by the acceptance of the doctrine of Evolution taken *per se;* and secondly by the explanation supposed to be given of that Evolution by attributing it to 'Natural Selection.'

I can best bring you to my own mode of viewing this question, by first leading you to consider how it has been affected by the substitution of our present knowledge of the Evolution of any one of the higher types from its protoplasmic germ-particle, for the old notion that this germ-particle is a miniature representation of the mature embryo, into which it has only to expand by growth. The primordial 'jelly-speck' in the Fowl's egg during the progress of its development into the fully-formed chick, passes through a succession of phases, of which the first represents that lowest or most homogeneous type of organisation which is common to the simplest Plants and the simplest Animals,—the second, one which is distinctively Animal,—the third, one which is distinctively Vertebrate,—the fourth, one which is distinctively Oviparous,—and the fifth, one which is distinctively Ornithic,—while the peculiarities of the special Bird family to which it belongs are the last to make their appearance. Thus, in the language of the great Embryologist, Von Bär, to whom we owe this splendid generalisation, its evolution consists in a gradual progress *from the general to the special,* or, as Herbert Spencer would say, from the *homogeneous* to the *heterogeneous.*

Now if, in examining the structure of a typical Bird, we find evidences of 'design' in the wonderful adaptation of its clothing of feathers alike to keep-in the warmth of the body, and to sustain it in its flight through the air,—in that organisation of its heart and lungs which enable them to keep-up the energetic circulation and respiration required for the maintenance of a high standard of muscular activity,—in those arrangements of the skeleton and muscular apparatus which give support and motion to the expanded wings,—in the adaptation of the eye to that acute and far-ranging vision which is needed for the guidance of

its actions,—and in many other provisions I might enumerate,—I affirm, without any doubt of your assent, that this evidence is not in the least degree invalidated by the discovery that the germ-particle is not a miniature bird, but a protoplasmic 'jelly-speck.' In its capacity for 'evolution' into the complete type, the germ-particle is just as much 'potentially' the Bird, as if it could become one by merely swelling out.

So, if we go back in thought to the origin of the Race, as we can by actual observation to that of the individual, the old conception of 'design' which was based on the idea of an original Bird-creation does not lose any of its applicability, if we find reason to believe that the *original* progenitor was a protoplasmic 'jelly-speck,' certain of whose descendants have passed through a series of forms progressively improving in structure and capacity, and culminating in the perfected Bird. We merely substitute for the idea of continuous uniform descent, that of the 'progressive development' of the race, as representing the mode in which our present Bird has come to be; deeming the latter the more probable, because we find it correspond with the embryonic history of every Bird now existing. The original progenitor was just as 'potentially' the Race, whether called into existence as a protoplasmic 'jelly-speck,' or as a fully-developed Bird. And the evidences of 'design,' which on the doctrine of 'special creations' we find in the construction of the original Bird, and in the provision for the continuous propagation of its own type, we equally find in the production of the original 'jelly-speck,' and in the evolutionary process by which the very lowest type of organisation has been progressively elevated to one of the highest. The marvellous succession of changes by which a Chick is evolved from the germ-spot of the fowl's egg in the short period of two and twenty days, assuredly does not become less worthy of our admiration, if looked at as the abbreviated repetition of one which has extended continuously over millions of years.

Let us now consider this question, not in regard to any

particular species of Bird, but in regard to the Class as a whole,—consisting, as it does at the present time, of many thousands of reputed 'species,' each of them possessing some particular adaptation to its own conditions of existence, and hence regarded (according to our former ideas) as a separate product of Creative Design.

Every Zoologist is aware that the structure of all Birds conforms so closely to a common type, as to make it difficult to divide the class into subordinate groups characterised by well-marked distinctions. For these distinctions almost entirely rest on the comparative development, or peculiar shaping, of organs which all alike possess. I remember that on remarking to my friend, Professor Milne Edwards (the successor of Cuvier as the official head of French Naturalists), soon after the publication of the *Origin of Species*, that I could very well believe that all Birds had descended from a common ancestry, he replied, "I regard Birds zoologically as constituting but a single family;"—meaning that their diversities of structure are not greater than those which we find among the members of many single families of Mammals or Reptiles. Now if we find adequate grounds for the belief that all the Birds which now exist, or ever have existed, are the descendants of a common progenitor, and that the special peculiarities of each type have arisen in the course of their 'descent with modification,' the adaptiveness of each resultant organism is not less an evidence of design, because the aggregate result has been wrought out through a continuous passage from the general type to the special, instead of having been elaborated in all its completeness in the first instance. If the original Bird was so constructed as to be capable not only of engendering its own type, but of giving origin by genetic succession to all the diversified forms under which the Ornithic type has presented itself, we must regard that progenitor as 'potentially' the entire Class, and as endowed with a capacity for producing the whole aggregate of 'adaptations' presented by its individual members. At each stage in the progress of differentiation, we have

thus precisely the same evidence of 'design,' as if the entire set of specific types had been turned out complete (as it were) by their Maker's hand in the first instance; and the substitution of the idea of progressive divarication from a common Bird-type, for that of the original multiplicity and continuous transmission of separate types, thus involves no other modification in the mode of presenting the argument, than the replacement of paroxysmal exertion by continuous orderly operation,—a change which brings it into conformity with the accredited Evolutionary history of the Physical Universe.

It is freely admitted by Mr. Darwin that it is by analogy only that we are led to regard the progenitors of the great divisions of the Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms as having themselves had a common origin; but if we go along with him as far as we have now done, we can scarcely stop short of that conclusion. For as we know that the primitive germ-particles from which Birds or Mammals now spring are not distinguishable by any recognisable differences from those in which Rhizopods or Zoophytes originate,—the special 'potentiality' of each only manifesting itself in the progress of its development,—so it seems more in accordance with Nature's Order, that the distinctions between the fundamental types of Animal organisation should have arisen, like those of their subordinate divisions, by 'descent with modification,' than by 'special creations' of their several progenitors. Accepting provisionally, then, the doctrine of Evolution in this widest sense, as implying the common origin of the whole Organised Creation—past and present—from a single stock, we shall find that no further modification will be required in the form in which I have put the Argument from Design, than such as gives it yet further range and greater comprehensiveness. For we must then regard our one ancestral germ-particle as endowed with a 'potentiality' of progressive development, that has been equal to the peopling of our Globe with all that vast variety of living creatures, by some or other of which it has been inhabited through all save the remotest periods of it

ever-changing history to the present time. That this progressive development has taken place according to an orderly succession, the study of which will ultimately enable us to frame 'laws' that shall express the conditions of the 'perturbations' as well of the 'uniformities' of genetic descent, is the belief of every Philosophic Biologist. But when Biological Science shall have reached this elevated point, it will have revealed to us only the Order of the Evolutionary process, leaving us still to seek for its Cause. But how much grander a conception of that Order do we obtain, when we are thus led to regard it as embodied in one original Design continuously working itself out through the ages, in constant harmony with the changes contemporaneously taking place in the condition of the Terrestrial surface, than when we suppose it to have needed successive interpositions for re-adaptation to those changes as they successively occurred!

But, it is affirmed, there is nothing in this adaptation that cannot be accounted for by 'Natural Selection.' As changes took place in their 'environment,' variations occurred in the living inhabitants; some of these were favourable to their new conditions, some were the reverse; the fittest survived, the unfit became extinct; and thus those 'adaptations' came about in the natural course of things, for which Theologians have needlessly invoked the 'design' of a *Deus ex machinâ*. In one of those most able expositions of the doctrine of the *Origin of Species by Natural Selection*, by which Prof. Huxley very early impressed the educated public with the scientific value of the new views which Mr. Darwin had opened out, he remarked that nothing had more strongly impressed him than the fact that they had completely disposed of the old teleological argument; the adaptations in organised structures which had been regarded as evidences of 'design,' being sufficiently accounted-for as results of the 'survival of the fittest.' And this view of the case has

been so zealously adopted by some of the younger advocates of the doctrine, that they have gone the length of representing the Plants and Animals which exhibit them, as having *made themselves* for the purposes which their organisation is found to answer,—as if *they* had the intelligent design which is denied to an universal Creator. When challenged to justify that language, they represent it as merely "figurative"; their intention being only to show that as Natural Selection gives a sufficient account of the adaptiveness, there is no need to seek for any other explanation of it.

But to me it seems that Prof. Huxley and his followers in this line of argument have entirely overlooked the consideration, that before Natural Selection among varietal forms could come into operation, there must have been varieties to select from,—that for the 'fittest' to have survived, they must have *come to possess* the structure that made them the fittest. It was very early pointed out that 'Natural Selection' only expresses a *general fact*, and can in no sense be accounted a *vera causa;* and this, in his later years, Mr. Darwin showed himself quite willing to admit. In what I believe to be his last public utterance on the subject, he spoke of the Causes of Variation as at present the greatest problem of Biological Science; and the greater our success in the investigation of it, the more surely—I feel convinced—shall we recognise the evidences of an originating Design. While the argument is carried back—exactly as by the determination of the 'laws' of the Celestial motions—a stage nearer to the primal source, its basis is extended, and its upward reach elevated. In the admirable language of Dr. Martineau, "The Law of 'natural "selection,' instead of dispensing with anterior causation, "and enabling the Animal races to be their own Providence "and do all their own work, distinctly testifies to the con-"stitution of a world pre-arranged for progress, externally "spread with large choice of conditions, and with internal "provisions for seizing and realising the best."

The life of every Organised structure, from the lowest to

the highest, consists in a series of physical interactions between itself and its environment; these interactions being maintained by certain physical forces, and requiring certain material supplies. The simplest Algal protophytes, under the influence of light and a moderate degree of heat, can manufacture their own food out of the inorganic components of Air and Water; and can thus flourish at all ordinary temperatures, wherever they can get an adequate supply of these elements. Most of the higher Plants, on the other hand, whilst still capable of generating out of Air and Water the organic materials which they require for their own sustenance, need also to be supplied with certain special mineral substances; and will only flourish within certain limits of temperature. Moreover, as Mr. Darwin has shown us, many of them require the agency of Insects for the fertilisation of their ovules; and cannot reproduce themselves by seeds where that agency is not supplied. But the aggregate of these physical conditions constitutes only a part of the *cause* of the Plant's growth: there must be an aptitude on the part of the organism itself to turn them to account; and of the source of that aptitude, we at present know nothing whatever. Some Plants can adapt themselves in a much greater degree than others, to differences in external conditions; that adaptation involving some modification of their own structure. "What," said Prof. Lindley, fifty years ago, "is a 'common' plant, but "one which can grow and propagate itself in almost any "kind of soil, and under almost every range of tempera-"ture; and what is a 'rare' plant, but one which cannot "flourish and produce seed, except under certain special "conditions?" Every Botanist knows that among our own wild plants, *Rosa*, *Rubus*, and *Salix* are alike the most 'variable,' and the most 'common' types; 'common,' because they have the capacity for adapting themselves to different conditions of growth; 'variable,' because of the influence of those varying conditions upon their organisation. Out of the forms of Rose, Bramble, and Willow, ranked as 'varietal' by Mr. Bentham, our ablest

student of them, previous systematists had created more than three hundred 'species.'

Take, again, the influence of cultivation. There is no more remarkable example of the alteration produced by more abundant supply of food and more regulated temperature, than that exhibited in the development of the wild *Brassica oleracea*, a rambling sea-shore plant, into the various kinds of cabbage, broccoli, and cauliflower. Why will not culture produce the like effect upon other plants? It is quite illogical to say that this transformation has been the effect of 'physical causes,' when the most essential factor in that entire 'aggregate of antecedents,' which (according to J. S. Mill) constitutes the 'cause,' is the 'unknown quantity' which we designate as the 'constitution' of the organism itself. As I have already pointed out, we do not get any nearer to the explanation of this constitution by tracing it backwards ancestrally; for supposing *Rosa*, *Rubus*, *Salix*, and *Brassica* to have derived their respective peculiarities by 'natural selection' from among previous varieties, the question recurs,—Whence those varietal modifications? No physical agencies can be assigned, at any stage whatever of the descent, as an adequate account of them; since, for those agencies to take effect, there must have been a concurrent capacity for variation, either in the organism itself, or in its germ, in virtue of which its varietal forms were engendered. The necessity for this factor is evinced by the negative results of its deficiency, shown in the 'rareness' of many wild plants, and the unconquerable resistance made by others to all improvement by cultivation.

Precisely the same thing obtains in the Animal Kingdom. The lowest *Protozoa*, of which *Amœba* is the type, find in every pond the organic materials which they require for their sustenance; and live and multiply under all ordinary ranges of temperature. But most Animals of high organisation require particular kinds of food: some being purely carnivorous, others purely herbivorous; whilst others, like Man, are omnivorous, and are thereby enabled to

sustain themselves on a greater variety of alimentary substances. So, again, all the higher types of Animals need an elevated temperature for the maintenance of their activity; but while the 'cold-blooded,' as Insects and Reptiles, are entirely dependent upon the temperature of the medium they inhabit, and are therefore reduced to a state of torpidity by its depression, 'warm-blooded' Birds and Mammals carry their heating furnaces about with them, and are thus in great degree independent of depressions in external temperature. Yet even with this advantage, we find the whole Quadrumanous order and the larger Carnivora, as well as the (existing) Elephant, Rhinoceros, and Hippopotamus, restricted to tropical or sub-tropical climates; none of them being able to resist the winter cold of the temperate zone. In striking contrast with their limitation of range is that of our 'domesticated' animals, especially Dogs and Cats, Sheep and Oxen, Asses and Horses; all of which possess more or less adaptability to a wide range of climatic and other conditions, while the original (or supposed original) type of each becomes the subject of numerous varietal modifications. Some of these are distinctly *adaptive*, rendering the animals that exhibit them more fit to sustain themselves in the new conditions in which Man's agency (directly or indirectly exerted) has placed them; whilst others are as distinctly *non*-adaptive, rendering the animals *less* fit to maintain their existence if left to take care of themselves, although perpetuated by Man's 'artificial selection' as either useful or pleasing to himself.

In these varying capabilities of particular races, then, we must recognise—no less than in the ordinary characters proper to each race—the constitutional factor which extends the range of some, and limits that of others, so that the physical agencies to which the former show themselves amenable, have no similar effect upon the latter. If we say that the unknown cause of the variability of the one, or of the invariability of the other, lies in the 'properties' of the germ of each,—whether that of its immediate progenitor,

or of the primordial ancestor of both,—we really get no nearer to an explanation of it, than we do by calling the former x and the latter y. There is no Family in the whole Mammalian series, of which the members are more closely similar in the essential parts of their conformation, than the *Cat* tribe; the Lion, Tiger, Panther, Leopard, Puma, and Jaguar, differing in little else than stature and hairy covering, and the domestic Cat being but a reduced copy of the general type. What it was in its original wild state, is not certainly known; many races of 'wild cats' being pretty certainly descendants of the domesticated stock. In virtue, however, of its adaptability to a lower range of temperature, *Felis catus* has established itself where neither *Felis leo* nor any other of the larger (existing) cats can keep itself alive; but whence did it get this adaptability? Suppose it to be replied, that, being a smaller species than the rest, it was very early brought under the influence of Man; and that as the people who domesticated it extended themselves further and further north of their original home, successive generations came to adapt themselves to greater and yet greater degrees of winter cold,—the question still recurs, whence this *ancestral adaptability?*

The influence of physical conditions in modifying the constitution is well known to be most strongly exerted during the earlier period of life; for as long as the organism is in process of development, it will *grow to* its environment, as it will not do at a later epoch, when it will either resist or succumb. We are told by Sir Charles Lyell that the Cornish miners who went out some sixty years ago to work the Real del Monte mines in Mexico, took out some greyhounds to hunt the hares which abound on the elevated *plateaux* of that country; but that, in consequence of the rarefied condition of the air, the dogs could not continue the chase, but lay down panting for breath. The offspring of those dogs, however, brought up at this elevation, were able to run down the hares as well as if both had been on a lower level. The constitution of the young dogs adapted itself to the environment in which they grew up; but

whence that adaptability? We do not find it in any but *living organisms;* no physical property gives the least account of it.

The most remarkable example with which I am acquainted, of the effect of physical conditions in modifying the developmental process, is that which is seen in the economy of the Hive-bee. It is well known that whenever, from any cause, a community wants a queen, a worker-grub at an early stage is selected; a 'royal cell' is constructed round it, several ordinary cells being demolished for the purpose, and their contained grubs killed; the selected grub is fed with 'royal jelly' instead of with 'bee-bread'; and (it seems probable) a higher temperature is maintained by the incessant activity of the bees which cluster about the royal nursery. In due time a perfect 'queen' comes forth, differing from the 'worker' not merely in the completeness of its reproductive apparatus, but in the conformation of its jaws and antennæ, the absence of 'pollen-baskets' on the thighs, and yet more remarkably in its instincts. Now it is obviously no explanation of this extraordinary transformation to say that every worker grub is a 'potential' queen; because the attributing this 'potentiality' to it is only another way of expressing the fact that it can be so transformed. The existence of the 'potentiality,' and of the wonderful instinct that leads the worker-bees to act upon it, are not less evidences of 'design,' because physical agencies are needed to call them into exercise.

A familiar instance of adaptiveness between the conformation of animals and their environment, is the possession by Birds and Mammals inhabiting the Polar regions, of a tegumentary covering that serves to keep-in the warmth of their bodies, the former being provided with an underclothing of down, the latter with a thick close fur; whilst, on the contrary, many of the larger quadrupeds inhabiting the torrid zone show a marked deficiency, or even entire absence, of hairy covering. Now this is the more remarkable, because the ordinary effect of external warmth is to

increase, and of external cold to diminish, the determination of blood to the skin; of which we see the effects alike in the increase of perspiration, and in the more rapid growth of the hair and nails during summer. Yet I have myself seen in Southdown sheep, which had been transported only two years previously to the West Indies, the thick covering of wool replaced by short crisp hair, scarcely distinguishable from that of the goats which had inhabited the island for several generations; and the hottest parts of the South American Pampas are inhabited by breeds of cattle (the descendants of those introduced by the Spaniards), of which some are nearly, and others quite, destitute of hair, and which cannot live in the more temperate air of the slopes of the Andes. It seems clear, then, that this adaptation results from some direct physical action of temperature on the constitution of the animals; and yet (like the expansion of water in cooling from 39·2° to 32°) it is in direct opposition to a very general law.

The same may be said of the winter whitening of the fur and plumage of Arctic mammals and birds. For although this (like the preceding) has been adduced as an example of 'natural selection,'—the white varieties surviving because they escape being seen upon ground whitened by snow,—yet there must have been some cause for the production of the white varieties; and it has been the experience of some of our Arctic voyagers, that the winter whitening could be retarded by keeping the animals in a warm cabin, but took place in a few hours when they were put out into air whose temperature was considerably below zero.

Supposing, then, that we could trace out all the *physical* conditions under which these adaptations come to be, we have still to account for the adaptiveness in the *constitution of the animals* which exhibit them.

We find a singularly parallel case in that beautiful piece of human workmanship,—a clock or chronometer so constructed, as, by the accurate 'compensation' of its pendulum or balance-wheel, to keep accurate time under all

ordinary variations of climatic temperature. Surely we do not consider it a sufficient account of its self-adjustment, to attribute it to the physical action of heat or cold; for this would disturb the performance of an ordinary clock or watch. We seek the explanation of its special 'potentiality' in the compensating apparatus; and we trace back the origin of this apparatus to the mind of its contriver. So, as it seems to me, however long may be the chain of 'causation,' or the series of 'unconditional sequences,' that may be traceable backwards in the ancestral history of any organised type, we come to a *beginning* of it, as to the first term of an arithmetical or geometrical progression; and we have no less to account for the common beginning of the whole Organised Creation, with its unlimited possibilities of modification and adaptation, than if we had to account for the separate production of each type of Plant and Animal.

I shall introduce one more curious illustration of my argument, from a department of inquiry well worthy of systematic study,—the influence of *psychical* conditions on the *colour* of animals. The advocates of 'natural selection' as an all-sufficient explanation of the correspondence between the gorgeous hues of tropical Birds and Insects, and the brilliant foliage and blossoms of the trees in the midst of which they live, altogether neglect to tell us how those varieties came to be engendered, the conformity of whose colours to those of their environment made them the 'fittest' to survive. The story of Jacob and Laban shows the antiquity of the belief that some influence exerted by the colour of the 'environment' on the visual sense of the parents, affects the colour of the progeny; and this belief seems justified by modern observation. Thus, the Dingo, or wild dog of Australia (probably the descendant of some domesticated race originally introduced thither by Man), has a uniform dull brown hue; but when the parents have been brought by domestication into a more varied environment, the pups vary in colour,—as has been often seen in the Zoological Gardens. The breeders of the polled Angus —a particular race of black cattle in Scotland—who

make a great point of keeping up the perfect uniformity of their blackness, getting rid of every individual that has even a single white foot—take care to have everything black about their farmsteads: all the buildings are black, the horses are black, the dogs are black, the fowls are black. No breeder will have anything coloured or white about his place. Though no account can be given of the physiological action which makes these precautions effective (as they are asserted to be) in securing the desired result, yet I am strongly inclined to think that some influence of this kind is concerned in producing many singular correspondences between the surface-aspect of Fishes and Crustacea inhabiting shallow waters, and the characters of the bottoms on which they live. Every angler for trout is familiar with variations of this kind; and I have been assured of cases in which these fish, when transferred from one part of a stream to another, were found in no long time to have undergone a change in surface-markings, which gave them the same conformity to the new bottom as they previously had to the old. I once found in a pool on the sea-shore some small Fishes and shrimp-like Crustaceans, the hue of whose surface so exactly resembled that of the yellow sand speckled with black that formed the bottom and sides of the pool, that the closest watching scarcely enabled me to distinguish them; and I found, on microscopic examination of their respective integuments, that their colouration was due in both alike to the presence of large yellow pigment-cells, with small black ones interspersed. Hence, even if we attribute this singularly close adaptation to 'natural selection,' we have just as much to account for the development of the peculiar pigmentation in the variety—alike of the Fish and of the Crustacean—that exhibited it, as if we believed these animals to have been originally created with it. And if we prefer to believe, as I am myself disposed to do, that in all these instances the colour of the environment is reproduced by some sort of physiological reflexion in the integument of the animal (the *psychical* impression, as in numerous other cases, reacting in a *physical* change), we have still to

account for the peculiarity of constitution which made those particular races amenable to that influence.

I trust that I have now satisfied you of the validity of the position I took up in the first instance, that "natural selection" does not—as has been affirmed—effectually dispose of the teleological argument, by reducing adaptiveness to an accidental conformity between the capacities of the 'fittest' and the external conditions of their existence. That conformity cannot exist, unless the beings possessed of it have previously come into existence. There is no such thing as 'accidental' variation. A departure from the rule that 'like produces like,' never takes place without a cause. If it should happen that a variation is—under the circumstances—injurious rather than beneficial, it would not be right to call it 'aimless'; for it may be no less perfectly adapted to conditions which exist elsewhere, than is that variation which gives to the race that possesses it an advantage in the struggle for existence. If a Highland cow were to produce a hairless calf which could not stand the winter cold, or a Pampas cow were to bear a calf with a thick shaggy covering of hair which would unfit it for its tropical habitat, none the less should we recognise the *general* adaptiveness between each race and its climatic environment, and see the evidence of 'design' in the provision for thus peopling almost every country in which Man can maintain his existence, with races of Oxen serving for his support.

I have now, in fine, to ask you to follow me through an entirely different line of argument. All the variations among which "natural selection" can be shown to have any effective operation, have reference to comparatively insignificant modifications of structure. Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that all past and present modifications of the original Bird type may have thus arisen. But on the mode in which that singularly-specialised *type* came

into existence,—in which that most wonderful feature of its organisation, the feather, arose out of the scaly covering of its Reptilian ancestors,—in which its heart came to be divided into four chambers instead of three, and the arrangement of its blood-vessels altered accordingly, in the establishment of the 'complete double circulation,' that insures the perfect aëration of the blood needed for the maintenance of the extraordinary muscular energy by which the feathered wings can sustain the body in flight, —I cannot see that "natural selection" throws the least light. There is, as I have already pointed out, an adaptation in the several parts of the structure of the Bird, not only to one general result, but to a consentaneous action in bringing about that result, which shows itself to be more complete, the more closely it is scrutinised. And on the hypothesis of "natural selection" among 'aimless' variations, I think it could be shown that the probability is infinitely small, that the progressive modifications required in the structure of each individual organ to convert a Reptile into a Bird, could have taken place without disturbing the required harmony in their combined action; nothing but intentional prearrangement being competent to bring about such a result. And the point on which I now wish to fix your attention, is the evidence of such pre-arrangement that is furnished by the *orderly sequence of variations following definite lines of advance.*

I shall illustrate this, in the first place, by a general outline of a Memoir which I last year presented to the Royal Society, in which I embodied the final results (as relating to this subject) of an inquiry on which I had been engaged for forty years into the organisation of the *Foraminifera;* a group of marine animals of the simplest protoplasmic nature, which yet form for themselves shelly coverings of singular regularity and complexity of structure, the aggregation of whose remains forms many important Limestone-strata (as the Nummulitic limestone of which the Pyramids are built, and the Miliolite limestone which has

furnished the chief building material of Paris), whilst Chalk is a product of their disintegration. My studies of this group began with a comparatively gigantic type called the *Orbitolite;* which is a shelly disk, sometimes attaining the diameter of an inch, living at the present time on the coast of Australia, the Fiji reefs, and other Pacific shores, and found fossil in the early Tertiary limestones of the North of France, one bed of which is in great degree formed of an accumulation of disks very similar to those now piling

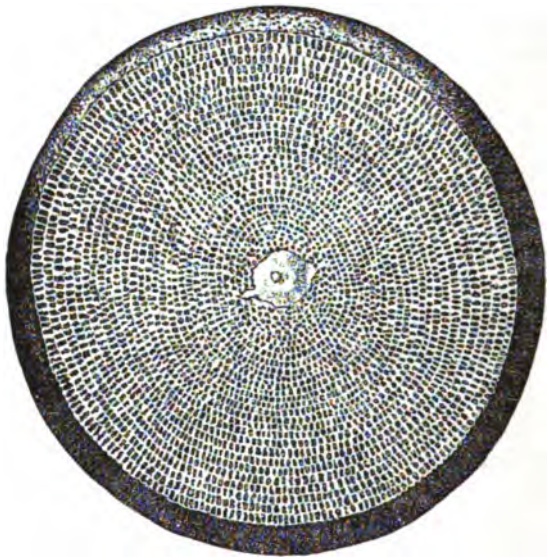

FIG. I.

Shelly Disk of *Orbitolites complanata,* showing concentric rings of chamberlets, arranged round a central nucleus.

themselves up near its Antipodes. I was supplied, moreover, with a series of smaller disks (chiefly picked out of shore-sands), down to an almost microscopic minuteness, but agreeing with the larger in this fundamental feature of their structure,—the arrangement of their mutually connected 'chamberlets' in successive circles round a central 'nucleus,' their plan of growth being thus *cyclical.* This plan is most fully carried out in typical specimens of the

large *Orbitolites complanata* (Fig. I); in which the 'sarcodic nucleus,' consisting of a flask-shaped 'primordial segment,' *a*, Fig. II., and of a 'circumambient segment,' *b*, b^1, *c*, is at once surrounded by a complete ring of sub-segments, separately budded-off from it; successive rings, with constantly increasing numbers of sub-segments, being in like manner budded-off around the outer border of their predecessors, sometimes to the number of 100. The shell, moulded upon this composite body, thus acquires the very regular discoidal form shown in Fig. I.; and its vertical thickness usually increases from its centre towards its circumference. A vertical section of the disk (Fig. III., 2) shows that the chamberlets visible on its two surfaces form two superficial layers, which communicate with continuous annular galleries that lie just beneath them (Fig. III., 3, *d'*, *d''*), every chamberlet, *a*, opening at each end into one of these galleries; whilst the intermediate part of the disk is occupied by columnar chamberlets (*b*, *b*), which open at either end into the annular galleries, and are connected with each other by several ranges of oblique passages (*e*, *e*, *f*, *f*). The passages proceeding outwards from the last-formed ring, open on the margin of the disk as pores arranged in more or less regular vertical series (Fig. III., 1); and these pores constitute the only means of communication between the complicated cavitary system of the disks, and the surrounding waters from which the animal that inhabits them draws its nutriment. The substance of this animal is apparently altogether protoplasmic. Notwithstanding this complexity in the structure of the disk, there is not the least trace of differentiation in the contents of the several series of chamberlets. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that a continuous interchange must be always going on between the proto-

FIG. II.

Central Portion of Animal Body of *Orbitolites complanata*.

plasmic substance of the central and that of the peripheral parts of the disk ; so that the nutriment taken in by the 'pseudopodial' extensions which the latter puts forth through the marginal pores, may be diffused through the whole multiple series of sub-segments, of which the body

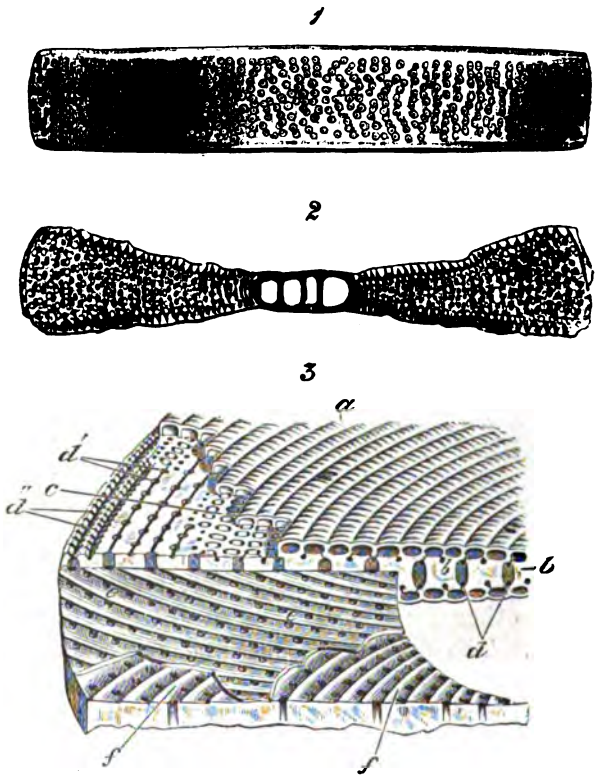

FIG. III.

Structure of Shelly Disk of *Orbitolites complanata*.

1. Edge of Disk, showing multiple series of marginal pores.

2. Vertical Section, showing two superficial planes of chamberlets, separated by intermediate columnar structure.

3. Internal Structure:—*a*, superficial chamberlets; *b*, *b*, columnar chamberlets of intermediate layer; *c*, floors of superficial chamberlets, showing the opening at each end into the annular gallery beneath; *d*, annular galleries cut transversely; *d'*, *d''*, annular galleries laid open longitudinally; *e e*, *f f*, oblique stolon passages of intermediate layer.

of this organism consists. This I characterised as the 'complex' type of *Orbitolite* structure.

The minute disks picked out of shore-sands, however, were found to present a much simpler plan of structure; the chamberlets being arranged in a single plane around the central nucleus, those of each ring being connected by a single annular gallery, and their openings at the margin

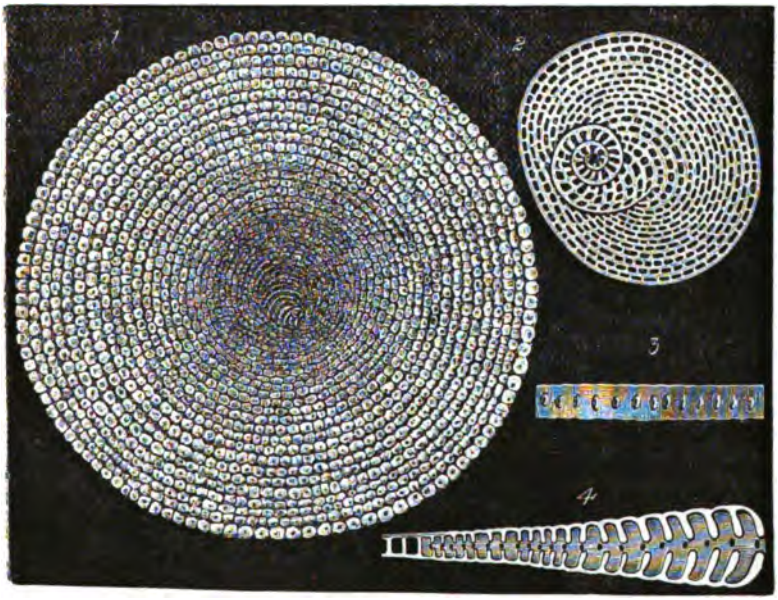

FIG. IV.

Disk of Simple Type of *Orbitolite*.

1. Surface of Disk, showing later growth of concentric rings of chamberlets around a first-formed spire.
2. Central portion enlarged.
3. Edge of Disk, showing single row of marginal pores.
4. Vertical Section, showing succession of chamberlets communicating with each other radially by passages in the annular partitions, and laterally by the annular canals, whose sections are seen as dark spots.

forming but a single row of pores (Fig. IV., 1, 3, 4). The arrangement of the first-formed chamberlets, moreover, presented a singular departure from the cyclical plan, showing a distinctly *spiral* disposition (Fig. IV., 2); the

mouth of the spire, however, rapidly opening out by successive additions, so as to enclose the 'nucleus'; after which all succeeding additions were complete rings, so that the cyclical plan came to be completely established.—This I designated as the '*simple*' type of *Orbitolite* structure.

I was further able to show that these two typical forms were connected by a gradational series of connecting links; the formation of disks of the 'complex' type often commencing on a plan resembling that of the 'simple;' and the change from the latter to the former taking place, not at any fixed epoch of growth, but after a variable number of rings had been formed, sometimes abruptly, sometimes more gradually, in the manner to be presently detailed. And I also found that the inner rings of even the largest 'complex' disks, if their early growth had taken place on the 'simple' type, were not complete, but showed a tendency to one-sided and therefore spiral growth, like that seen in Fig. VI., 3.

Reflecting on the relations of these highly specialised Foraminiferal types to the simpler forms of the *Milioline* group, to which (in virtue of the 'porcellanous' character of their shells) I referred them, I ventured to construct a hypothetical pedigree; tracing their descent (Fig. V.) from the particle of protoplasm that forms the spheroidal chamber in which every Foraminiferal shell begins, first to an open undivided spiral (1); then to a type in which the spire is constricted at intervals (2); then to a type in which it is completely divided into chambers by transverse partitions (3); then to a type in which the spirally arranged chambers are divided by longitudinal partitions into chamberlets (4); then to the 'simple' type of *Orbitolites*, in which the spiral plan of growth gives place to the cyclical (5); then to an 'intermediate' type, in which the original spiral almost disappears (6); and finally to the 'complex' type, in which the plan is cyclical from the beginning (7).

This hypothetical pedigree has found its complete confirmation in a deep-sea *Orbitolite* of extraordinary delicacy

and beauty, which was brought up in the *Porcupine* Expedition of 1869. For this little disk, about the size of a fourpenny piece, while for the most part truly cyclical,

FIG. V.

Diagram illustrating the Pedigree of the Complex type of *Orbitolite*.

1. Simple undivided Spire of *Cornuspira*.
2. Partially interrupted Spire of *Spiroloculina*.
3. Spire of *Peneroplis*, divided by partitions into chambers.
4. Spire of *Orbiculina*, its chambers divided into rows of chamberlets.
5. Disk of 'simple' *Orbitolite*, showing first-formed spire, surrounded by concentric rings.
6. Disk of 'duplex' *Orbitolite*, showing earlier passage from spiral to cyclical plan of growth.
7. Central portion of Disk of 'complex' *Orbitolite*, in which the chambered nucleus alone shows an abbreviated spire, the very first row of chamberlets forming a complete ring.

has a long succession of inner chamberlets arranged upon the *spiral* plan, as in *Orbiculina;* these, again, arise from expanded but undivided chambers, like those of a *Peneroplis;* and these chambers are the continuation of a spiral tube, with occasional constrictions, resembling that of a *Spirolo-culina,* coiling continuously round a primordial chamber, as in *Cornuspira.* Thus, in this interesting organism we find *permanently represented* the whole developmental history of the 'simple' type of *Orbitolite* from the primordial jelly-speck. The large *Challenger* collection of *Orbitolites,* made on the Fiji reef, has furnished me with the means of still more completely working out the transition from the 'simple' to the 'complex' type; a distinctly intermediate type there presenting itself in great abundance. This, which I term the 'duplex' type (Fig. VI., 1), resembles the 'simple' in having its annular series of chamberlets disposed in a single plane, and in the connection of the chamberlets of each ring by a single annular canal; but differs in having its successive rings connected by a *double* series of radial passages, which issue on the edge of the disk (Fig. VI., 2) as marginal pores. The columnar sub-segments, *a a', b b',* of each ring are strung, as it were, on the annular cord, *c c';* and this sends off an upper and a lower series of stolon-processes, *d d, d'd',* which pass into the upper and lower halves of the sub-segments of the next ring.—The plan of growth in the first-formed portion, shown in Fig. VI., 3, is singularly intermediate between that of the 'simple' and that of the 'complex' type. The regular spire of the former is now reduced to the single turn made by the 'circumambient segment', *b b,* round the 'primordial segment', *a;* but a partial continuance of the same plan is shown in the incompleteness of the first two or three rings of sub-segments; these being budded-forth from only *half* of the 'circumambient segment,' instead of from its *whole* periphery, as in the typical 'complex' *Orbitolite* (Fig. II.). Yet even in large disks, whose later growth is characteristically 'complex,' the nucleus and earlier rings

are often formed on the 'duplex' plan, which passes into the 'complex' in the manner to be now described.

Believing, with Sir James Paget, that "the highest laws of Biological Science are expressed in their simplest terms in the lives of the lowest orders of creation," I shall now ask

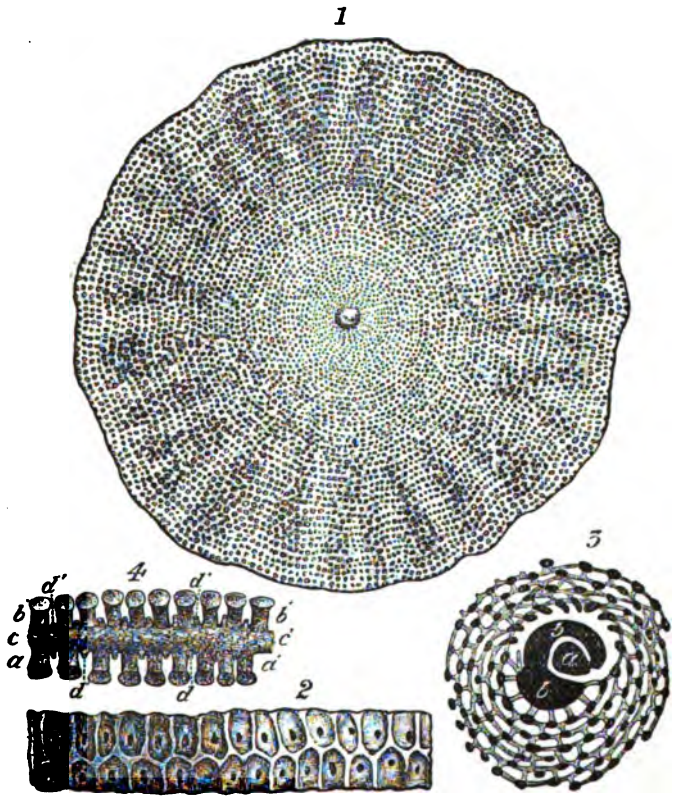

FIG. VI.

1. Disk of Duplex type of *Orbitolite*.

2. Edge of Disk, showing double row of marginal pores.

3. Central portion of Sarcode body:—*a*, primordial segment; *b*, circumambient segment, budding off a half-ring of sub-segments, from which complete rings are afterwards formed.

4. Portion of the Sarcodic body of one ring; *a a'* and *b b'*, the two halves of the columnar sub-segments in connection with *c c'*, the annular cord; from this are given off the pairs of stolon-processes *d d'*, *d d'*, which connect it with the sub-segments of the next annulus.

you to follow me through a detailed examination of the transition from one type to the other; as shown in Fig. VII., which represents a vertical section, taken in a radial direction, of one of those large 'complex' disks whose life was commenced on the plan of the 'simple.' The first-formed series of chamberlets (m, m^1, m^2, m^3, m^4) exactly correspond with those of the 'simple' type (Fig. IV., 4), constituting but a single plane; those of each series being connected together by a single continuous annular gallery (shown in cross-section at ac, ac), while those of each series are connected with those of the next by single radial passages (r, r, r), which, as each annulus was formed, would open at its outer edge as a *single* row of marginal pores. But these are surrounded by rings (d, d^1, d^2) in which, while the annular canal is still single, two radial passages (r) go off from it obliquely, one into the upper and the other into the lower portion of each chamberlet of the next annular series, those of the last-formed annulus showing themselves at its edge as a *double* row of marginal pores. From this 'duplex' type, the first advance towards the 'complex' is shown at e, e^1, in the splitting, so to speak, of each annular canal into two (ac, ac'), and the interposition of a columnar cavity (m, m) between its two halves. Now, in the inner (or earlier-formed) of the annuli which show this complication (e, e^1), the two series of chamberlets (s s, s' s') which lie between the two annular canals and the two surfaces of the disk, are continuous with the intermediate columnar chamberlets, and bear the same relation to their respective annular canals as in the 'duplex' type, each being connected with one canal only; and this stage of differentiation characterises the Orbitolites of the French Tertiaries, which seem to have attained their full growth without any advance upon it. But in the large Orbitolite disks of Australia and Fiji, I find this simpler arrangement giving place to a more complicated one (f, f^1, f^2, f^3); the chamberlets of the two superficial layers being separated from those of the intermediate layer, and being so shifted in position, that each annular series lies over the

FIG. VII.

Diagrammatic representation of the transition from the 'simple' to the 'complex' plan of growth, as shown in vertical section, from the primordial and circumambient chambers (*c p c'*) of the centre, to the margin, whose pores are shown at *mp*. The chambers *m*, m^1, m^2, m^3, m^4, are all formed upon the *simple* type (as in Fig. IV. 4), and show at *ac*, *ac*, the cross sections of the annular canals, which connect all the chamberlets of one ring, and at *r*, *r*, *r*, the radial passages connecting the successive annuli. The chambers *d*, d^1, d^2, are formed upon the *duplex* type; the annular canals *ac*, *ac*, being single, but the radial passages *r* being double. The chambers *e*, e^1, show two annular canals *ac*, *ac'*, between which is interposed a columnar chamberlet, continuous with the two superficial chamberlets *s s'*. In the chambers *f*, f^1, f^2, f^3, to the margin, which are all formed on the fully-developed *complex* type, the upper and under superficial chamberlets *s s*, *s' s'*, are completely cut off from the intermediate columnar portion, and, by a shifting of their position, each is made to communicate with *two* annular canals.

interval between two annular canals, and communicates with both of them ; while the sarcodic body which occupies this cavitary system thus comes to have the more complicated arrangement shown in Fig. VIII. With the increase in the thickness of the intermediate layer, the double row of marginal pores of the 'duplex' type gives place to the multiple series (Fig. VII. *mp*) of the 'complex.'

Now it seems to me impossible not to recognise the fact, that the evolution of this type has taken place *along a definite course;* every stage being one of *progress*, and each being (so to speak) a preparation for the next. This, perhaps, will be most clearly seen by looking at the progressive complication in the structure of the sarcodic body on which the shell is modelled. First, we have a simple pear-shaped particle, extending itself into a cord that lies in a continuous spiral around it, with constrictions at intervals. This spire flattens out; and then, by the formation of transverse partitions, traversed by pores, the successive additions become segmentally separated from each other, though mutually connected by sarcodic extensions. Next, these segments undergo a further division into sub-segments : all those forming each row being strung (as it were) on a continuous sarcodic cord, which connects them laterally; while the successive rows are connected, as before, by radial 'stolon processes,' those of the last-formed row issuing forth through the marginal pores, as the *pseudopodia*, through which nutriment is absorbed for the entire body. Then, by the opening out of the spire, the lateral connecting cords become complete rings, from which the radial stolon-processes are given off; and the future increase of the 'simple' type consists in the formation of new circular series of sub-segments, each strung, as it were, on its own annular cord. Now, the advance towards the 'complex' type is prepared-for, so to speak, by the sending forth of two sets of radial stolon-processes instead of one; —a change which, taken by itself, is meaningless, since every one who is familiar with the variability of the Rhizopodal type (especially as exhibited in the tran-

sitional forms between *Peneroplis* and *Dendritina*) knows that it cannot make any difference to the animal whether its pseudopodia issue from the margin of the disk, through a single or through a double row of pores; but which is full of meaning when regarded as a preparation for that splitting of each annular cord into two, in which the transition from the 'simple' to the 'complex' type essentially consists. Every annulus of the body of the latter consists of a series of columnar segments (Fig. VIII., *e e*, *e' e'*), passing at each end into an annular cord (*a a'*, *b b'*), and communicating with the series internal and external to it, by oblique stolon-passages, the number of which is related to the length of the columns; this, again, determining the thickness of the calcareous disk which is modelled upon them. The sub-segments of the two superficial layers (*c c*, *d d*) do not communicate with each other; but those of each circlet are connected (as already described) with the two annular cords that lie beneath. And by this elaborate arrangement, every part of the minutely sub-divided protoplasmic body which occupies the minutely sub-divided cavity of these disks, is brought into continuous relation with every other part, and with the peripheral annulus whose marginal pores constitute the only access through which nutriment can reach it from without.

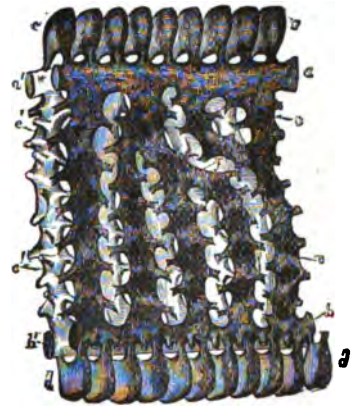

FIG. VIII.

Portion of Sarcodic body of Complex Orbitolite:—*a a'*, *b b'*, upper and lower annular cords of two concentric zones; *c c*, upper layer of superficial sub-segments; *d d*, the lower layer; *e e* and *e' e'*, intermediate columnar sub-segments of the two zones, giving off oblique stolon-processes.

I might further illustrate my argument that we have here the obvious indication of a pre-arranged plan, by

the remarkable provision made, not merely for the reparation of injuries, but for the restoration of the typical form when the disk has been so much broken as to destroy that form completely. Even a broken-off marginal fragment may give origin to a new disk; its sarcodic body extending itself all round it, so as to form a continuous band; and this forming a complete annulus of chamberlets, round which new annuli are successively added.

In the Life-history of the perfected type, then, we can clearly trace a sequence which runs exactly parallel to what we have reason to regard as its Evolutionary history, and, in addition, a provision for the maintenance of the *perfected* model; the reparative process being carried on—alike in the 'simple,' the 'duplex,' and the 'complex' types—upon the plan characteristic of each.

But my special reason for dwelling upon this 'instance' (as Bacon would call it) is, that the influence of Natural Selection would here seem to be excluded by the fact that the whole series of ancestral forms through which the most elaborately-constructed *Orbitolite* now existing may be assumed to have passed, continues to live and flourish at the present time. The very same dredging may bring up shells of *Cornuspira*, constructed upon the undivided spiral plan shown in Fig V., 1; shells of *Spiroloculina*, in which the spiral is partially interrupted by rudimentary partitions, as at 2; shells of *Peneroplis*, in which the partitions are complete, but traversed by pores, as at 3; shells of *Orbiculina*, in which the peneropline chambers are divided into chamberlets, the plan of growth still remaining spiral, as at 4; and shells of the three types of cyclically-growing *Orbitolites* 5, 6, 7. As already stated, the condition of the sarcodic body undergoes no corresponding advance; that of the most 'complex' *Orbitolite* being as homogeneous or undifferentiated as that of the simple *Cornuspira*. There is no evidence whatever of any 'struggle for existence' or 'survival of the fittest'; all showing themselves equally fit to survive. All 'variation' seems to have taken place in such a definite

direction, as to evolve calcareous fabrics of ever-increasing complexity; but this complexity can scarcely give any advantage to the organisms which have attained it, these being fully as incapable as the simpler forms of escaping from their enemies by movement, and showing no such differences of aspect as would enable them to elude observation. In fact, the Fishes and larger Crustaceans which would probably be their chief destroyers, would be likely to be most attracted by the larger disks of the 'complex' type; while the younger specimens of that type, being indistinguishable except by the Microscopist from full-grown specimens of the 'simple' and 'duplex' types, are not likely to be passed over by any hungry destroyer that might find these latter of more suitable dimensions.

The last remark I have to make in relation to this noteworthy 'instance,' is that its value is not in the least degree lessened by the fact that the evolutionary process seems to be dependent upon Physical agencies. The *Orbitolite* type (as at present known to us) flourishes best in tropical or sub-tropical seas; the largest 'complex' forms yet discovered being found on the Fiji reefs; while the smallest 'simple' forms only extend as far north as the Mediterranean,—with the singular exception of the deep-sea type found to the west of Ireland, which is probably a survival from the warmer climate of some former epoch. And among the specimens collected by the *Challenger* on the Fiji reef, I have found a marked difference; all the most highly-developed forms of the 'complex' type having been found near the surface, where the temperature is the highest, and the supply of food most abundant. But it can no more be said that these physical agencies *produced* the advance, than that heat can *make* a Chick out of the yolk and white of an egg, without a germ to appropriate and build up these materials. These Physical agencies supply only the conditions required for the evolutionary process,—the source or spring of which is in the Germ itself.

As Natural Selection gives no account of the *changes in the plan of growth* which constitute so marked a feature in the evolutionary history of the *Orbitolite*, so, as it seems to me, it gives no explanation of the appearance of *new organs*: the complete possession of which fits their possessors for a higher condition of existence, and accords with other modifications that enable them to take advantage of it; but which, in their rudimentary state, cannot be conceived to be of any service to Animals altogether framed upon a less advanced type, and continuing to live in accordance with lower conditions. And I shall take, as a suitable 'instance,' what is known as the 'swimming bladder' of the Fish, which is an earlier form of the organ that becomes a lung in air-breathing Vertebrata.

In the Vertebrate series we pass by a succession of stages from the Fish, with gills fitted only for aquatic respiration, to the Reptile which is fitted only for aerial respiration: the intermediate being the true Amphibia, which, as regards their respiratory apparatus, are fish in their early stage, and reptiles in the complete stage; some of them retaining their gills even after the development of their lungs, so as to be able to live either in air or in water. Now, the first rudiment of a 'swimming bladder' that we meet with in Fishes, is a little *diverticulum* or pouch opening off from the pharynx or gullet; and this extends itself in many cases so as to become a bag or sac, lying along the spine, but entirely cut off, by the closure of its neck, from any communication with the gullet. Such fish cannot take into it any air from the outside; so that the air which is found in the sac in some instances, would seem to have been secreted from the blood. It is commonly supposed that the fish uses this bladder for so regulating its specific gravity as to rise or sink in the water; but there is no adequate basis for this hypothesis. For there is no muscular structure in the bag to cause it to increase or diminish in size; and there is no outside arrangement of muscles that can be conceived to answer this purpose. Moreover, when deep-sea Fish, having a closed swimming bladder, are brought to the surface, their

swimming-bladders burst in consequence of the removal of external pressure, and the fish are killed. The most singular thing is, that there are genera of fish, the *Scomber* (or Mackerel tribe) for instance, of which some species have a swimming bladder, and others none; and it cannot be affirmed that the latter are less able to swim at different depths than the former. This swimming bladder, in certain other forms of fish, retains its original communication with the pharynx; and air can then pass into it from the outside. Carp in ponds are often seen to swallow air; and you may occasionally see gold-fish, which are a kind of carp, coming to the surface of the water of the globes in which they are kept, discharging air-bubbles and taking in a fresh supply. It seems pretty certain, then, that there are fish which use this rudimentary lung really for the purpose of respiration; certainly the Ganoid fishes do, which are a most important group in the evolutionary series, connecting Fishes with Reptiles.

Now, of the first appearance of this organ, and of its development into a closed air-bladder, it seems to me that Natural Selection gives no account whatever. Let it be supposed that the pharyngeal pouch 'formed itself' in some ancestral Fish as an 'aimless' variation; how can it be conceived to have been of such service to the animals which possessed it, that they beat others in the struggle for existence,—when we do not find this to be the case even with the fully-developed swimming-bladder? And how can we account for the progressive elongation of the pouch into a closed swimming bladder, if, in this condition, it is of no use to its possessors? To me it seems as if the whole evolutionary history of this organ plainly points to its ulterior development into an organ for atmospheric respiration; and is unmeaning if not so viewed.

So, again, we may trace a remarkable uniformity in the line of progress from the lower to the higher forms of Pulmonary apparatus. The purpose which the Lung has to serve being the exposure of the blood to the air over an extended surface, that extension must be proportionate to

the demand for aëration set up by the muscular activity and temperature-standard of the animal. The swimming bladder of the Fish, even when used for atmospheric respiration, is a simple, undivided sac, or, as in the Ganoids, a pair of such sacs. The lung of the Frog has its internal surface increased by its extension into a number of little pockets in the upper part of the principal cavity. The same is the case in the Snake, and in many other Reptiles; each lung having a large undivided cavity, with diverticula in its walls, over the extended surface of which the blood-vessels are minutely distributed. In some of the higher Reptiles, as the Crocodile, the cavity of the lung exhibits an incipient subdivision. In the lung of Man, as of Mammals generally, an extraordinary increase is given to the extent of aërating surface, by the excessively minute subdivision of the cavity into air-cells; of which thousands are clustered round the end of each terminal twig of the bronchial tree. But this increase would be without effect, if there were not at the same time a most elaborate provision in the Skeleton of the trunk, in the disposition of its Muscles, and in the mode in which these are acted on by the Nervous apparatus, for alternately filling and emptying the lungs, so as to take in fresh supplies of oxygen for the aeration of the blood, and to get rid of the carbonic acid which it gives off. The chief feature in this provision is the enclosure of the lungs in a distinct cavity (that of the chest) cut off from the abdomen by a muscular partition—the diaphragm; the contraction of which, by increasing the capacity of the chest, produces an in-rush of air down the air-passages, which penetrates to the remotest parts of the minutely-subdivided cavity of the lungs. By no other action could the air contained in that cavity be so effectually renewed. Thus the pulmonary apparatus of the Mammal is the most perfect form that could be devised for obtaining the highest amount of respiratory power within the smallest compass.

But the Bird requires a yet more active respiration than the Mammal; being far higher in point of animal activity.

It must put forth far more muscular power in proportion to its size, in order to raise itself in the air; and it must be able to sustain that power for a great length of time. Its animal energy can only be kept up by the maintenance of a higher temperature. All this involves a much larger consumption of oxygen, and a greater production of carbonic acid. Hence you would suppose that if 'natural selection' had in any way worked out the respiratory apparatus of a Bird, it would be a more highly organised instrument than that of a Mammal. So far, however, is this from being the case, that the lung of the Bird is really formed upon the lower plan of the lung of the Reptile. Instead of having the minutely subdivided air-cells of the Mammalian lung, the lung of the Bird is an aggregation of little lunglets, each resembling the entire lung of the Frog; and instead of the provision made in the general structure of the Mammal for the constant renewal of the air in the cavity of the lungs, we find the diaphragm absent, and the bony framework of the trunk so firmly knit together (thus affording fixed attachments for the powerful muscles of flight) as to be incapable of the movement which our ribs and sternum perform in aid of the action of the diaphragm. How, then, is the more active respiration required by the Bird provided for? Just as in the Insect, to which Birds have so many analogies,—by the extension of the respiratory surface through the body generally. The long bones, instead of being filled with marrow, are hollow; and their cavities are connected with each other and with that of the lung on either side: there are also air-sacs disposed in various parts, which probably take a share in the same action. Further, by the elasticity of the framework of the trunk, the lungs are kept full of air, the state of emptiness being forced; so that when they have been compressed by a muscular effort, they fill themselves again spontaneously as soon as the pressure is relaxed.

Thus, looking at the general plan of the Respiratory apparatus, we find it undergoing a uniformly progressive *elevation of type*, as we pass from the Fish to the Reptile, from the

Reptile to the Bird, and from the Bird to the Mammal. But if there was no pre-ordained plan, if this advance resulted from mere 'accidental' variations, we should have expected that some Bird would have been evolved by 'natural selection' with the lung of the Mammal; and that this form, by the survival of the fittest, would have established itself to the exclusion of the lower type. On the contrary, without any advance on the lower plan of Ornithic structure, an *extension* has been given to its respiratory surface, which supplies all the needs of the most actively flying Bird, and makes that apparatus as *perfect*, in its relation to the general plan, as if that apparatus had been exceptionally raised to a higher grade of development.

Here, then, as in the preceding instance, we seem justified in the conclusion that, as the doctrine of Natural Selection out of an endless diversity of 'aimless' variations, fails to account for *that general consistency of the advance along definite lines of progress* which is manifested in the history of Evolution (the two cases I have brought before you being merely samples of an immense aggregate, whose cumulative force seems to me irresistible), it leaves untouched the evidence of Design in the original scheme of the Organised Creation; while it transfers the idea of that Design from the particular to the general, making all the special cases of adaptation the foreknown results of the adoption of that general Order which we call Law.—As Dr. Martineau has pertinently asked, "If it takes *mind* to "construe the World, how can it require the negation of "mind to constitute it?" Science, being the intellectual interpretation of Nature, cannot possibly *disprove* its origin in Mind; and, if rightly pursued, leads us only to a higher comprehension of the "bright designs," a more assured recognition of the working of the "sovereign will" of its Divine Author.

WILLIAM B. CARPENTER.

MODERN QUAKERISM.

"WHAT is Quakerism?" asks the industrious bibliographer of Friends' literature, in the brief Preface to his *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana.* He owns that it is a question which "seems to have puzzled many members of the Society of Friends of late years;" and while deciding for his own part with William Penn that it is "primitive Christianity revived," he makes the strong admission that considering the existing divisions among the successors of George Fox, touching matters of principle as well as of practice, this "old or primitive Christianity may be said to be scarcely known" in the house of its Friends. This is the judgment of one who, from the exceptional fulness of his acquaintance with the writings of Friends ancient and modern, is perhaps better qualified than any other man living to form a well-instructed estimate of the amount and the drift of the various changes which have taken place in Quaker opinion, since the rise of the denomination amid the ferment of religious life in the golden days of England's Commonwealth.

Joseph Smith does not step out of the neutral place of the accurate and diligent collector of materials. He leaves his exhaustive catalogue of Quaker books, tracts and broadsheets to speak for itself; only expressing a hope, in the prelude to his accumulation of the multifarious bibliography of writings opposed to Quakerism in its successive developments, that his labours "may prove one means of opening the eyes of some." But there have been others, with eyes at length opened, who have felt the burden of the task of recalling Friends to their ancient landmarks, and have

conscientiously endeavoured, though with humble means and on an obscure scale, to present in their own persons a spectacle of primitive Quakerism revived.

Few, perhaps, are aware of the existence in this country of a small but earnest body, which for the last fifteen years has assembled half-yearly as a General Meeting of Friends, in complete independence of the London Yearly Meeting. Such as it is, it was gathered mainly by the quiet exertions of a remarkable man, who from the year 1860 was the subject of an increasing "exercise," to use Friends' phraseology, leading him to correspond with like-minded Friends, with a view to bringing them together in regular conference, on what he conceived to be the original lines of Friends' testimony. Of his decease no tidings reached the outside public, dependent for its religious intelligence upon the newspapers. Nor has his life and work found any chronicle as yet, except in the modest "Testimony" of his immediate coadjutors. There is a hope that from his correspondence and his spiritual writings a fuller portrait of his mind may at some time be given to the world by his widow. But, meanwhile, to those who study with reverence the complex manifestations of the religious life of our time, it may be of some interest to make the acquaintance of this conscientious Friend, and to learn something of the meaning of the movement of which he was the originator and the centre.

John Grant Sargent (1813—1883) was a birth-right member of the Society of Friends, his parents being Isaac and Hester Sargent. He was born at Paddington, and apprenticed to a draper at Leighton Buzzard; but his early business life was spent in Paris, where he worked under his father, a carriage builder, and the owner of a brick-field. Isaac Sargent sat somewhat loosely to Quakerism, and it is not surprising that his son, as a youth in Paris, soon dropped the associations and left off the distinguishing practices of Friends. But the influences of his Quaker bringing-up were only in abeyance. While yet at Paris he was drawn within the power of Friends'

principles] by a stronger claim than that of a mere birthright membership. He shared the same experience of the Light Within, which shook the soldiers and shoemakers of the old Commonwealth time, and made them, as Gervase Bennet said, "Quakers;" quivering beneath the influence divine, though never shaking before the face of man. He became "convinced" of the truth as held by Friends; and his convincement made the Friends' livery of dress and speech no antiquated and meaningless usage to him, but a badge of honour and conscience. Again he sat in the silent waiting upon the Spirit, which is at once the opportunity and the life of the faithful worship of Friends. No matter that oftentimes there was no one to join him. They who truly wait upon the Spirit are ready, if need be, to wait alone. It is a beautiful glimpse of calm resolved sincerity, this picture which we have of the London lad, true to the quickenings of his conscience in a strange land, and, unattended by a sympathising associate, holding amid the great world of Paris a reverent and joyful communion with the Source of life and light, unseen, but inly felt.

Returning to England about 1844, he was for some time a farmer in Essex and Surrey, and subsequently the proprietor of a wood-turning mill in Derbyshire. This led him to travel a good deal, for the purpose of disposing of his bobbins. Moving about on business errands, his spirit gradually burned with the desire to be of service in the Gospel ministry, and he became a preacher among Friends. It is a common, and, considering the quietude which for so long a period cast a chill over the mission aspects of Quakerism, it is perhaps an accountable misconception to suppose that the Society of Friends is a Church without regular and recognised ministers. But no error can be more fundamental than that which, while aware of the absence of an order of priests or preachers trained for the performance of professional functions at stated intervals, ignores the presence of a distinct class of heralds of the Gospel, who obey a call not of men nor by man. The number and the activity of such ministers is regulated not

by the economic laws of supply and demand. They are in vigour and in plenty when the Supreme Speaker, who deputes them, needs and employs a human voice; their diminished band, and the infrequency of their ministrations, are signs that God wills silence rather than speech. Among such ministers Sargent at length found his place. From about the year 1851 he exercised his gift in meetings. And it is characteristic of his absolute reliance on the Inward Witness, that he neither sought nor obtained any official recognition of his claims as a preacher among Friends. There are indeed two classes of Friends' speakers. When a speaker's word finds acceptance, he is by tacit consent permitted to use all opportunities of declaring it which arise; were he unacceptable, he would be "stopped." A further step is taken when a speaker is officially placed upon the list of recognised ministers. In this case he has his certificate, to be read in the meetings which he visits on a missionary journey, and the expenses of such journey are defrayed by the Meeting which authorises it. Not even from the distinct Society which he was instrumental in forming did Sargent take with him on his travels any official credentials. He was a minister of the Spirit, pure and simple.

As with the Friends' ministers from their earliest days, the mission laid upon him was international in its range. Twice did he specially visit America (the last occasion being in 1882); several times, when his business journeys took him to the Continent, he found occasion for spiritual labours under the burden of his call; to Ireland he paid a missionary visit, speaking in Friends' meetings. But during the last five-and-twenty years of his life his main work was internal to the quiet circles in which his own views of Friends' principles prevailed. For while working to extend the influence of those truths, to maintain which Friends are bound together, he found reason to believe that another work was equally if not more necessary, namely, to recover among Friends themselves the purity of their original testimony. His object was to unite such Friends

as thought and felt with him in a closer bond of sympathy, and to furnish a common expression for their convictions.

In April, 1860, he addressed a circular letter from Cockermouth to several likeminded Friends, inviting them to meet in conference. There was no immediate result, but on October 17, 1862, the first conference took place in London, and was attended by seventeen persons. For seven years similar conferences were held about every four months in different places up and down the country, the attendance averaging some twenty-five persons. In 1868 Sargent with two others went to America, to visit the little groups of Friends, known as the Smaller Bodies, which had already made a decisive stand for primitive Quakerism as they understood it. On the voyage home, these three Friends were strongly impressed with the duty of separating themselves in like manner from the tendencies of the London Yearly Meeting. The last conference was held on October 10, 1869; and in January, 1870, its place was taken by a General Meeting for Friends in England, initiated at Fritchley, in Derbyshire, where Sargent and some of his associates resided and kept up regular meetings for worship. This General Meeting has since been held twice a year, usually at Fritchley or Belper, and has maintained an official correspondence with kindred bodies in America. Sargent was the Clerk of the Meeting, and remained its leading spirit until his death on December 27, 1883.

The *British Friend* for July, 1884, contains a report of the last May Meeting at Fritchley, communicated by a member of the Larger Body. He describes the small Meeting-house as well filled, and bears testimony to the excellence of the spirit which prevailed. "Neither in meeting nor out of it, did I hear one word approaching a want of Christian love towards those from whose views they differ." The membership of this independent organisation is not exclusively composed of seceders from the Larger Body; it comprises also some who have joined themselves to it on becoming Friends from "convincement," a proof of the vitality of this little flock.

But now comes the consideration of the grounds of the secession, and the question how far the seceders are justified in their contention that modern Quakerism, as exemplified in the spirit and practices of the London Yearly Meeting and bodies in correspondence with it, has forfeited the true character of the original Society of Friends. Some of those who are in sympathy with the seceders hold very strong views on this last point. On 20th May, 1871, Thomas Drewry, of Fleetwood, a member of Preston Monthly Meeting, addressed a written Protest to the London Yearly Meeting and to the Charity Commission, in which he maintains that "what is called the Society of Friends" has undergone fundamental changes in faith and doctrine, and is now properly speaking "a body of Separatists," and has consequently no right to retain "Trust Property, which belongs not to it, but belongs to those who adhere to the original faith of the Society of Friends, for whose sole use and benefit the several Trusts were created, by their predecessors in religious profession." * The London Yearly Meeting took no notice of this Protest; and the Charity Commissioners probably regarded it as *brutum fulmen*, for, though strongly worded, it specifies none of the innovations of which in general terms it complains. Yet to those acquainted with Quaker usages it is a very significant document. The Friends when they express dissent from a position advanced in their Meetings, as not being in accordance with Friends' principles, do not argue, do not give their reasons. They simply state how it affects their own feeling. They say: 'I do not feel comfortable about this; I do not feel easy in my mind under it.' A condition of things which produces so decided a discomfort and uneasiness in the mind of any recognised member as is indicated by Thomas Drewry's Protest, is a serious matter among Friends. Their constitution knows nothing of the rule of majorities; they never take a vote; the harmony of sentiment is everything with them; if a member feels and says 'You are out of accord with your true principles,' and if he

* See this Protest in W. Hodgson's *The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century*, 1876, vol. ii. pp. 394-7.

is not at once lopped off as a false accuser, the rise of the feeling which he expresses is of itself, from the Quaker standpoint, sufficiently condemnatory of the existing position of the body.

We cite Drewry's protest because it is an English document, but it will be observed that we quote it from an American source,* and to America we must look for the most numerous and the clearest expressions of revolt from the modern drift of the Quaker body.† John Wilbur's *Journal* (1859) is a storehouse of valuable testimony on the subject; and the two remarkable volumes of recent denominational history published in 1875 and 1876 by William Hodgson, of Philadelphia, lay the whole case very fairly before the impartial reader. These publications have been ignored by the official representatives of the Society of Friends in this country; yet they constitute a startling indictment of the modes of thought which now find shelter beneath the retrimmed mantle of Quakerism. In England we have Daniel Pickard's *Expostulation* (1864), and a not inconsiderable number of tracts and pamphlets, uttering warning notes in a similar spirit; but the main body goes on its way unheeding them.

This apathy under remonstrance, this quiet determination neither to cope with the damaging criticisms directed against them nor to retrace their course, which is characteristic of the existing leaders of Quaker opinion, is one of the great difficulties in the way of those who are anxious to fulfil their part in reasserting the ancient principles of the body. They may say what they like; it excites no controversy, and produces no movement. Quakerism has hung up its broad brim and turned down its collar, the writings of its founders lie dusty on its shelves, it speaks a new language and adopts unwonted ways, and to the call of the old prophetic voices, which charmed its younger ears and roused its fresher heart, it is mute.

* It was published as an advertisement in the *British Friend* (a Glasgow monthly) for September, 1871.

† See *Modern Quakerism Examined, and Contrasted with that of the Ancient Type*, 1876, by Walter Edgerton, of Indianapolis.

Another serious difficulty experienced by Friends of the old stamp is that the very things which they feel it their duty to oppose and denounce, as fatal to the real spirit of Quakerism, are contributing to a certain accession of outside interest and favour extended to the denomination by other bodies of Christians. No doubt the people called Evangelicals hail with increasing satisfaction the new departures of the people called Quakers. They regard them as moving in the right direction, and gladly hold out a fraternising hand, which those who have so long meekly dwelt in the cold shade of popular neglect are gratified to accept. Yet one would think it must be apparent to all but the blind, that not as Quakers is their co-operation welcomed by the outside sects; but they are acknowledged as brethren on the precise ground that what is essentially distinctive of Quakerism they have practically abandoned. Their inconsistency is praiseworthy in the eyes of the successors of their ancient opponents; and just because they are inconstant to the teachings of their founders, they are admitted to fellowship. In the height of the Beacon controversy, that shrewd and strong Evangelical thinker, Dr. Wardlaw, addressed to Friends some remarkable congratulations on an evident revolution in their sentiments. "I have given," he says, "in copious extracts, the views of J. J. Gurney on the doctrine of justification. They are clear, simple and Scriptural. But—are they Quakerism?" He details, with the skill of a practised theologian, the discrepancies on this head between Gurney and Barclay; and he adds, "And, indeed, on this and on various other points, it cannot fail to strike the most superficial reader, what a perfect contrast there is between the writings of Mr. Gurney and those of the early Friends."*

A third and perhaps the most formidable difficulty with which those jealous for the ancient principles of Friends have to contend is the unquestionable fact that the introduction of the new régime has been followed by symptoms

* *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on some of their distinguishing principles.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., 1836, p. 367, &c.

of denominational prosperity and success. The chronic leakage from Friends' families to the membership of other bodies has been appreciably checked. While not increasing, or even holding its ground relatively to the population, the Society of Friends has been able to stem the process of further decline. Much new activity prevails within its borders. Though not activity of a kind which approves itself to those who prize the spirit of the ancient testimony, it is evidence which cannot be gainsaid of reviving zeal, stirring life, and earnest religious occupation. Lovers of the Society's foundation truths shake their heads, and think and say that it is all wrong, that it is going on a false tack, that it is encouraging the tacit substitution of the world's religion for the Spirit's teaching. Nevertheless, the experiment produces what to the experimenters are satisfying results, and so the change goes on.

Of this change, by his industrious writings and his great personal influence, Joseph John Gurney (1788—1847) was the prime mover. With the exhibition of Gurneyism, in its principles and results, Wilbur's *Journal* and Hodgson's history are largely occupied. The names of J. J. Gurney and Elias Hicks are the danger signals on either hand of the true Friend's course. Both are rationalists, in the sense in which Robert Barclay speaks of the "pretended rational" Socinians of his day; and their followers divide between them the characteristics which he condemns. One set, the Gurney party, are "all for literal Scriptures;" the other, the Hicksian schismatists, are for "natural light." Describing them equally as "fundamental departures from Quakerism," Hodgson is, if anything, somewhat more lenient in his handling of Hicksism than of Gurneyism, though he has not an atom of sympathy with the doctrinal point of view of either. Nor is this unnatural. An outsider, especially one who had not reached a clear apprehension of the difference between the Light of Christ within, and the innate light of nature and conscience, would be inclined to say that Gurneyism is false to the Quaker method, while Hicksism employs it to the production of results foreign to

Quaker habits of thought; Gurneyism is wrong root and branch, Hicksism grafts wild olives on the original stem.

We have nothing to do here with Hicksism. It has never been a power in this country. The Barnard schism, which weakened the Society in Ireland at the beginning of this century, is chiefly remarkable for having been the occasion which gave the Rathbones of Liverpool to the Unitarian body. It left no independent witness, and when Hannah Barnard died, in 1828, she had already survived the memory of the intended separation. Other movements of similar character in more recent years have possessed no inherent vitality, and have rapidly withered away.* But Gurneyism is in full swing; modern Quakerism is Gurneyism.

The fundamental postulate of pure original Quakerism is the supremacy of the Spirit, speaking within, as the only infallible source of doctrines of faith and rules of practice. Take away that, directly or indirectly, and you dig up Quakerism by the roots. In the *Theses* of his famous *Apologia*, the Scottish laird, Robert Barclay, as is well known, formulated the teaching of Fox in such a way as expressly to confront the positions of the authoritative document of Scottish religion, the Westminster Confession of Faith. The Confession states (i. 10) that "the supreme Judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture." 'Nay,' says Barclay —echoing in his scholastic style the study of uncouth utterances of the Midland seer—'other there can be, other there is.' The Voice that speaks mediately in Scripture speaks immediately in the soul of man. The Scriptures of Truth "are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the

* The best account and defence of Hicksism (and cognate movements up to 1828), from the pen of one of its more Evangelical representatives, is to be found in Samuel M. Janney's *History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its Rise to the year* 1828, 4 vols., 1859—67.

principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners." "They are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit." "By the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them." "The Spirit is the first and principal leader."*

It is customary with modern Quakers to decry Barclay, partly on the ground of the scholastic form in which he cast his propositions and his elaborate logical deductions from them. True it is that he captivates the mind rather than entrances the heart; we do not always experience in his pages the same rare sense of spiritual refreshment, as from the gushing streams of a living fountain, which constitutes the abiding charm of Fox's *Letters* or the tracts of Nayler and Deusbery. But in the statement of the fundamental thing in Quakerism he does but put into transparent and solid sentences, crystal clear, the unalloyed substance of the daily teaching of his great predecessors and coadjutors. Rejecting Barclay, Friends must necessarily reject along with him those in whose spirit he speaks; and this they do. With the exception of Fox, whose name is surrounded with a sentimental reverence which few Quakers are hardy enough to disturb,† there is not one of the founders of the Society whose most express statements are not repudiated by the present members.

It is not a case of development, but of laying a new foundation; perhaps it would be better to say it is a desertion of the Quaker foundation for that of the so-called Evangelical sects. The doctrine of the Spirit, in vogue with the majority of Friends at the present day, reaches no higher than the level attained, as we have seen,

* Barclay's *Apology*; *Theses Theol.* prop. 3.

† Yet see *George Fox, his Character, Doctrine, and Work*; an Essay by a Member of the Society of Friends [Edward Ash, M.D.], 1873. In this able pamphlet George Fox's doctrine of the Inward Light in all men is explicitly denied; and it is maintained that there has been no such thing as immediate revelation since the days of the Apostles. The reply by George Pitt, *Immediate Revelation True, and George Fox Not Mistaken*, 1873, is a fine piece of genuine Quaker theology.

in the Westminster Confession. The independent testimony of the Spirit, as supreme judge of the meaning of Scripture and first-hand expositor of the mind of God, is becoming, or has become, an extinct factor in Quaker theology. Those who were once pre-eminent for their allegiance to the direct word of the Spirit have succumbed to a bibliolatry, all the more helpless as it is tempered by no internal school of biblical criticism. It is the ancient Quaker doctrine of inspiration, that the spiritual writings of their own founders proceed from the same fountain as the teachings of Holy Writ, and are inspired in the same way; but that for the true understanding and profitable reading of either, the Spirit, the only lawful judge and interpreter, is necessary. The modern doctrine has lost the width of the one position, and missed the depth of the other, and is indistinguishable from crude servility to the letter that killeth. When the London Yearly Meeting put forward in its General Epistle of 1836 the statements that the sacred Scripture is "the only divinely authorised record of the doctrines of true religion," "the appointed means of making known to us the blessed truths of Christianity," "the only divinely authorised record of the doctrines which we are bound as Christians to believe, and of the moral principles which are to regulate our actions," the *raison d'être* of the Society was gone. William Southall, of Leominster, was warranted in declaring that this language "went to the subversion of the very foundation of Quakerism."* For, as Hodgson truly says, the principle always promulgated in the writings of early Friends is "that 'the appointed means' for the soul of man to obtain a saving knowledge of God, is a being taught in the school of Christ, through obedience to the 'Inspeaking Word,' and faith in the revelations of His Holy Spirit immediately in the heart."

From this shifting of the base, every other doctrinal change has proceeded. Wardlaw, with a true instinct, seizes upon the altered aspect of the doctrine of justification, as affording the most conspicuous proof that what is

* Hodgson, i., 305—7.

now held and taught among Quakers is not Quakerism; and Wilbur, in three brief sentences which put Gurneyism into a nutshell, concentrates his opposition upon this particular point.* The true Friend is saved by the work of Christ within, with which he must co-operate in the persistent self-abnegation of faith and obedience. But the modern Quaker, like the ordinary Evangelical, throws himself upon the work of Christ without, to which he attaches himself by the act of credence, and which justifies him *simpliciter*, without respect to obedience. Here we have the atonement by a work done for us, in place of the atonement of a work wrought in us. "Instead of submitting, therefore, to die with Christ, and to abide the painful struggle of yielding up the will and wisdom of the flesh, these," says John Wilbur, "have moulded and fashioned to themselves a substitute, by professedly extolling and claiming the faith of Christ's incarnate sufferings and propitiatory sacrifice upon the cross without the gates of Jerusalem, as the *whole* covenant of salvation, and by him thus accomplished without them."†

Hence, on the one hand, there is little trace in modern Quakerism of the broad doctrine of the Light of the World, of Christ as the spiritual illuminator who visits every soul in every age, in every clime, in every religion and non-religion, and abides with those who will receive him and obey him, quite independently of the intervention of historical knowledge, or of a written Word of Truth. To the spiritual grandeur and the redeeming efficacy of this old conception the modern Quaker is strangely dull. He cannot trust himself to teach his ancient principles in the full sweep of their original power.

And, on the other hand, the high doctrine of Christian perfection, on which Barclay is so nobly strong, is faintly heard if at all, scarce believed in, never preached with the unction and vigour of vital experience, among present-day Friends. Mr. Stopford Brooke's powerful plea for the

* Wilbur's *Journal*, p. 286. † Wilbur's *Journal*, p. 273.

possibility of sinlessness as a practical aim of living men,* which recently startled the decorous believers in "One God and twenty shillings to the pound," takes a position which would flutter if not horrify the elect of modern Quakerism. They betray no sign of yielding an inward response to the doctrine, at once humble and bold, of Barclay's eighth proposition, in the exposition of which he maintains that "there may be a state attainable in this life, in which to do righteousness may become so natural to regenerate souls, that in the stability of it they cannot sin. . . . Or is Christ unwilling to have his servants thoroughly pure?" To have reached this stage, Barclay makes no personal pretension, but the presence of its ideal is a perpetual inspiration to him. And when even the hope of it has vanished, the glory of the Christian consummation is undreamed of. Among the successors of Fox and Barclay, salvation is reduced to a minimum, and not only the Quaker breadth but the Quaker height is shrunk away.

Altered views lead to altered methods. And the adoption of the new methods has produced what is called a revival. But it is not a resurrection of the original Quakerism, either in form or in spirit. The revival is the astonishing spectacle of the introduction of nearly everything which the first leaders of Quakerism distrusted, rejected, denounced, and abhorred. Set sermons, constructed prayers, religious services prearranged as to time, mode and circumstance, hymns sung to order, Scriptures read by measure, a limping congregationalism intruding on the trustful rest which waited patiently for the Spirit, a deliberate effort of missionary endeavour doing duty for the rush of the old freedom when the power of the Truth came upon all—this is the new picture, this is what Quaker periodicals put on record, sometimes with misgiving, often with satisfaction. Let it be granted that these are all very excellent things in their own way. This, however, is not the way in which we expect to see the people called Friends walking. It is not the way of their birth, their strength, or

* *What Think ye of Christ?* Unitarian Association Sermon, 1884.

their testimony. It may be thought a better way; but the plain English of this is, that the quondam Quakers have hit upon something which they conceive to be better than Quakerism.

This, at any rate, is the opinion of some among their own members. The innovations do not go on without wavering voices. Among the most remarkable for their outspokenness, and their thorough saturation with the old uncompromising spirit of the Quaker protest, are the incandescent tracts of W. B. S. [Sissison] of Plumstead. He does not directly attack the Society or its members, but there is no mistaking who are intended to come in for a share of the denunciations heaped upon so-called revivalists in general, on those who "preach on heavenly things from a natural ground only," on "blind guides and lying chattering prophets, with your horn-blowers of the press," on "the fleshly arts of continual singing, mumbling, and 'praying,' to make up for this absence of the *manifest* presence of the blessed and glorious God." We have quoted only some of his mildest words; the direction in which they point is evident. What is to be said on the other side?

The inheritor of a great name, himself a man of rare conscientiousness and self devotion, who consecrated his studies to a radical investigation of the sources of the Quaker movement*, and gave his soul to Gospel labours, Robert Barclay, of Reigate (1833—1876), has left behind him a volume of sermons, written for delivery in the mission meetings of Friends.† His biographer explains his position as that of one holding with Friends, "that God does enable His ministers effectually to preach His Gospel

* The historical acumen, combined with elaborate research, displayed in Barclay's *Inner Life*, &c., must excite the admiration of every competent reader. But how little it is accepted by Friends of the primitive type as justly appreciating the significance of the Quaker movement, may be seen in an able *Examen* of the work, published, in 1878, by Charles Evans, M.D., of Philadelphia.

† *Sermons* by Robert Barclay, author of the *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, with a brief Memoir. Edited by his Widow, 1878.

without any previous meditation or preparation," and also as holding, "with the majority of Christians, that God does *equally bless* the word preached when this blessing has been asked on the diligent study of the Scriptures" (p. viii).* This is, in effect, to place the ministry of the Spirit on precisely the same level as the ministry of the letter; and, whatever else may be said about it, the position is incompatible with the first principles of early Friends. Barclay's sermons were doubtless very effective in delivery, and they are markedly superior to many utterances of the same school, in the stress they lay on the progressive nature of sanctification. But, after reading them carefully, we have failed to find in them a single Quaker sentiment, distinctively such; and have encountered ample proofs that the changed spiritual atmosphere is one in which the original Quakers could have scarcely breathed.

To Barclay of Ury, Plato, Pythagoras and Plotinus "had a knowledge and discovery of Jesus Christ inwardly, as a remedy *in* them,"† while Barclay of Reigate can only speak of "invisible rays of light, for a moment perchance rendered invisible in the intense moral darkness in which a Socrates or a Plato lived and died."‡ If there is any truth which shines clear in the Apologist's pages, it is that of the identity of the guidance under which all true Christians act with that which constituted the inspiration of the Apostles; and that such have to-day the call to the Gospel ministry, "preach not in speech only, but also in power and in the Holy Ghost," and "cannot but be received and heard by the sheep of Christ."§ Yet his namesake affirms that "this 'demonstration of the spirit and of power' was vouchsafed or given to the Early Church, not only as at the present day in the general preaching of the Gospel, but in a way wholly diverse—in a way which enabled the Apostle to say—what none of the most gifted preachers of the Gospel since apostolic times has ever dared to say—'If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him

* The italics are ours.

† *Apology*, props. 5, 6, sec. 27.

‡ *Sermons*, p. 227.

§ *Apology*, prop. 10, sec. 24.

acknowledge that the things I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord.'"* To George Fox, such an expression of his conviction that he was but a mouthpiece of the Spirit which filled and swayed him would have been as natural as it was to the Apostle Paul.†

Like Mr. Gurney, Mr. Barclay may be fairly regarded as representing more than individual views and aims. Comparing the position of the one with that of the other, there is a difference to be observed. A perceptible advance is in progress. Mr. Gurney succeeded in altering the religious standpoint. In him, the theory of birthright membership bore its natural fruits, when uncorrected by the sedulous inculcation of Friends' primitive principles. But now the object is to give a deliberate wrench to the outer life of the body, so as to make its type of activity correspond with its remodelled ideas.

Mr. Barclay's position within the Quaker fold was perfectly sincere and consistent with itself. He regarded the Society of Friends (with Mr. Herbert Skeats) as a Home Mission Association; Fox he valued as a great religious organiser; and the Quaker testimonies to which his heart responded most clearly were those against oaths, war, and entrusting the work of evangelisation to a State establishment. It was his hope and belief, says his biographer, "that by a fuller development of their principles, the Society of Friends might regain its position as an aggressive Christian Church" (p. 39). Yet it is evident that the tendency of his efforts was in the direction of leading the denomination of the waiters upon the Spirit to follow in the wake of the Dissenting Churches, whose success in laying hold of the masses had very strongly impressed his mind. This programme sketches a future for the Quakers, but is it not a future which is to be realised by the obliteration of the essential Quaker testimony? Wars, oaths, and

* *Sermons*, p. 368.

† See what George Pitt says (*Immediate Revelation True*, p. 19): "George Fox's silver trumpet spoke with no uncertain sound. He boldly said, 'I deliver messages direct from God.' 'God has come to teach his people himself.'"

establishments are testified against by other sects in these days; but on general humanitarian grounds, whose force is derived ultimately, no doubt, from the progress of Christian sentiment. If the Quaker is driven to combat evils with these common weapons, and can no longer plead the Immediate Voice of the living Christ in the heart, what differentiates him from the religious public about him; and where is the inward note of his spiritual succession from his forebears of the Commonwealth?

It may be thought that in this article we are dealing with a matter of no public interest, and touching upon affairs with which we have no just concern. But the Quakers have a history which is of moment to the world. They have done great things in their day for us all. They have been a power in the development of the English people, both here and in the United States. Their power sprang from their principles; we cannot hope that when these have faded the influence should remain. Their fathers lived not by ephemeral methods, nor for imitative and passing results. They knew where strength lay, and were content to be passive when the way of the spirit was not opened for them.

Few in numbers, resolved of heart, those have the real future of Friends' principles in their keeping, who will have nothing to do with modern Quakerism. John Barclay revealed the secret of their confidence when he wrote: "Yet the blessed Truth shall outlive it all, and emerge out of the very ruins, if it must come to that."

ALX. GORDON.

CONVERTS TO ROME.

WHEN Dr. Coplestone was Provost, it was customary at Oxford to call the "Oriel set," "noetic"; no exuberance of flattery can apply that epithet to the arrangement of names in Mr. Gordon Gorman's book.* The compiler says "it may astonish some to know that this work contains more than one thousand names which did not appear in the fourth edition;" but surely we have much more reason to be astonished at the information that "the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone's suggestions as to the arrangement of the names have been carefully followed." "Redistribution" is so frequently the mental aspiration of the reader, that he becomes unconsciously the echo of Lord Salisbury, and begs for redistribution before the appearance of the next edition.

The work is useful, is attractively got up, and we only detect a few errors almost impossible to avoid in such a collection. But the arrangement is troublesome. Surely names ought to appear in the division with which they are popularly identified. Thus for forty years Kenelm Digby has been an honoured name amongst the lovers of mediæval story, yet it has to be sought in a Cambridge College and not in the list of literature to which he lent his treasures of curious lore, beautified by the unrivalled charm of his character.

Again, the most eminent convert to Roman Catholicism is, unquestionably, Cardinal Newman, and in his opinion

* *Converts to Rome.* A list of over 3,000 Protestants who have become Roman Catholics since the commencement of the Nineteenth Century. Compiled by W. GORDON GORMAN. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1884.

(as we have reason to know) the most suggestive conversion was that of Hope Scott. The latter was for years the most trusted legal adviser of the Anglican leaders, and one of the most successful pleaders in railway business before Committees of the House of Commons. He was also a man of high social position. His name does not, however, appear in the list headed "the legal profession," or in that of "the nobility and gentry." He is entered under Merton College, Oxford, into which society he was, when still a young man, elected a fellow.

Cardinal Newman—who was brought up at Trinity College, Oxford, and became the most distinguished clerical leader of his time, and an author of the highest mark, and who after a memorable Roman Catholic career has recently been, by a graceful act, elected an hon. Fellow of the College whence he graduated—is not entered in the list of clergymen or literary men, or of the College of which he was an *alumnus* and is a Fellow, but under the name of another College of which for many years he was fellow and tutor.

Cardinal Manning was a distinguished clergyman before his conversion, but his name does not appear in the Clerical list or in the Literary list, though not unknown to literature, but as former Fellow of Merton.

Recognising the names of some respectable shopkeepers, as also the sons and daughters of such, we wished to learn the names of others belonging to a section so important as the trading class, but to our disappointment we found these thrown into the list of the aristocracy and gentry, thus confusing alike both lines of entry. On the other hand, the list entitled "Relatives of Clergymen" contains the names of Ryder, Ch. Manning, Watts Russell, and Vansittart, which fairly belong to the Gentry. The compiler has also been in some cases betrayed into the mistake of inserting as converts the children of converts. This error will doubtless be corrected in a future edition, for Mr. Gordon Gorman obviously wishes to make his list accurate. His errors are made *bonâ fide*, in many cases apparently following the interesting but uncorrected work on the "Tractarian Movement," by

Mr. Kirwan Browne, a convert who, thirty-nine years ago, resigned his Anglican curacy, and has testified to his conscientiousness through many privations and sufferings. A list like Mr. Browne's, compiled from newspaper items, unless carefully verified, partakes of the inaccuracy of all current news ; and Mr. Legges' compilation, utilised and enlarged by Mr. Gorman, bears traces of a like origin. Some names, *e.g.*, Messrs. Ffoulkes, Proctor, Hargrove, &c., &c., are now properly omitted. A list of converts supposes those deceased to have died in communion with the Roman Catholic Church, and those still living not to have dropped out of its pale. Verification might be desirable as to some members of the Queensborough, Ellenborough, and Simeon families ; also as to the continued insertion of the names of Miss Gladstone, Lady Duff Gordon, and Messrs. Hemans, Capes, Palgrave, Case, Paley, Renouf, Wordsworth, Buckle, Rawson, Isaac Butt, Thomas Cooper, Goldsmid, and others. Father Ignatius Lyne has never left the Anglican Church.

The list contains some persons who were baptized as infants in the Roman Catholic Church ; and though the names of the Duke of Norfolk, his sisters and brother, are now omitted, yet we find the mistake of inserting Lord Beaumont and other members of his family. Also is there not similar mistake as to other names, such as Chichester, Grimshaw, Biddulph, and, perhaps, St. George Mivart? But these slight blemishes do not materially affect the numerical importance of the list, or its general trustworthiness.

When the Tractarian Movement had been in existence for a few years, causing unbounded expectations amongst all zealous members of the Papal party in France and Rome, M. Jules Gondon published a work entitled "Conversion de cent cinquante Ministres Anglicans," wherein he analysed the causes of these conversions ; and in the year 1866 M. Chevé published in the series of M. Migne a large 8 vo. of 1,671 pages, a work entitled "Dictionnaire des conversions, ou Essai d'encyclopédie historique des conversions au

Catholicisme depuis dix-huit siècles et principalement depuis le Protestantisme."

It would be interesting to possess similar lists of converts to Protestantism and also to Rationalism during the last 350 years, tracing causes and results.

M. Gondon and M. Chevé thus investigate the question of the progress of Catholicism in England. They attribute the commencement of the reaction to the period of the French emigration. "In the year 1765, it was estimated that England, Scotland, and Wales contained only 60,000 Roman Catholics, whereas an official report presented to the House of Commons in 1828 assigns to London and its suburbs as many as 133,110. In 1843 the Roman Catholic population of London and its suburbs had risen to 230,000; and the Roman Catholic population of Lancashire to 26,000. In all the large towns, as in all the manufacturing and mining districts, a similar increase has continued up to the present time, in consequence of the Irish emigration. Foreign writers seem generally ignorant of the fact that the vast numerical increase of Roman Catholicism is due to the Irish element. Conversion from the Church of England has contributed to the English Papal cause, leaders, writers, wealth, and social prestige. Nonconformity has hardly provided the Roman Church with any converts. Some members of Nonconformist and also of Presbyterian families can be enumerated, but these have for the most part come to the Papal Church after a few years in the Church of England, or in the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

But unquestionably the first influence resulted from the French emigration. It is estimated that 8,000 French priests came to England in consequence of the French Revolution, and a still larger number of monks and nuns. Also legitimists whose social position and misfortunes obtained for them a welcome amongst our county families, and in the wealthier homes in nearly all our provincial towns. The Tory sentiment of England overpowered hatred and dread of Romanism. It became a political and patriotic duty to relieve French priests and to fraternise

with French emigrants. The heretofore flourishing latitudinarianism of the clergy and instructed classes was frowned down into extinction. It became a national duty to profess Christianity, if only as a testimony against the Revolution. Thus amongst the gentry, "Antichrist" became almost popular as a symbol of Christianity.

It may be easily supposed that the Roman Catholic gentry were not behindhand in an effusion of hospitality towards those who were their brethren in faith, and whose sufferings reminded them of long years of devotedness which left a halo of heroism and romance over many of the ancient homes of England. These words are written beneath the portrait of one who thus threw open his country house, making it the abode of half a dozen priests who officiated daily in his domestic chapel. A young boy of that same family, riding on one occasion towards an adjacent town, recognised as he thought a priest under the guise of a cattle-drover, dismounted, brought back the émigré on his own pony, to be the sharer of a like hospitality.

Priests were scattered over the whole of England, as teachers of languages, becoming frequent guests in households wherein an English priest could not have set his foot. It is a singular but certain fact that in not a few cases, canons and other dignified ecclesiastics who were thus in exile and poverty for their faith, were and had for years been Voltairian in their private opinions. But others, especially among the humbler clergy, were men full of faith and zeal. These became the founders of Roman Catholic missions in a considerable number of places. Sometimes a French priest shared house and chapel with an English missionary priest, obtaining for the latter a forbearance and even consideration which he would not otherwise have received.

A few, but very few, converts can be directly traced to these French priests. They founded minute congregations near the residence of some Roman Catholic family. Foreigners of distinction visiting the neighbourhood

would frequently cause the presence of English political sympathisers. Thus the ground was prepared, the seed was cast into it, but as yet the English gentry were utterly unprepared even to entertain the idea of conversion. It needed other causes to produce the harvest, which if slightly exaggerated by a few trifling mistakes, is, as presented by Mr. Gorman, one sufficiently noticeable and replete with consequences of which we, as yet, see only the beginning.

The ground had been prepared by the Tory party, which meant nearly the whole of the gentry, aided by the War party, which was an overwhelming majority of the nation. The Liberal party, small in number, but with plenty of talent and vigour, became the incidental abettors of the Roman Catholic cause. Inspired with the love of liberty and of justice, they during many weary years advocated the restitution of political rights to all without distinction of religion. Roman Catholic controversialists, anxious to conciliate their countrymen, and to aid on their own dawning hopes, presented the Roman Catholic faith shorn of all its most objectionable features, until the bugbear of Englishmen looked like the meekest of all lambs. This produced two curious effects: 1st, the gradual secession of a very considerable number of the aristocracy and gentry, who conformed to the Church of England during the very years when they were recovering their due status in the country; 2nd, the Liberals, to aid their efforts for religious liberty, circulated in the Houses of Parliament, and amongst the clergy and laity of influence, such productions as Sydney Smith's vivid letters on the Catholics, "by Peter Plymley to my brother Abraham, who lives in the country." To palliate Roman Catholicism was to contend for the rights of conscience, and the attainment of liberty.

Thus two great political movements, one connected with hatred of the French Revolution, the other connected with the Liberal battle for Roman Catholic emancipation, without producing any converts to the Roman Catholic faith, yet served to remove many of the prejudices which

oppressed them and disfigured them in the eyes of their countrymen. The soil was thus prepared; it remained for an ecclesiastical movement within the Church of England to produce the harvest.

It may well excite our surprise that the Roman Catholic Church should, in England, have obtained during this century so few converts, except those produced by the Tractarian Movement identified with Dr. Pusey and Dr. Newman. A Church so powerfully organised, so ardent and skilled in proselytism; a Church possessing so many sources of attraction, legendary, historic, artistic; a Church which may fitly boast to have existed since Pope Gregory announced its distinctive claims, 1,280 years ago, unless with questionable reason we admit its origin as a Papal monarchy claiming jurisdiction over all Christians to be counted from the Pontificate of Leo in the fifth century—Antiquity itself might be expected to win for it many converts: for though its doctrines have changed greatly during those centuries, it ought to be counted as the Roman Catholic Church from the period when the claim of a universal Papal spiritual supremacy was first distinctly made and accepted throughout Latin Christendom. Such are amongst some of the attractions which might be expected to induce conversions. But in spite of all, in spite of its claim (so captivating to timid minds) of being the one only Ark of Salvation, it does not succeed in Asia and Africa nearly so well as Mahomedanism, and in England, it does not obtain so many converts as does Methodism. It has left almost untouched all but the classes which were socially affected by the Tractarian Movement in the Church of England. Previously there had been hardly more than two noticeable lay converts, Kenelm Digby and Ambrose Lisle Phillips; but these were in every respect men calculated to attract to any communion. The former by his charming books of Mediæval legend, presented, to those prepared to believe, a vision of sanctity and singleness of heart, which, though historically deceptive, was autobiographically true. The latter, De Lisle (as in later

years he became) endeavoured to create in Leicestershire the modes of life which Kenelm Digby pictured from the past, and gathered into his Gothic home foreigners, priests, and nobles, Anglicans, and Inquirers, who saw, during a few brief years, a pastoral neighbourhood inspired by the enthusiasm of one man.

Protestants were surprised to see an English squire acting as cantor at Mass, or assisting to carry the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament in processions along country roads, or kneeling amidst peasants before the image of a Mater Dolorosa erected on a hill top. A Trappist monastery arose amidst the rocks of Charnwood Forest. A Roman barrister who had become a priest of the Order of Charity, Dr. Gentili, was to be seen on village greens or in the market places of the country towns of Leicestershire, a man of striking presence, with large crucifix on his breast, with impassioned eloquence depicting the horrors of hell, the terrors of the judgment day, and mercy flowing forth from the sacramental wounds of Christ. It was openly stated and firmly believed that the church at Grace Dieu Manor had been visited by angels, that devils had been seen approaching the sedilia, that the soul of one of the damned had come from hell, and outside the porch of the church revealed to De Lisle a secret for his instruction.

For a time it seemed as if Methodism and all other forms of enthusiasm must yield to this new and unwonted spectacle of impassioned earnestness united to the highest culture and the most attractive human qualities, supported by miracles, by supernatural voices from heaven, and other portents firmly believed by men to whom imposture and hypocrisy were impossibilities. It sounds like a tale of the Middle Ages to describe how De Lisle actually led on a band of rustics, inspired by hatred of Paganism, to destroy a statue of Venus in his father's grounds. The remarkable fact is that, as a popular movement, no results endured. The monastery remained, the chapels remained, but with congregations, in course of a few years, reduced to small dimensions. But De Lisle indirectly did not a little—not only by his

work in Leicestershire, but by causing the introduction of the Rosminian and Passionist Mission Services throughout England—to attract a portion of the Tractarian movement towards the Roman Church; though when those who knew and loved him have passed away, he will be chiefly remembered as one of the characters in D'Israeli's "Coningsby." One of De Lisle's converts was a clergyman, afterwards known all over the three kingdoms as the Hon. and Rev. Father Ignatius Spencer. The almost solitary important convert from Evangelicalism, with the simplicity of a child, and the fervour of a saint, he, for nearly a quarter of a century, went about begging everywhere for prayers for the conversion of England. All the other converts may be regarded as the result of the Tractarian movement. The Tractarian writers revived belief in priestly powers, and the absolute need of sacraments which only priests could confer. Doubts as to the validity of the Anglican orders drove some into the Roman Church. Others were influenced by the notion so enforced by the writers of the new school, that absolute unity of doctrine was essential to salvation, and flying from the salutary divergencies of Anglicanism they sought the unity of submission. It is a grave error to attribute these conversions to love of vestments and ceremonies. It was a movement of profound earnestness, thrilled with emotion by the poetic sympathetic genius of Newman. The men were so much in earnest, that many anticipated their unconscious leader, parting from those they loved and revered.

It is the joy of Religious Rationalism to be able to honour goodness and devotedness in the most opposing systems of belief. The disruption of the Kirk of Scotland in the year 1843 has caused the existence of a sect in which Religious Liberalism is less possible and less frequent than in the Established Kirk, yet we honour, nay, revere those 474 ministers who, in obedience to conviction, broke through the associations of years. From 1847, for ten or a dozen years, similar sacrifices were being undergone in England. We are not members of the Anglican Church,

but we regard the Anglican Church as greatly superior to the Roman Church in its influence on character, on the family, on the State, and on mankind. We regard the Roman Church as inculcating graver and more dangerous errors. But Natural Religion embraces both the Calvinist and the Romanist, and enables either to be appreciated. Pages might be written descriptive of the conscientious sufferings endured by many of the converts; clergymen like Dean Maclaurin and many others, leaving their happy parsonages to embrace poverty and isolation. It is a mistake to suppose that these sufferings always ceased after conversion. Kirwan Browne tells us of clerical converts saved from starvation by presents of broken meat. To others, and those not few, came at length a trial greater than poverty, *disenchantment*. In some cases it was disenchantment accompanied with courage to disbelieve; then life had to be commenced afresh, with health and spirits broken. In other cases, it was disenchantment accompanied with a permanent impression that they had sacrificed every thing for an illusion, and yet without courage to reopen the question; life passed on clouded and without hope.

It may be asked, What have been the results? My own opinion is that the Roman Catholic Church has not gained much amongst the mercantile classes, or amongst the classes of skilled artizans. But that, as sufficiently proved by Mr. G. Gorman's list, it has gained greatly amongst the classes interwoven with the clergy, and that it will become ere long still more powerful in the House of Peers. Most of the aristocratic class have some relative, generally a lady, in the Roman Catholic Church. I believe that if the Anglican Church had been separated from the State, and therefore enabled to have enforced uniformity along the lines of the Sacramental system, that there would have been but few secessions to Rome. Or, barring that, if years ago Dr. Overbeck had succeeded, and prevailed on the Eastern Patriarchs to authorise in England a Church in communion with them, that there would have been no conversions at

all to Rome. The Eastern Orthodox Church has greater antiquity than the Papal Church, has undoubted Orders, and possesses a Faith which, however far apart from the teachings of Christ, is not exposed to the logical, historical, and moral objections bound up with Papal absolutism.

Probably we have not much to apprehend of numerical increase of English Roman Catholics, but they will become powerful auxiliaries to the Anglican Church in the education question. Their power has been much increased by the changed attitude of the Government, the Court, and Society. Cardinal Manning, with singular ability, has by the Temperance movement gratified the Irish by organised displays of numbers, whilst utilising successfully the homage rendered to his ecclesiastical rank by the leaders of fashion.

In America, the Irish emigration keeps feeding the Roman communion, and though their clergy lament over enormous losses, yet their Church increases year by year; and not unfrequently we hear of an Irishman who has pushed up from the ranks and amassed great wealth. It is said that it is rare for native Americans to become Roman Catholics, unless through the frequent absurd inconsistency of sending young people to Roman Catholic places of education.

The conversion of an American Bishop does not seem to have obtained imitators: and the great intellectual gifts of Brownson did more to stimulate Roman Catholics than to obtain converts.

But Mr. Gordon Gorman's list has led us to consider only the past. The old controversies are hastening away to the background. Those who now chiefly attract educated attention, are not treating questions as to the validity of Orders and the Grace of the Sacraments: but God, Duty, Immortality.

Roman Catholicism is obtaining an ally far more dangerous and far more effectual than Anglicanism: that ally is Agnosticism, the offspring of ecclesiastical dogmatism, its enemy, and its restorer.

Once let persons be induced to suppose that there is Nothing to believe, Nothing to trust, Nothing to serve, Nothing to hope, Nothing worth a sacrifice or an aspiration: and minds which have become the weary victims of intellectual effeminacy will crowd into the Papal Church, without conviction, without enthusiasm, seeking in vain a shadow to guide them through darkness.

ROBT. RODOLPH SUFFIELD.

LIBERAL OR SOCIALIST? *

MR. HERBERT SPENCER lays against the modern Liberal a charge which will rankle in his breast. The epithet Radical, which his fathers resented, already has to him a pleasant savour. To be called Communist, Anarchist, Nihilist, he is well accustomed. Cardinal Manning's amiable syllogism, stript of verbiage, runs thus: One prominent Liberal is an Atheist; all Liberals demand for him the rights of citizenhood; therefore, all Liberals are Atheists. The modern Liberal is galled by this logica jugglery not at all. But when Mr. Spencer declares that "Modern Liberal" should be writ "New Tory," he must look for angry repudiation of the charge indeed.

Yet the charge is soberly brought and is supported with all the knowledge and the fertility of illustration at the command of our foremost living social philosopher, himself every inch a Liberal up to a certain point. Observing the legislation accomplished within the last quarter of a century by Liberals, observing also the legislation demanded more loudly and more extensively every day by those who declare themselves Liberals still, Mr. Spencer pronounces the nominally Liberal idea and ideal current in our time to be compacted of principles and aspirations essentially Tory in their true analysis. If this be so, it is a profoundly interesting and vastly momentous social fact, and one which no social student can afford to pass over without note.

* *The Man versus the State;* containing "The New Toryism," "The Coming Slavery," "The Sins of Legislators," and "The Great Political Superstition." By HERBERT SPENCER. Reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*, with a Postcript. London: Williams and Norgate. 1884.

It is not the function of this Review to throw itself into the conflict of political parties; but it is entirely germane to its purpose to inquire into the fundamental nature of great social forces and to estimate the relations of such mighty currents of opinion as the Liberal and the Socialistic.

Mr. Spencer's indictment of latter-day Liberalism—his allegation that it is in fact a new and subtle form of Toryism—is based on that remarkable infusion of Socialistic conceptions into professedly Liberal opinion which is patent to every observer of the dominant political and social thought. With striking ingenuity he brings the species Socialism under the genus Toryism, a feat of classification which must bewilder disciples of either school, yet is not without its justification. Sufficiently generalise the meaning of the historic epithet which Lords Salisbury and Churchill seem not unwilling to revive and to adopt, and "Democratic Toryism" is not a contradiction in terms. The great lexicographer's definition of a Tory as "one who adheres to the ancient constitution of the state and the apostolical hierarchy of the church of England," is not much more philosophically exhaustive than that other famous definition of his: "WHIG, the name of a faction." The real essence of the Tory conception has never changed from the time when Bolingbroke associated it with "divine, hereditary, indefeasible right, lineal succession, passive obedience, prerogative, non-resistance, slavery," to the time when it dreads the enfranchisement of the County Householder without "a wise scheme of redistribution" which shall not rashly "let loose" the new voters. It has always contemplated some artificial and compulsory order of society as distinguished from an order of society evolved by the great natural forces which act upon communities of men. It is true that the old-fashioned Tory conceives that this order of society should be one in which the land-holder, the state clergyman and the inheritor of high title shall be guaranteed a secure dominance over the masses of men; while the new-fashioned Socialist,

on the contrary, conceives that the order should be one in which the masses of men shall be guaranteed in many comforts and enjoyments secure from all pretensions to dominance on the part of squire or priest or lord. But each looks for national welfare to the realisation of his ideal order through such legislative guarantees and securities; and each distrusts the action of the natural forces of industrialism, individualism, and voluntary combination unchecked or unsupplemented by the artificially generated forces which kings, parliaments, or plebiscites may contrive.

Liberalism, on the other hand, confronts both Socialist and Tory with a long record of fidelity to a precisely opposite principle,—a fidelity which Mr. Spencer declares, however, to have suffered many breaches in our own day, and to the complete abandonment of which he looks forward with despondent certainty. Liberalism in the old days stood for distrust of artificial legislative checks, balances, restraints or interferences, and enthusiastic trust in the working of unhampered, unhindered individualities for the greatest good of the greatest number. Before Evolution had been heard of, Liberalism blindly, passionately believed in Evolution. It believed that the best order of society would unfold itself, if only society were sufficiently let alone; and it spent its strength and fervour through many a hard-fought day in compelling meddlesome hands to unloose their grasp on the domestic, the commercial, the religious lives of the people.

Mr. Spencer runs through a long list of legislative measures, from the Habeas Corpus Act to the removal of fiscal burdens from the press, all illustrating this essential feature first of Whig and afterwards of Liberal Law-making and Law-repealing. Within the period of fully developed modern Liberalism, the period since the first Reform Bill, a like list might be drawn out which would cover many pages. In all the four great departments of legislative activity the characteristic feature predominates in measures of the first importance. In the constitutional

realm, the two Reform Acts themselves and the third attempted Reform Bill may all be regarded as movements for the abolition of restraint, the cancelling of monopoly, the sweeping away of "checks and balances"; they have all tended towards the universal enfranchisement of the individual, so that no one class shall exercise despotic control over any other. In the social sphere, the emancipation of the West Indian negroes was a magnificent advance in the like direction. In matters ecclesiastical, the Irish Church Disestablishment, the Burials Act, and the opening of the Universities have all proceeded on the same principle. In matters commercial, the abolition of the Corn Laws and the whole Free Trade movement have been conceived on precisely the same lines. It is needless to enumerate minor statutes. Every one feels that these Acts have been characteristically and typically Liberal by whatever Government actually carried; and every one perceives that they are so because they remove the power of one section of society to restrain another, set free individual initiative, and rely on the natural forces energising in the community to do more and better for it than forces cunningly contrived by conceding privileges here and entailing disabilities there.

But it is unquestionably true that that great wave of Liberalism which has swept over the nation and with its mighty energies washed to one level the sand hill of lordly prerogative and the pit of abject servitude, has to some extent receded before, or at least encountered cross-currents from a stream of legislation of a different type, and that too by the initiative of the party claiming to be Liberal.

We can but summarise in briefest fashion Mr. Spencer's own summary of this restraining and protective legislation. In 1860, under Lord Palmerston we have extension of Factory Acts to bleaching and dyeing, provision for municipal analysts, for inspection and regulation of gas-works, for further mine inspection, for prevention of juvenile labour; in 1861 follow extension of Factory Acts to lace-

works, enforced vaccination, increase of regulative powers of local boards; in 1862, further restrictions on bleach-works and coal mines, restraint on unauthorised Pharmacopœias; in 1863, compulsory vaccination extended to the whole kingdom, provision for employing men out of work and for municipal regulation of open spaces, minute regulation of bakehouses, and magisterial inspection of food; in 1864, extension of Factory Acts, regulation of chimney-sweepers, of beer, of cables and anchors, and also the Contagious Diseases Act; in 1865, compulsory relief of vagrants, further regulation of public-houses, regulations for extinguishing fires; in 1866, under Lord John Russell, regulation of cattle-sheds, of hop-growers, of lodging-houses, and an enactment for compulsory provision of books. In 1869, under Mr. Gladstone, we have telegraphy, cabs, beer-houses, cattle-disease, and sea-birds all taken under Government regulation; in 1870, we have the Education Act and a further Factories and Workshops Act; in 1871, merchant shipping, factories, pedlars, and vaccination receive paternal attention; in 1872, babies out to nurse, factories, spirit-shops, and passenger steamers are regulated; in 1873, children engaged in agriculture and once more merchant shipping. Coming to the present Ministry, in spite of Mr. Warton, many regulative Bills have passed safely through to the estate of Acts.

We have, in 1880, a law which forbids conditional advance-notes in payment of sailors' wages; also a law which dictates certain arrangements for the safe carriage of grain-cargoes; also a law increasing local coercion over parents to send their children to school. In 1881 comes legislation to prevent trawling over clam-beds and bait-beds, and an interdict making it impossible to buy a glass of beer on Sunday in Wales. In 1882, the Board of Trade was authorised to grant licences to generate and sell electricity, and municipal bodies were enabled to levy rates for electric lighting; further exactions from rate-payers were authorised for facilitating more accessible baths and wash-houses; and local authorities were empowered to make bye-laws for securing the decent lodging of persons engaged in picking fruit and vegetables. Of such legislation during 1883

may be named the Cheap Trains Act, which, partly by taxing the nation to the extent of £400,000 a year (in the shape of relinquished passenger duty), and partly at the cost of railway proprietors, still further cheapens travelling for workmen: the Board of Trade, through the Railway Commissioners, being empowered to ensure sufficiently good and frequent accommodation. Again, there is the Act which, under penalty of £10 for disobedience, forbids the payment of wages to workmen at or within public-houses; there is another Factory and Workshops Act, commanding inspection of white-lead works (to see that there are provided overalls, respirators, baths, acidulated drinks, &c.) and of bake-houses, regulating times of employment in both, and prescribing in detail some constructions for the last, which are to be kept in a condition satisfactory to the inspectors.*

But the indictment of the neo-liberals is not yet complete. They have done much: they would do more. Further Factory Acts are threatened. Vast interferences with the building-trade are urged for the sake of the better housing of the poor. Food for the body as well as for the mind is suggested as properly pertaining to compulsory education. Research is to be further endowed with public money. Compulsory insurance is vigorously urged, and still more eagerly compulsory abolition of the trade in alcoholic drink, and at least compulsory cultivation of land if not the assumption of all the lands of the country by the State itself.

If Liberalism is indeed in its proper principle solely the removal of legal restraint, then truly we have here a prodigious catalogue of anti-liberal Acts and aspirations on the part of Liberals falsely so-called. It is, however, not to be too easily believed that the most vital party in the State, inheriting and cherishing a magnificent tradition, nurtured in passionate adhesion to a far-reaching principle, has turned its back on its own training and is working against all for which its fathers fought and suffered. It becomes necessary to ask whether Mr. Spencer's analysis of historical Liberalism really goes to the bottom of the matter.

* Pp. 11, 12.

Mr. Spencer variously defines and describes the true Liberals and the true Liberalism, but always much to the same effect. The Liberal is "one who advocates greater freedom from restraint, especially in political institutions." Toryism stands for "the *régime* of status," Liberalism for "the *régime* of contract," "the one for that system of compulsory co-operation which accompanies the legal inequality of classes, and the other for that voluntary co-operation which accompanies their legal equality."*

There is no doubt that the historical outward working of Liberalism is here quite accurately described. But it is possible that the effective motive of Liberalism lies deeper than the particular form of these external manifestations. So wedded is Mr. Spencer, however, to his formula, that he rebukes both "Liberal statesmen and Liberal voters" for conceiving "the welfare of the many" to be "the aim of Liberalism." † According to him, "the gaining of a popular good" was but "the external conspicuous trait common to Liberal measures in earlier days," the essence of the Liberalism lying solely in "the relaxation of restraints"; and it would almost seem that, in his view, the relaxation of restraint is in itself enough to endow a measure with the true Liberal character even though "the gaining of a popular good" do not fall within the purpose of the legislator.

Surely we have here, not only a pedantry, but a very real confusion of method with aim. "The welfare of the many" has been from first to last the avowed and animating "aim" of Liberal legislation,—and emphatically of "the *many*." A dividing line between the Tory and the Liberal, running all down the page of history, has been this. To the Tory mind it has seemed that the welfare of the section of the community which the Tory especially befriended might best be served at the cost of other sections; and that on the whole the stability of the State was best secured by insisting on this price. To the Liberal mind, on the contrary, it has rather seemed that the true welfare of

* P. 17. † P. 7.

each section of the community might best be served by securing the happiness of the whole and that such good of the whole was the true guarantee of a stable State. And, therefore, the Liberal, with whatever blunders, has aimed from first to last—and it is a strict characteristic of his Liberalism that he has aimed—at the welfare of the many.

In spite, however, of the specific motive of the Liberal in seeking the good of the masses of the people, in a broad sense the good of the nation at large must be recognised as the ultimate purpose of the conscientious Conservative and the conscientious Liberal alike. A still more specific purpose must be found animating the energies of the great historic social force called Liberalism, before we can feel that we have done with the matter. The tenour of Liberal legislation for two centuries has been, as Mr. Spencer says, the relaxation of restraint. That relaxation of restraint may, no doubt, be logically contemplated as an end; but it may also be contemplated as a means, as the method adopted in pursuit of a further end. And this is what it has been in the minds of "Liberal statesmen and Liberal voters." In the minds of the majority of Liberal voters we cannot but suppose that even Mr. Spencer will admit, if pressed, that the relaxation of restraint has been a means or method towards "the gaining of a popular good." But in the minds of Liberal statesmen it has been a means or method towards a clearly defined object intermediate between itself and that ultimate "good" which is the supreme purpose of all statesmanship. This intermediate object has been *the enfranchisement of the individual.*

We contend that any truly philosophical analysis of Liberalism yields this result, that it seeks *the enfranchisement of the individual.* To the Tory the individuals in a State are subordinate to the whole. They are head, hands, feet, members one of another, justified in their specific privilege, in their pursuits, in their existence, only as they are "of the body" and serve the body,—a noble conception—at the high level of which indeed Toryism does not always maintain itself, yet a conception fit to inspire a sublime and devoted

patriotism. It is a conception proper to certain stages of civilisation, the conception which created and sustained Hellas and Rome, though doomed to give place to that yet higher conception in which the individual becomes the most sacred entity of all. It is this latter view which Liberalism consistently maintains. In the Liberal view the State is subordinate to the individuals who constitute it. It is an instrument for their convenience. It fulfils its functions in the measure in which it secures to them the conditions necessary for their full and free development.

It is in fact absurd to say that the aim of Liberalism is the relaxation of restraint. Why relax restraint save for the sake of something which is to come of the relaxation? It is manifestly inconceivable that men who gave energy and life that restraint might be relaxed looked for no benefit to accrue from that relaxation, and toiled for no such result. Men strike fetters off the wrists of slaves that the slaves may be set free for the legitimate activities of manhood. And the high thought that by their measures they were setting men hitherto restrained by unjust law free to be and to do in the world for their own happiness and the world's good has always been the inspiration of the great Liberals who have laboured for the emancipation of the people.

Naturally enough when first the Liberal idea rose upon the world (the idea of the enfranchisement of the individual), they who conceived it found their main work in undoing restraining laws, laws of compulsory co-operation, laws maintaining artificial status. Hitherto the State had been conceived as supreme over the individual, and laws had been shaped accordingly, which pressed the State authority rudely and roughly on men. The statute-book showed little care for the liberties of persons; and the Whig, and the Liberal after him, had a vast clearing to effect of old and pernicious laws which artificially restrained the individual from the proper activities of manhood.

Yet it was not long ere the statesmen of the new time took in hand legislation for the enfranchisment of the

individual which did not consist in any direct removal of positive legal restraints. It was not enough to forbid ancient interferences with individual rights in industry or religion. Fresh classes of men must be endowed with the positive powers of citizenhood; and one after another Reform Bills came upon the arena and were universally recognised as typical in their conception, beyond all other measures, of the Liberal idea. Liberalism stood and stands for *the making of citizens*, the producing of units in the State endowed with all powers and opportunities of individual initiative and building up by various and spontaneous energies a happy and efficient people.

Turn now to the mass of recent laws in which Mr. Spencer sees the progeny of a "new Toryism." In specific instances such laws may be wisely or foolishly enacted: what concerns us is to consider whether the animating conception to which they are due is Liberal or Tory. And we conclude without hesitation that it is Liberal. Liberalism aims at the enfranchisement of the individual, at making him as efficient as possible for himself and for society. To this end it sees that he shall receive such rudiments of knowledge as shall enable him to bring instructed intelligence to bear on the struggle of life. To this end also it takes measures that are intended to secure for him that healthy *habitat* without which the upgrowth of an efficient and energetic personality is improbable. To this end it does what it can to prevent either his food or the conditions of his labour from undermining the health and strength of his body or his mind. To this end, by the mouths of an increasing number of its professors, it proposes to check the supply of that which of all agencies most disastrously unnerves the body, paralyses the will, and saps the individuality of men—alcoholic drink.

For he who aims at the largest possible enfranchisement of individuals soon discovers that his aim is hindered not only by old oppressive enactments restraining individuals from natural vents for their physical and mental energy, but to the full as effectually by oppressive forces yielded in

the evolution of society without any intervention of the statute-book whatever. He finds that while it is well to secure the freedom of the press, to remove the duty from paper, to abolish the stamp on newspapers, that goes but a little way in enfranchising the individual if it so happen that his parents have prevented him from learning to read. He becomes aware that, while his fathers did wisely in blotting out those crude statutes which forbade artisans to travel, the matter is but half carried through if he permits companies possessing a practical monopoly in the provision of accommodation for travelling to refuse to carry the artisan at a fare which it is possible for him to pay. He perceives that, while freedom of contract is indeed the breath of commerce and the condition of all industrial welfare, there is no freedom of contract where one party dictates and the other is compelled to accept or to starve; and so he gives the Irish peasant a chance of rising into a genuine citizenhood by insisting on certain conditions in his behalf when the bargain is struck. He sees that children bound to the factory wheel for thirteen hours a-day from the time they are seven years old have no reasonable chance of developing an individuality worthy of human beings; and so he secures to them the leisure and the rest which are the conditions of juvenile health. In all things he seeks to enfranchise the individual, by securing to him the elementary conditions without which neither body nor mind can attain its proper growth.

Tens of thousands of English children are born and reared under conditions which negative individualism. They have no chance of developing spontaneity, initiative, the will-faculty, those qualities which constitute an independent, self-reliant personality. Restraints of heredity, restraints of environment are laid upon them. The true Liberal recognises it as his part to counteract or remove those restraints no less than such as spring directly from the bad laws made by kings or senates. The one mode of action is as necessary as the other if men are to be truly free. The slave of drink, the slave of ignorance, the

slave of disease is as truly enslaved as the subject of human tyranny. The tyranny which monopolists of land or wealth find themselves able to exercise over the helpless is as literally a tyranny as that of crowned despots. Liberalism has for its function the emancipation of all slaves, the resistance of all tyranny. Its office is to secure to each man, so far as in it lies, "a fair field and no favour." Mr. Spencer sometimes seems to be strong for the "no favour," but indifferent about the "fair field."

Surely it lies in the mouth of Mr. Spencer least of all men to hold the denizens of our city slums to the responsibilities that are proper to the developed citizen. Yet it is he who meets the cry of pity wrung from us by recent revelations of the condition of the dwellers in London dens, with the remarks that they are in large measure the "undeserving poor" "bearing the penalties of their own misdeeds," that there is "an immense amount of misery which is a normal result of misconduct, and ought not to be dissociated from it," that a large proportion of those for whom we are concerned "are simply good-for-nothings, who in one way or other live on the good-for-somethings—vagrants and sots, criminals and those on the way to crime, youths who are burdens on hard-worked parents, men who appropriate the wages of their wives, fellows who share the gains of prostitutes."* And with that Mr. Spencer warns Liberals off, and gives them to understand that any meddling is sure to turn out muddling after all.

Now it is Mr. Spencer above all men who has taught us how largely each unit amongst us is the product of heredity modified by environment. It is he who teaches us to understand how it is that these "good-for-nothings" have come into the world with moral sense distorted, with the craving for strong drink over-mastering, with all that is base and mean and foul in men, rank and luxuriant. Yet it is he who applies to this hideous growth the doctrine of *laisser faire* in its most naked and uncompromising form. A large part of his third chapter is devoted to the contention that

* Pp., 18, 19.

the attitude of one section of society towards another can and ought only to be that of competition and antagonism; that an extension of the sentiments and sympathies proper within the little circle of the family beyond those limits, except on the part of individuals, must tell against the good of the race."* He would press upon the wretched and degraded the full responsibility of their own condition; as they have sown, he would have them reap.†

But the Liberal would be false to his own essential principle if he followed the guidance here offered to him. It is his aspiration and his office to enfranchise the individual, to put him and those who come after him under conditions in which they shall have a chance of attaining to effective citizenhood. To this end he must modify, if he can, his environment. He must, if he can, cut off the evil entail from his children. He must, if he can, remove or counteract that social pressure which holds him down. He must, if he can, while denying him all exceptional favour, secure to him the fair field without which he cannot rise into an equipped individuality.

Liberalism then does not consist in undoing the restraining laws of human legislatures and then leaving human greed and the relentless natural laws of society to press upon the individual and crush him, if so hap, all undefended. A human being is precious in the eyes of the Liberal as in those of the Christian. He sees in each man born into the world a possible citizen of individual initia-

* Pp. 64-69. *Social Statics*, pp. 322-5, 380, 1 (edition of 1851).

† Mr. Spencer attempts to identify those who have been moved by "the bitter cry" with the persons who "are angry if, to maintain our supposed 'national' interests or national '*prestige*,' those in authority do not promptly send out some thousands of men to be partially destroyed while destroying other thousands of men whose intentions we suspect, or whose institutions we think dangerous to us, or whose territory our colonists want," and who "then look on with cynical indifference at the weltering confusion left behind, with all its entailed suffering and death." P. 70. Such an identification falls below the height alike of Mr. Spencer's logic and of his chivalry. Mr. G. R. Sims and the Congregational Union must indeed be confounded to find a writer in the *Contemporary Review* violently scolding them as Jingoes!

tive, spontaneous energy, active and creative will. He would develop *men*, and he knows that the manhood may be crushed out of those ground between the upper millstone of grasping landlord or employer and the nether millstone of the elementary wants of humanity. He knows, too, that childhood must be the preparation of manhood, and that true manhood cannot grow out of a childhood starved, stunted and oppressed. He will have neither childhood oppressed nor manhood or womanhood ground out of the adult. He will promote such a condition of society as shall secure to all a fair field for the development of independent being.

The stage of humanity in which a spontaneous individualism, an efficient personality can really be fully recognised cannot be reached except at a certain point in the development of the physical and mental organism and amid environments up to a certain point favourable. It is proper to the Liberal to endeavour that the conditions of life in the community shall be such that neither the organism normally produced nor the environment about it shall fall below that level.

And here it is that we reach the boundary line dividing the true Liberalism from Socialism in the bad sense of the term. Up to this line the paternal action of the State does not destroy or weaken individual independence; for it is expressly engaged in bringing about conditions under which the rise of such independence shall be possible. But the moment the Legislature advances beyond this point, the descent is begun, and at each further step the very individualism which all this legislation has kept in view is in redoubled danger of relaxation and enfeeblement. The dividing line is very fine. No palisade has been run along it to warn the legislator. He stops short of it, or steps beyond, and does not know it. Yet if he stop short, the greed of the strong together with the blind and awful forces that press upon society will bring upon his country the frightful evils of an outcast poor, ghastly extremes of wealth and poverty, epidemic drunkenness and debauchery; while if he overstep the line, he bids fair to find thrown upon his

care a people with will unnerved, self-reliance starved down, the vital spirit of enterprise sick unto death. The Liberal who learns truly to understand what Liberalism is and what it is not is far indeed from finding politics made easy; but he has grasped a principle which is the norm of all wise legislation, a formula in which alone, as we believe, lies the solution of the most difficult problems presented in modern political discussion.

To discuss the particular legislation which does or does not pass the line we have indicated would far exceed our scope. In the mass of recent laws which Mr. Spencer has branded as "new Toryism," it is to be feared that many trespasses have been committed. Many others of these laws, though in intention within the line, are foolish in device and mischievous in practice. Our sole purpose has been to present an abstract principle to which legislation should conform and to indicate that that principle has underlain and underlies the conception known as Liberalism.*

Doubtless even with the principle grasped firmly, legislation must still be largely empirical, though not so exclusively empirical as Prof. Stanley Jevons, in almost his latest essay, indicated.† With Prof. Sheldon Amos, we shall admit of paternal legislation for the protection of men from the powers exercised by land-holders, by confederated capitalists, by those who have control of the means of communication, by religious corporations.‡ But we shall so far accept the warnings of van Humboldt, of J. S. Mill, and above all of Mr. Spencer himself in the present and previous treatises,§ that we shall jealously exclude such law-making as is not content to secure to the individual a fair

* Quite independently of the question whether Liberalism is good or bad, social students owe a debt to Mr. Spencer for inaugurating a discussion as to what Liberalism *is*. Surely it is capable of *some* philosophical expression. So likewise Conservatism. Yet the new Encyclopædia Britannica, presumably to escape polemics, follows the example of minor cyclopædias, and passes unnoticed both these terms so vastly important in modern speech and writing.

† The State in Relation to Labour. Chap. I.

‡ The Science of Politics. Chap. X.

§ Social Statics and Essay on Over-government.

chance of fighting his own way, but removes from him the stimulus to exertion by pouring upon him further benefits for which he neither toils nor spins.

We shall especially be jealous of the multiplication of that class of government officials against whom Mr. Spencer so eloquently warns us,*—a class always dangerous and necessarily degraded in average quality as they are increased in quantity. We shall for instance throw on the owner of the mine or the factory a strict responsibility for accidents accruing through the inadequacy of his precautions; but we shall be chary of empowering men who have themselves failed to obtain appointments as managers, dressed in government authority, to insist on illusive safeguards of their own device. We shall, again, insist on many sanitary conditions in the habitations of the poor; but we shall be reluctant to place in the hands of a medical clique despotic powers, or to enforce on all men by State authority every new and untested sanitary device.

We take it then that the true formula of Liberalism is "Enfranchisement of the individual; the virtue of paternal legislation up to that point, the vice of all paternal legislation beyond." Often indeed the closest study will be called for in order to decide whether this or that proposal conforms to our formula or not. "Each case must be dealt with on its merits." But we shall at least be rescued from the chaos in which Mr. Shaw-Lefevre leaves us; † for we shall have a principle by which we shall know that the proposed measure ought to be gauged; and though the gauging may be very difficult, the worst confusion at least will be cleared away: we shall have a definite conception of our own aim and purpose. As it is, there are low-water marks of compulsory legislation which even Mr. Spencer

* P. 28, &c.

† "Looking, then, for the future by the experience of the past, we cannot, I think, oppose to any proposal of legislation or to the extension of the functions of the State, any rigid doctrine of *laissez faire*, based on theoretic objections to the action of society in its corporate capacity, or on abstract views as to the inexpediency of interfering with individuals. Each case must be dealt with on its merits."—Presidential Address before the Social Science Congress, at Birmingham, September 17, 1884.

approves; for example, the taxing of all citizens, Quakers included, for the resistance of invasion.* On the other hand there is a high-water mark of protective law-making to which not even Mr. Hyndman would have us rise, —say the presentation of a sovereign every Monday morning at the Home Office to every man who should give such proof of his need as would be afforded by his taking the trouble to call for it. Between these extremes there is room for an infinity of debate and doubt. Neither *laissez faire* nor its opposite, unqualified and absolute, is consistently advocated by any philosopher or politician in the world. It is no small thing to recognise in this labyrinth of bewilderment the clue of *some* principle covering all cases, however difficult to hold by.

Finally, the recognition of our canon does not weaken, but strengthens Mr. Spencer's most just and forcible indictment of the unprepared legislator,—the legislator who with a light heart votes sweeping laws, of the probable working of which he has made no study whatsoever.† We have not dispensed the law-maker from the necessity of intelligent, diligent, conscientious study. We have but suggested to him a clue for guidance in his research. Let him hold before his view the one great end of his craft, the *enfranchisement of the individual*, the *making of citizens* free, efficient, capable of securing their own good and serving their country well; he will find before him a range of study that will tax all his powers, but he will find the elements of a statesmanship by which he may promote the happiness and virtue of millions of human beings in his own and future generations.

RICHARD A. ARMSTRONG.

* How Mr. Spencer reconciles it with his principles to compel the Quakers we cannot guess. It cannot, as his words would suggest, be merely because "having] done highly useful work in their time," they "are now dying out!"—P. 85.

† Pp. 44—64.

"CHRISTIANITY IN ITS CRADLE."*

THE Jewish Christian party in the primitive church has of late years suffered many things at the hands of many critics. Paul, on the other hand, has been "exalted above measure," not by his own pride, but by critics and historians; the most "destructive" school only setting his life and work in a clearer and brighter light. But the Jerusalem Apostles have also their champion; and Paul, who threw aside the whole ceremonial law for the religion of the spirit, who so entirely emancipated himself and his converts that to him morality itself, from the simplest elements to the most heroic self-sacrifice, was no longer submission to a stern law but simply life in the spirit, the willing, natural life of the children of God, now receives his share of condemnation, and more than his share, that the conscientious conservatism of Peter and James may be defended, and even praised, at the hands of the author of "Phases of Faith," and "The Soul: Her Sorrows and Aspirations."

In his latest work, a little volume of 131 pages, Professor Newman reviews the history of the origin of Christianity, beginning with an introductory chapter on Judaism, coming down to the destruction of the temple, and concluding with a chapter on "Our Modern Problem." Each chapter is necessarily short, but we need scarcely say that the whole is powerfully written. But alas, the whole of the work from first to last is rendered valueless to students of the New Testament and the history and character of early Chris-

* *Christianity in its Cradle.* By FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN, once Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford; now Emeritus Professor of University College, London. London: Trübner and Co. 1884.

tianity, not by its conclusions, many of which we reject, nor by its spirit, which we must deeply regret, but by its method, which, to be frank, we must unequivocally condemn. To go in detail through a work of this kind, and deal with all the questions it raises, would be to write another book upon the same subject. This is the work of one who is an able man and a great thinker. So is Matthew Henry's Commentary, but it cannot satisfy students of the New Testament now. Will Professor Newman's little book be felt by them to be any nearer to the right *method?* Does he follow the lines of modern scholarship? Apart from the question whether we like his conclusions or not, have we any cause to accept them?

We will take first, as a fair sample of the manner in which he deals with the gospel narratives, the passage in which he discusses the questioning of Jesus concerning the payment of tribute, and his reply. We will quote in full from the first reference, which comes rather abruptly, to the beginning of the abuse which might, as Prof. Newman thinks, have been fairly heaped upon Jesus in reply. It is not necessary, nor would it be any pleasure to our readers, that we should give the whole of that.

The contrast established by him between the things of Cæsar and the things of God was valuable as limiting Cæsar's claims; but as enforcing Cæsar's right to tribute, the account is so very strange, that its quiet reception is wonderful. Christians hereby show how little thought they give to tales which are palmed on them as sacred. Of all difficulties pressing on a scrupulous Jew, most painful was the opinion that divine books forbad his recognition of an idolatrous and foreign prince. This opinion had in recent memory kindled a direful war, entraining Roman cruelties most horrible. The embers were still hot, and ready to flame anew. A solution therefore was requested in a peculiarly respectful tone, if our narrators tell truth. Yet they attribute to Jesus the fierce reply: "Ye hypocrites, why put ye me to proof?" As if it were not their obvious duty to put him to proof, and a thing to be rejoiced in by a prophet equal to the occasion; moreover, as if he had not himself solemnly warned, "Beware of false prophets." He proceeds (if we believe the

tale) to pronounce that a coin is Cæsar's property, if it bear Cæsar's image! Does a Frenchman who by giving an equivalent has possessed himself of an English sovereign, account the coin to be Queen Victoria's property, or admit that he is justly *tributary* to her? When the Queen or her Ministers parted with the coin, they did not *lend it* but *sold* it. If the Queen issued notes signed "Victoria," her signature, like her image, would guarantee something, but would not imply that without payment she could resume possession. — To call it *tribute* money (if it can be proved that at this era the Emperor accepted no other coin) does not alter the moral argument. Whoever doubted the lawfulness of tribute, doubted the lawfulness of allegiance. Cæsar's *command* (if there were such a command) could not establish his *right*. No solution, therefore, is given to those who need it.

If Jesus did really thus reply, we may be confident as to the effect. His questioners would say among themselves: "This man is an impostor," &c.*

Such a scene as the one here referred to requires careful study; and is not to be dismissed with accusations of "fierce reply," and an absurd solution of these terrible questions. And a careful study yields the following results—First: That all three evangelists agree in saying that the questioners were *sent* to him by some third party, *in order that they might catch him in talk*. They were not anxious and conscientious inquirers, but, as Luke plainly calls them, *spies*. Secondly: The party by which they were sent was formed (according to Matthew and Mark) by a combination of the Herodians and the Pharisees, a sinister combination, for, whatever the Herodians may have been, it is scarcely possible that the Pharisees can have been united to them by any true principle, though they may have conspired together to throw off the Roman power, or to make use of it to crush a reformer. Thirdly: Being sent as spies by two parties which, themselves almost undoubtedly at enmity in religion, have formed a political combination, for the sake of crushing a religious reformer, these men approach Jesus with professions of profound respect for him as one who *teaches the way of God in truth*. In this, again, all three evangelists are agreed.

* Pp. 56. sq. In this, as in all our quotations, the italics are Professor Newman's.

Fourthly: All three evangelists agree that he knew their hypocrisy (so Mark; while Matthew says, "Jesus perceived their wickedness;" and Luke, "he perceived their craftiness"), an amount of knowledge which certainly demands no supernatural powers. It is frequently no difficult matter for a teacher to detect, among his questioners, pretended searchers after truth. So far, then, the three evangelists are in essential, almost verbal, agreement. And, surely, it would be a perfectly justifiable thing for a religious reformer, or a social, or even a political reformer (as some persons seem to consider Jesus, though, we think, quite erroneously) to tell such questioners plainly that they were hypocrites, and to decline to give any answer at all, or have anything to do with them. But now let us see what information we have as to the reply of Jesus. Mark, who is almost universally acknowledged by critics to approximate more closely to the 'original tradition,' which underlies all the synoptics, has "But he, knowing their hypocrisy, said unto them, Why tempt ye me? bring me a penny that I may see it," &c. Luke, who is regarded by some eminent critics at least (*e.g.*, Prof. Volkmar) as next in order, has, "But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, Shew me a penny," &c. And it is Matthew alone who attributes the "fierce reply," as Prof. Newman extravagantly calls it: "But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the tribute money," &c. We regret as deeply as Prof. Newman can do, that the tendency of the Christian Church was not to grow in love towards the Jews; the breach widened, the strife waxed hotter and hotter. We may blame Christians for much of this bitterness and uncharitableness, though it was not all on their side. But the fact remains, notwithstanding, that just because of this bitterness and uncharitableness, while the tradition regarding Jesus was still unfixed, it would be the most natural thing in the world that violent expressions should be put into his mouth, and added to the tradition; the most unlikely thing in the world that any word of condemnation that had been preserved, should be struck out by his biographers. And, again, we cannot help asking whether

there must not have been some ground for the remarkable feeling which, in all ages, has reappeared from time to time in the minds of the greatest and noblest, that somehow, whatever tradition said, it was because they had *lost* the spirit of the master that this bitterness and hatred remained. When Bernard of Clairvaux rebuked the monk Rodolph, who was urging on fanatical crowds to the persecution of the Jews, and even brought the indignation of the mob upon himself by ordering the monk off to the monastery, are we to say that it was the furious Rodolph who was carrying out the principles and following the example of Christ, and Bernard who was an unfaithful disciple?

And now for the answer that Jesus actually gave. He does not say that all the money with Cæsar's image on it belongs to Cæsar, or any thing of the kind. He simply points out that the very symbol of the *civil* government is stamped upon the coin itself. The payment of tribute is not a matter of religion either way. He directs them beyond, and far above, the unhappy, self-tormenting, and yet most trivial scruples of those who argued that the coin bore an image of the emperor, and images of the emperor were worshipped, therefore, in touching the coin they were touching an idol, and in paying it they were supporting an idolatrous government, and so forth; and who, in these and similar quibbles, were forgetting all the time the plainest and most important religious duties:—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

We come, at last, to the strangest point of all in this remarkable passage; "We may be confident as to the effect. His questioners would say among themselves, This man is an impostor," &c. However "confident" we may be as to what they "would say," the evangelists are all agreed that they "marvelled" at his answer, and Luke adds that they "held their peace." But the questioners after all, as we must remember, were not genuine inquirers at all, but emissaries sent to entrap him—and grievously disappointed. And the Sadducees think it at least worth while to see how he solves their difficulty. And still the bystanders are not

weary of hearing him, but, according to Luke, certain of the scribes, answering, said, "Teacher, thou hast well said;" and, according to Mark, "One of the scribes came and heard them questioning together, *and knowing that he had answered them well*, asked him, What commandment is the first of all?" and receiving his reply, this scribe again says, "Of a truth, Master, thou hast well said," &c.

But, after all, one can only judge of the greatness or originality of a teacher by comparing him with others of his age. Any one who will refer to Dr. Oort's interesting article on the Talmud and the New Testament* will see there how a question regarding the Sabbath is answered by the Jewish wisdom of the age. The answer is found in the Mishna, which was reduced to writing from oral tradition, probably within about twenty-five years of the date of the last book of the New Testament. We will not quote the passage, which our readers may refer to for themselves, but we will attempt to frame with perfect honesty an exactly parallel answer to the question of tribute. "If the publican sits in his booth, and the man (who pays the tax) stands outside, and the man puts his hand in, then he is guilty. And if the publican puts his hand out, and the man puts anything into it, then he is guilty. But if the publican puts his hand out, and takes the tribute out of the hand of the man, then he is not guilty." The case is simpler than that of Sabbath breaking by a Jew giving to a Jew, because here only one person's conduct has to be considered. The publican in any case would be hopelessly guilty, of course, in the eyes of a Jewish rabbi. Compare this sort of thing with the solemn and profound reply of Jesus, and we shall not think as Professor Newman appears to do (p. 59), that his hearers were astonished at the folly of his reply, but shall rather wonder how any one of ordinary intelligence can ail to see its wisdom.

Two more instances shall suffice. "If we believe our narrators, he threatened perdition to those who failed to give them [the twelve] free entertainment." Matt. x. 15.

* *Modern Review*, July, 1883, p. 469.

See also x. 40 (p. 49). Of course, if we believe every word that any one of the evangelists records (does Prof. New man ?), we shall believe many strange things. But this denunciation is in Matthew alone, standing at the end of a speech which is complete without it, and which is without it in Mark and Luke? Which is the more probable that Jesus uttered it, and that Mark and Luke, spite of the increasing hostility between Jews and Christians which we have already spoken of, omitted it, or that the compiler of the First Gospel added it, or even that some still later scribe inserted it? Again, the whole chapter of denunciations in Matthew (chap. xxiii.), in which the Pharisees are called "sons of Gehenna" (a phrase which to a Jew was very different from what "children of hell," which Prof. Newman prefers, is to us), breaks into the narrative as found in Mark and Luke, having no evident connection with the chapter that precedes or the one that follows it, and is suspicious, to say the least of it. And yet Prof. Newman not only accepts it without question (p. 55), but afterwards proceeds (p. 80) to give a short account of the well-known generosity of Prince Izates and his mother, Queen Helena, to the Jews at Jerusalem in the time of famine, and concludes with the perplexing remark—"Since all this was *after* the death of Jesus, we are *not* forced to say that these three Jewish devotees [to whom their conversion was due] and their royal proselytes were accounted by him 'children of hell.'" Some of us, at least, would hardly have been forced to such a supposition, even if the dates had been reversed.

We must pass to Professor Newman's treatment of the question to which we referred at the outset, of the comparative merits of the Jewish and the Pauline party, or, as he puts it, of "Paul and James" (chap. x.).

There are, comparatively speaking, very few persons who are able to grasp a *principle* which shall enable them to judge fairly of the conduct of individuals. Personal feelings and convictions weigh too strongly. Every one knows that the change from another sect or party to that sect or party to which the speaker belongs is 'conversion,' the reverse is

'apostasy.' It is almost impossible to read Prof. Newman's attacks upon Jesus and Paul without feeling that his wrath is in a great measure due to their having brought about a rupture with that Hebrew Theism which he rightly esteems so highly. Paul, one would gather from the account he gives, forsook the pure spiritual theism of the prophets and psalmists of the Old Testament, and introduced an idolatrous worship of Christ in its place. But Paul did nothing of the kind, if only for the very simple reason that he was not brought up in the pure spiritual theism of the Old Testament. Surely Professor Newman is well aware that the teaching in the rabbinical schools at Jerusalem was as far removed from the teaching of the later Isaiah of whom he speaks so frequently, and with such just admiration, as the teaching of the Church catechism or the Westminster Confession is from the Sermon on the Mount. If he will refer to the articles by Dr. Oort already cited,* he will find what it really was that Paul broke away from. He will realise the absurdities which circumcision involved; he will know how impossible it was practically to combine any real religious earnestness and simplicity with a religion which, whatever its origin, had degenerated into trivial ceremony and hair-splitting. A curious instance of the error that Professor Newman falls into as to what Paul had found in Judaism as he had learned it, and what he added to it, may be seen in the following passage:—

> In the same spirit he teaches, in the first Epistle to Corinthians, that the Israelites in the wilderness were baptized unto Moses *in the cloud* and in the sea, and drank of that spiritual *rock which followed them*—(a rock followed them!! a fancy of his own, it seems) and that rock was Christ. Such argument can conjure up any amount of arbitrary mythology. It is the lowest type of Rabbinism (p. 86).

Now, if Professor Newman will turn to Wetstein's New Testament, to go no nearer to the original sources, he will find that whether this is "the lowest type of Rabbinism"

* *Modern Review*, July and October, 1883.

or not, at any rate the idea of the rock following the Israelites is not a fancy of Paul's. And if it be "the lowest type," there must have been a considerable number of Rabbis thus degraded, for Wetstein cites no less than eleven distinct references to this fancy that the rock of Moses followed the Israelites. "It went up with them to the tops of the mountains. It descended with them into the ancient valleys. They sang, Spring up, O well, and it sprang up." "It was round like a beehive, and it rolled itself along and went with them in their journeys; and when the standards fixed the place of the camp and the tabernacle stood firm, then the rock also settled down *(consedit)* in the court of the pavilion. Then came the princes and stood by it, saying, Spring up, O well, and it sprang up." The rock, it seems, was the rock which Moses struck, but the spring that issued from it was known as Miriam's fountain, and when Miriam died it disappeared.* Now all this is not "the lowest" but a very fair type of Rabbinism. Great minds rose superior to it, and none more remarkably than Jesus, for whom it could have few attractions. But it is no more to be expected that Paul should be free from all traces of it than that Professor Newman should show in all his writings no trace of the influence of Christianity, or of a nineteenth century university education, or of the forms of argument and treatment of history now current. What is peculiar to Paul here is simply the *spiritual interpretation* of a current Jewish fable. And what is characteristic of Paul's writings is not the Rabbinism which they share with the writings of almost every Jew of his age,† but the remarkable freedom from Rabbinism, the simple straightforward appeal of a man moved by a religious earnestness more powerful than the logic of any age.

But Professor Newman's chief accusation against Paul is not that his logic is defective and his arguments are unsound.

* See Wetstein's note on 1 Cor. x. 4; and comp. Num. xxi. 17.

† Even the First Epistle of Peter, which Professor Newman contrasts with the Pauline Epistles, to the disadvantage of the latter, is by no means free from it. See 1 Pet. ii. 6 sqq.; iii. 20 sq.

He recognises with other scholars the important historical fact that Stephen was the forerunner of Paul, and he endeavours to ascertain what it was that caused them to be persecuted, and Stephen to be martyred by his own countrymen at a time when the party of the Twelve, with Peter and James and John at its head, lived in peace and security. The conclusion which he reaches is that Stephen was stoned for idolatry inasmuch as he worshipped Jesus as a god.

The last words ascribed to Stephen are an invocation of the dead Jesus as a god: "Lord Jesus! receive my spirit." We cannot suppose that Stephen now invoked Jesus for the first time. It must have been his habit, and it can hardly have been secret. The evident probability is, that *Invocation of Jesus* was the *main offence* imputed. . . . No plausible fantasies can set aside the fact, that men who implore aid from an unseen spirit, treat that spirit as omnipresent on this globe and indefinite in power. Thus they virtually raise it into a second god, who in their hearts dethrones the One Supreme. Hence the unrelenting attack on Stephen (pp. 74, 75).

It is a mysterious reproach which Paul casts on the Judaizers, that they teach circumcision *in order to escape persecution*. Thus too he says: "If I teach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased." Romans had no wish to promote circumcision. The Jerusalem church did not require it of Cornelius. Pharisees did not try to enforce it on proselytes; therefore, its *non*-enforcement by Paul *cannot* have been the main cause of anger against him. Some deeper collision is concealed under this talk about circumcision. Elsewhere the truth is manifest. That which may reasonably be held to be *Stephen's* offence was *Paul's* offence with the Jews. He not merely invoked a dead saint as an occasional act, but established an entire system of worshipping an inferior God (pp. 93 sq.).

Undoubtedly the Christians were early accused of exalting Jesus to the rank of God; though we have no evidence that in their own lifetime the Apostles were accused by the Jews of exalting the Messiah more highly than he ought to be exalted, but only that they were charged with exalting to the rank of Messiah one who had died under a curse. The Greeks and Romans seem to have wavered between accu-

sations of 'atheism' * and of introducing new and unauthorised deities.† But when we find Professor Newman gravely maintaining that Paul "established an entire system" of worshipping Christ as God, we can only wonder when he last read Paul's Epistles, and what is the sound orthodox commentary in which he must place implicit faith. Is he not aware that the only remaining ground for maintaining Paul's belief in the deity of Christ at all lies in a very few isolated texts? Texts, moreover, of which such an interpretation is, to say the least of it, exceedingly doubtful—we should have thought impossible—to candid and impartial students of his theology.

On the other hand there is not the slightest necessity to look thus far for the causes of the persecution of Paul. That his preaching of the cross of Christ as the overthrow of circumcision (and all that it involved), was an offence to the Christians, is evident even on Professor Newman's own ground, and accepting his view of the meaning of circumcision to the Jewish Christians. They desired all converts to become, as he says, "fully graduated Jews," *because* they could otherwise only be "vassals and servants, bringing tribute and performing menial offices for the Holy People under Messiah's reign. . . . We cannot, therefore, wonder —we must almost take for granted—that a strong and powerful movement came forth from Jerusalem, *urging* in much love and seeking to *persuade* Gentile converts to adopt circumcision, the Sabbath, and the peculiarities of Mosaism" (p. 79). James, we are told, indeed, in another passage, would say, "A Gentile Christian is free to join our Hebrew nation, free also not to join: *whichever he*

* See Athenagoras. *Apol.* v.

† See Acts xvii. 18. "Others [said] he seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods, because he preached Jesus and Resurrection." Evidently, Jesus and Resurrection (both have the definite article in Greek and both should be without it in English) are regarded by these speakers as a new god and goddess preached by Paul. We almost wonder that Professor Newman who is inclined to receive any statement of the Book of Acts that is derogatory to Paul, does not bring this also in evidence of his idolatrous practices. How should they devise such a monstrous idea unless he really personified the resurrection and worshipped it along with Jesus?

does, affects not his state before God. You have no right to reproach him for desiring to join our community" (p. 89). But if it did not affect his state before God, it affected his treatment by the Jewish Christians; and, unless the whole of the first passage just cited goes for nothing at all, it affected the whole question of his admission to the Messianic kingdom. Professor Newman dismisses as "zealots" those who came down from Judea and taught the brethren, "Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved"; but it is a curious fact that he has chosen for his contemptuous epithet the very name that Simon himself bore, and that Antioch was the very place where Paul and Barnabas were encountered by those who came from James, and by whom Peter was carried away, so that he withdrew from them and, altogether, undoubtedly, there was "no small dissension." *

We are scarcely inclined to receive any of the statements of the Book of Acts with the implicit faith which Professor Newman appears to place in them, even when they confirm our own view; but we have no doubt whatever, that the passage we have just referred to is of much greater historical value than the account of the "Jerusalem Council" (Acts xv. 6—29), on which Professor Newman appears to rely,—with Peter's Paulinism and Paul's and Barnabas's rehearsal of the "signs and wonders" done by them among the Gentiles, James's suggestion of a letter from the twelve to Paul's converts and Paul's quiet acceptance of it. On Professor Newman's own showing, the Jewish Christians did insist on circumcision, and all that it involved, as a condition of full admission to the privileges of the Kingdom of Christ. What further cause of complaint could they require when Paul had declared against them, that in Christ there was neither Jew nor Greek (Gal. iii. 28); that neither was circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision (Gal. vi. 15)? And what further charge would an angry mob wait for,

* Comp. Acts xiv. 26—xv. 1-5 with Gal. ii. 11-14.

when told that this man not only exalted to the rank of Messiah a man who had been crucified, but actually declared that this Messiah had abolished the law, and that henceforth Jews were no better than heathens?

There is a certain school of (may we say critics and historians?) who seem to have an infatuation for "Sun Myths." To them everything is explicable as a myth of the Sun. Is "Hero-worship" a safer "Key to all the mythologies"? It will not explain Paul, nor all the intricate history of the early Christian Church; but the nervous dread of it and readiness to suspect it may perhaps explain Professor Newman's treatment of Paul and of the early history of the church. Jesus, it seems, was crucified because he made himself his own hero, and exalted himself to the rank of God. Stephen died for hero-worship. Paul was persecuted and stoned for hero-worship. It was a thing that "could not be tolerated in the Holy City" (p. 95). And yet strange to say in this age of burning indignation against Hero-worship "James, like the Greek philosophers, was too high and pure for the age: he would not preach to it the worship of a dead saint" (p. 98). He however was stoned, and as in his case there could be no actual Hero-worship, it was probably to "imputed Hero-worship" that his martyrdom was due (p. 104).

We had marked other passages of this book for quotation and discussion, but those we have given will suffice to show its position and its character. Doubtless many readers will rejoice to find that they have the authority of so great a scholar as Professor Newman in support of their condemnation of Jesus and Christianity. A far greater number, if they read the book at all, will be overwhelmed to find how disastrous are the results of what they may perhaps take to be one of the last efforts of "modern" or "liberal" criticism. But the former will do well to moderate their joy; and we can assure the latter that, so far from being a product of what is commonly known as the

"critical school" of New Testament students, this little work could by no possibility have had any such source. It belongs entirely to the dogmatic school. Professor Newman is a man of literary culture and scholarship, and he is an historian. But the duty of an historian is to sift his materials first of all in the light of the very latest research. And nowhere is this more necessary or more difficult than in the case of the history of the early Christian Church. It must be confessed we have "ifs" enough (as may be seen in the passage quoted above, on the payment of tribute), but they clear up nothing, and only serve to cast doubt in a general way upon all our information concerning Jesus. There may no doubt be "much virtue in If," and sometimes much discrimination; but these "ifs" are not discriminating.*

The constantly increasing number of rational students of the New Testament, who work upon scholarly critical lines, will feel that such a book as this never touches them or affects their conclusions. It is to be hoped that there may also be a continually increasing number among those who cannot be critics, nor even students of the original sources of information, who are yet willing to accept the results of the labours of such. They will find themselves saved from such unhappy conclusions as those of Professor Newman, and saved from them, not by ignoring facts or avoiding difficulties, but by the acceptance of the results

* Indeed, Professor Newman in one passage definitely refuses to allow of any distinction between different parts (for instance) of Matthew's Gospel as it now stands. "No Unitarian can (with the late Dr. Lant Carpenter) gain credit for the rest of the book by cutting away the two first chapters as unworthy of credit. All comes out of the same mint" (p. 38). Of course no scholar now attempts to preserve the whole of the rest of the book, as it now stands, by simply rejecting the first two chapters. But at the same time, no critic of eminence will deny that the first two chapters stand on a perfectly different footing from the rest of the Gospel, or, to adopt Professor Newman's own metaphor, that if they come out of the same mint they did not come into the mint from the same mine. Gold and silver may come from the same mint (and silver at least these early legends are), but this does not reduce the gold to the value of the silver. The case is of course the same with the first two chapters of Luke, though possibly we may here separate again the finding of Jesus in the Temple.

of honest and careful investigation and unflinching fidelity to the rules of criticism and research. Their reverence for the holiness of Jesus will be unshaken, their admiration of the grandeur and power of Paul undiminished. Only they will find that these feelings rest on a firmer basis than before, and they will no longer fear lest "criticism" should overthrow that which the most searching criticism has established.

FRANCIS H. JONES.

"TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES."

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE contributing our tentative essay (*Modern Review* July, 1884) on the place in Christian literature to be assigned to the remarkable document discovered by Bryennios, we have received three German editions of the new-found treasure. That of Wünsche* (who thinks the writer of the *Teaching* may have been in personal intercourse with some of the Twelve) is of interest as suggesting an inquiry into the dependence of the work upon Rabbinical sources; but the execution of the design is poor.

Hilgenfeld's Edition† is exceedingly handsome in its typography. It forms part of a reissue of the fourth fasciculus of his well-known collection of extra canonical writings, and the volume is dedicated to the University of Edinburgh. On looking through its pages one is struck with the richness of the many pearls of early Christian genius here collected. It is true these are the picked sentences, culled out of much inferior matter by the insight of the Fathers of the Church; yet all that is lost cannot have been rubbish. What breadth there is, for example, in the treatment by *Peter's Preaching* of the relations between Hellenism, Judaism, and Christianity. The germ of it is in St. Paul's speech at Athens, but the development is quite independent. And what a gleam of economic wisdom flashes in the sentence: "Imitate the

* *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel nach der Ausgabe des Metropoliten Ph. Bryennios*, mit Beifügung des Urtextes, nebst Einleitung und Noten, ins Deutsche übertragen von Lic. Dr. AUG. WÜNSCHE. Leipzig: Otto Schulze. 1884.

† *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum.* Edidit. . . . ADOLPHUS HILGENFELD. Editio altera. Fasciculus IV. Lipsiæ: Weigel. 1884.

evenhandedness of God, and no one will be poor." From the unlikely soil of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* blooms this pure flower of mystic speech, opening the secret of the origin and testifying the bliss of the fruition of philosophy: "He that hath wondered shall reign, and he that hath reigned shall rest." And under the head of the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* we find a saying of the Saviour which almost self-authenticates itself as genuine: "Whoso is near me is near the fire; but whoso is far from me is far from the Kingdom."

Hilgenfeld traces Montanist influence in the *Teaching*, and thinks the combination of the Agape with the Eucharist is the solution of difficulties in regard to the Eucharistic Prayers.* He would emend the difficult phrase *ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας* so as to read *μυῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικῶν ἐκκλησίας*, *i.e.*, "initiating churches of the worldly [*κοσμικοί* = *ψυχικοί*] into the mystery [of the end of the world and the coming kingdom of God]." In his *Addenda*, he makes the alternative suggestion of *πονῶν* for *ποιῶν*, and further allows that *ποιῶν* may be retained, with the sense of "working for the mystery of the church of the worldly." All this is but struggling with a difficulty, and accentuating the improbability of the proposed interpretation. Other emendations are suggested by Hilgenfeld, but do not seem necessary. For the irregular *καθῆσαι* he reads *καθίσαι* (so does Harnack), and he takes *σιτία* as equivalent to *σιτεία*. At the foot of each page of the *Teaching* he gives the passages of the *Apostolic Constitutions* derived from it, and adds concise and important notes. His reprint of the *Duae Viae* document from the Vienna MS. with the various readings of the Ottobonian and Moscow codices is of essential service.

Harnack's Edition† eclipses all others, including that

* On both these points he is followed by Bonet-Maury, in his interesting *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres. Essai de traduction, avec un commentaire critique et historique.* Paris: Fischbacher. 1884.

† *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.* Von Oscar von Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack. Band II., Hefte 1, 2. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1884.

of Bryennios himself. He presents, in parallel columns, the text (with various readings) and a German translation, subjoins copious notes, and appends a very complete dissertation on the work, which throws a flood of light upon almost every part of it. He shows, for example, that the precepts in Chap. i. of the *Teaching*, following the words: "Now of these sayings the teaching is this," and dealing with love of enemies, abstinence from personal lusts, returning good for evil, and freely giving to all, are a development not of love to the neighbour (*i.e.*, the fellow-Christian) but of love to God. Hence Chap. ii., dealing with prohibitions of vices destructive of love to the neighbour naturally opens: "Now a second commandment of the teaching [is]"; a connecting link which puzzles Hilgenfeld.

Harnack observes that the exhortation "My child" is prefixed only to those portions which touch home upon the deeper points of personal morality. The injunction: "Thou shalt not be in two minds whether it shall be or no," he refers, guided by the context, not to prayer but to judgment. This is probable, in spite of James i. 8. His punctuation: "In case ought thou hast through thy hands [*i.e.*, by thy labour]" is clearly right. He has convinced us that the rule about food does not refer to clean and unclean meats; but, considering the context, we understand it of abstinence from things strangled and from blood, rather than (with Harnack) of the ascetic refusal of flesh meat. From asceticism the *Teaching* is singularly free.

We must confess ourselves unconvinced on two points of Harnack's treatment of the third Eucharistic Prayer. "Hosanna to the God of David" can hardly, in view of the strain of the prayer, be an invocation of Christ. Nor do we think that Harnack gets rid of the anomaly of placing *after* celebration the words: "If any is holy, let him come; if any is not, let him repent," by interpreting them as an invitation to join the community who are watching for their coming Lord. For he admits that "holy" means "a Christian"; and it would be surely out of place to

say: "If any is a Christian let him join the Christians." Harnack's table of coincidences between the Eucharistic Prayers and St. John's Gospel is very striking; the question is, how to read it. The resemblances cannot be accidental; which, then, are we to reckon as source of these phrases, the Gospel or the Eucharistic Prayers? Or have we yet to seek a source in common? *

Harnack's rendering (without emendations) of the *crux maxima* of the document: "der in Hinblick auf das irdische Geheimniss der Kirche handelt," is coincident with our own; he confines, however, the higher ideal of conduct here indicated to an ascetic doctrine of sexual relations, adducing patristic evidence in the line of St. Paul's: "This mystery is great, but I speak in regard of Christ and of the Church" (Eph. v. 33). Both Harnack and Hilgenfeld understand "the ancient prophets" of a former generation of inspired Christians.

Harnack's discussion (on Hatch's lines) of the omission of the term "presbyter" from the *Teaching* is valuable, but not, we think, conclusive. He treats the "presbyters" as not originally ecclesiastical persons at all; being a mere designation of the elders as distinct from the younger members of the Christian community, the term could have no place, he thinks, in an enumeration of office-bearers. Incidentally he throws unexpected light on the famous description, by Polycrates of Smyrna, of St. John as a "priest who bore the petalon." This he takes to be a mere paraphrase for "prophet"; he shows that Polycrates invariably avoided the word "prophet" (a discredited term since the outbreak of Montanism), and employed more than one paraphrase in substitution for it.

Harnack, like Bryennios, reëdits *Apost. Const.* vii. 1—32, and the *Canons Ecclesiastical of the Holy Apostles (Duae Viae)*, giving various readings to the latter document, not only from the codices, but from the Thebaic, Ethiopic,

* A somewhat thin discussion of the bearing of the *Teaching* on the Canon, from the pen of Archdeacon Farrar, appeared in the *Expositor* for August.

Memphitic, and Syriac versions. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of his second part is the systematic proof pursued into minute detail that the interpolator of the Ignatios Epistles, and the fabricator of the Apostolic Constitutions are one and the same person, thus confirming the keen judgment of Ussher. Harnack demonstrates that this skilful manipulator of older documents must have been a Syrian or Palestinian bishop of the period 340—380 A.D., and he remarks that his methods of workmanship conclusively dispose of the assumption that no such phenomenon as an erudite and artistic forger could have been produced in the guileless age of the patristic writers. Indeed this Arianising operator, to whose reconstructions it may be remembered that Whiston fell a victim, may take rank with his later Catholic rival, pseudo-Isidorus. With regard to the date and birth-place of the *Teaching*, Harnack, after much discussion, assigns it to Egypt, between the years 120—140 A.D., with an inclination to the later date.

Harnack's dissertation is enriched by an addition by von Gebhardt, bringing to light the opening fragment of an early Latin form of the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, to which perhaps the quotation in pseudo-Cyprian may belong. Von Gebhardt treats his discovery as a translation of the *Teaching*, but though the relic consists of but sixteen lines, the first two of them contain matter belonging to a different school of thought from that of the *Teaching*. The two ways are not only ways of life and death, but also of "light and darkness" as in the Barnabas-appendix. Moreover they are presided over by their respective "angels"; whereas "angels," whether good or bad, are never alluded to in the *Teaching*. This Latin fragment is therefore something other than a piece of a translation; it betrays the existence of a distinct edition of the work.

We ought to mention Harnack's interesting excursus on the strong analogy between the early Waldensian Church order, and that described in the *Teaching*. A further modern parallel may be seen in the account of the organisation of the Strangers' Church at London by Jan Laski,

in Bonet-Maury's *Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity*.

We may be permitted here to amend in two points the positions of our previous essay.* Pages 460—3 (*Modern Review* July) require rewriting, and their argument, while modified in particulars, may be strengthened on the whole. A more careful scrutiny of the various forms of the *Duae Viae* document has led us to put decisively aside the misleading innovations of the Vienna MS., and we are satisfied (though the Germans are against us) that the Moscow MS. presents not only the shortest form, but the nearest approach to the original shape of the work. In this state it may well have been one of the sources of the *Teaching*, and we need not go beyond it to look for another document as a common source of both.

On the other hand, we must revise our estimate of the relative age of the *Shepherd* and Chap. I. of the *Teaching*. It is the *Shepherd*, not the Didachographer who is the corrector. Here again we have the authority of Hilgenfeld and Harnack as well as of Bryennios to contend with; but we think we can show reason for our recantation. Both Hilgenfeld and Harnack are struck with the apparent inconsequence of the italicised words in the saying: "In case any one take from thee thine own, ask not back; *for neither art thou able.*" Bryennios explains it of the inability of Christians to secure redress at the hands of heathen oppressors; but this would make the *Teaching* coin a shining virtue out of a leaden necessity; and, moreover, the improbability of *getting* back does not preclude a man from *asking* back. Hilgenfeld thinks it an interpolation; Harnack would so emend the phrase as to yield an opposite meaning. We think it is an emphatic way of saying that to keep this precept is beyond the powers of the ordinary Christian; and that thus it answers to the immediately preceding: "In case any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; *and thou shalt be per-*

* The following errata also require correction: p. 455, l. 12, *for* 455 *read* 471; on p. 467 l. 28, *for* nowhere *read* however.

fect." The *Teaching* elsewhere (Chap. VI.) distinguishes thus between perfection and possibility: "For if thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do."

Now the *Shepherd* (in Com. 12, which begins, like the passage in Chap. I. of the *Teaching*, with a direction to put away evil lust) has this expostulation and reply: "I say to him, 'Sir, these commandments are great and fair and glorious, and able to gladden the heart of the man who is able to keep them. But I know not if these commandments are possible to be observed by a man, for they are exceeding hard.' He answered and said to me, 'If thou layest it down as certain that they are possible to be observed, then wilt thou easily observe them, and they will not be hard. But if thou comest to imagine that they are not possible to be observed by a man, then thou wilt not observe them. Now I say to thee, if thou dost not observe them, but neglectest them, thou wilt not be saved, nor thy children nor thy house, since thou hast already determined for thyself that these commandments cannot be observed by a man.'" Surely, this has the ring of an express rejoinder to the characteristic moderation of the *Teaching*.

In the same way we shall now see that the *Shepherd's* imperative insistance upon indiscriminate almsgiving is designed to counteract the cautions of the *Teaching;* and that the *Shepherd's* refusal to allow that any one speaks in the divine spirit except the prophet who takes no hire, is directed against the more extended view, both of inspiration and of the requirements of church order, which we find in the *Teaching*. Thus, we must date the *Teaching* anterior to the *Shepherd*. From Harnack we learn that Zahn (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Canons*, pt. 3) and Funk (*Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift* 1884, pt. 3) give priority to the *Teaching* over the Barnabas-appendix, as we have done. Harnack contests this position; and until it is clearly seen that the Barnabas-appendix is no integral part of the Barnabas-epistle, it cannot well be maintained.

A. G.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Lotze's System of Philosophy.*

THESE substantial volumes present in an accurate English dress, the two parts of the projected System of Philosophy which were all that Lotze lived to finish. The third part was to have treated of the main problems of Practical Philosophy (Ethics), Aesthetic and the Philosophy of Religion. Fortunately, there have recently been published in German, in separate *brochures*, the Outlines of Lotze's College Lectures on these latter subjects as well as on Logic and Metaphysic, and these Outlines are most valuable in giving in a small compass and with remarkable perspicuity all the more salient features of this great author's thinking. To those who read German we warmly recommend the careful study of these little pamphlets as a most useful preparation for the far more elaborate and detailed expression of Lotze's views given in the two volumes now before us. It is to be hoped that those gentlemen to whose philosophical insight and energy we owe these two important translations will also take care that these admirable schemes of Lotze's academical lectures may soon be in the hands of the British public. Lotze is pre-eminently the philosopher of the nineteenth century, for in him the craving for exact science on the one hand, and for the satisfaction of the artistic, ethical and religious needs on the other, co-existed with great intensity, and found, to some extent at least, a satisfactory reconciliation. It is a subject for rejoicing, then, that we have now in English his greatest works; for closely following the works which we are now noticing has appeared an English translation of what will probably always be the most popular creation of Lotze's genius—the poetico-philosophical *Mikrokosmos*. It lends an additional interest to the present translation (which is the work of many hands) that an important part of it was executed by the late Professor Green, who had indeed intended to take upon himself the revising and editing of the whole.

* *Lotze's System of Philosophy.* Part I., *Logic*, in Three Books, of Thought, of Investigation, and of Knowledge, by Hermann Lotze. English Translation edited by Bernard Bosanquet, M.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1884.

Lotze's System of Philosophy. Part II., *Metaphysic*, in Three Books, Ontology, Cosmology, and Psychology, by Hermann Lotze. English Translation, edited by Bernard Bosanquet, M.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1884.

It is, of course, impossible for us in our narrow limits to give an adequate description of the contents of the thousand and odd closely-printed pages before us. We can only aim at giving to those of our readers who have not yet studied any of Lotze's writings some slight idea of the general character of his "System of Philosophy." It is to the *Metaphysic* that we shall naturally turn to learn the author's distinctive position among the world's great philosophers, but the earlier treatise, the *Logic*, has this strong interest for English readers that it discusses the same questions as Mr. J. S. Mill's well-known work, and a comparison of the two writers is most instructive. On the question of the possibility of deriving axiomatic truths from experience, Lotze's conclusion is the reverse of Mill's.

"It is clear, therefore" (he says) "that the attempt to derive the entire body of general knowledge from experience, that is to say, from a mere summing up of particular perceptions, breaks down. We have invariably to help ourselves out by assuming at one point or another some one of these self-evident principles, some principle to which, when once its content has been thought, we at once concede with intuitive confidence that universal validity to which it makes claim" (p. 465).

The merits of English writers on Logic and the methods of scientific discovery hardly receive due recognition from Lotze. Although in his chapter on "Universal Inductions from Perception" he goes over the same ground that Mr. Mill had traversed before, we cannot find that he ever mentions either that writer or Sir John Herschell, to whom Mill was indebted for his "Methods of Induction." There is, however, an elaborate note on Boole's Logical Calculus; and of Boole's "Investigation of the Laws of Thought" Lotze writes: "Though I freely admit that the author's ingenuity makes his able work very charming, I am unable to convince myself that this calculus will enable us to solve problems which defy the ordinary methods of logic." The quantification of the predicate is in Lotze's view a worthless refinement; and the calculus employed by the late Prof. Jevons is mentioned only to be summarily rejected:

"How often," exclaims Lotze, "have modern enterprises like these proclaimed the dawn of a wholly new epoch in logic and the fall of the contemptible system of antiquity! I am convinced that if the ancient logic were to be really forgotten for some generations and then rediscovered by some fortunate thinker, it would be welcomed as a late discovery, after long search, of the natural march of thought, in the light of which we should find intelligible both the singularities and the real though limited relevancy of the forms of logical calculus with which we have made shift so far" (p. 223).

The Darwinian theory is alluded to, but with greater cautiousness and less enthusiasm than is usually the case in either England or Germany at the present time.

"We cannot but remember," writes our author, "though happily as an error that we have outgrown, the wild caprice with which not long ago people would derive a word in one language from any casual word in another and call it an etymology; at the present day people need to be warned against proceeding in a similar way to satisfy the newly-awakened desire to conceive all the various kinds of organic beings as evolved from one another, all fixed specific differences being done away. But, whether Darwin has succeeded

or not in his attempt, we must at any rate allow that he has taken the greatest pains to point out the real processes of nature by which the transformation of one organic form into another which we can conceive in thought may have been actually brought about" (p. 186).

But we must leave the Logic, the value of which from the nature of the subject cannot be at all estimated apart from careful reading, and turn to the Metaphysic, from which we may gather and transmit some general notion of Lotze's position in respect to the ideas of God, of Nature, and of the Soul. The ruling idea which inspires all Lotze's theorisings, and to which all his teachings at last converge, is that the mechanical relations which pervade the kosmos, and which alone are apprehensible by science, are not the ultimate reality, but simply means to an end, that end being the realisation of the ideal of goodness and beauty to which ethics and religion, art and poetry are ever aspiring. Hence the universe comprehends the personal spirit of God, who pervades and directs all, and the world of personal spirits whom He has called into existence. Lotze does not, as Hegel does, pretend to deduce the actual universe of nature and humanity by necessary logical process from the Absolute. He holds all such projects as wholly futile. Science must, by observation and experiment, analyse the appearances of nature; philosophy, by reflecting on their appearances, may approximately penetrate to the realities on which they are grounded. Reflection on external and internal facts reveals to us, in Lotze's opinion, the existence of God and of an indefinite number of monads or psychical energies, the highest of which have self-consciousness and may be termed spirits. As to when and how the monads which constitute inorganic matter were produced Lotze does not speculate; he regards this as a subject which transcends our intellectual powers. There is a very tempting doctrine, which is becoming more wide-spread every year, that the psychical energies which correspond to what science calls imperishable atoms have been generated by the Eternal out of time, and therefore do not perish as the phænomenal compounds of them do, but pass through rising stages of development, having in them potentially from the beginning all the powers which are eventually awakened and exercised; that in their lower stages these monads exercise a blind volition in one particular mode, and so constitute, according to the nature of that blind volition (or, perhaps, we should rather call it "spontaneity," for "volition" implies intelligent purposive action) the various elements of the mineral world; that under certain favourable conditions these monads form an organism, a sort of democracy in the lowest organisms, and a constitutional monarchy in the higher ones, one monad in the latter case controlling the action of several and using these as its ministers in acting upon the outer world and in being acted upon thereby; that, as these organisms become more elaborate and the interactions between them and their environment more complicated, the presiding monad gradually develops its latent capacities for sentiency and consciousness, till in man it becomes self-conscious, begins to exercise

intelligent volition, thus by degrees passing into such personal relation with the Eternal Being on whom its own being depends, that the necessary conditions of ethics and religion are at length realised.

Now this speculation is by no means identical with Lotze's theory of nature and man, yet there are such close affinities between the two that we do not feel sure that we could always clearly state the points of difference. One difference, however, is quite clear. The view we have described makes the human soul a further development from an animal soul; with Lotze, on the contrary, the spirit of man is an entirely new creation by God on occasion of the appearance in the course of zoological development of a fitting organism. Lotze, indeed, appears to hold that the soul or monad of every organism is an immediate and new creation by the Absolute, for he says:—

"We do not think of the presence of the Absolute as a mere uniform breath which penetrates all places like that subtle, formless, and homogeneous ether from which many strange theories expect the vivification of matter into the most various forms; but the Absolute is *indivisibly* present with the whole inner wealth of its nature in this particular spot, and, in obedience to those laws of its action which it has itself laid down, necessarily makes additions to the simple conjunctions of those elements which are themselves only its own continuous actions; simple additions where the conjunctions are simple, additions of greater magnitude and value where they are more complicated. Everywhere it draws only the consequences, which at every point of the whole belong to the premisses it has previously realised at that point. It is thus that it gives to every organism its fitting soul; and it is, therefore, needless to devise a way or make provision for the correct choice which should ensure to every animal germ the soul which answers to its kind" (p. 434).

So far does Lotze carry the idea that in God the soul "lives and moves and has its being" that he thinks it not improbable that in times of perfect unconsciousness the soul actually ceases to exist and is *created afresh* by God at the moment when it is usually said to recover consciousness. He says that many have argued that if the soul in a perfectly dreamless sleep is utterly devoid of sensations, thoughts, and volitions, "it *would* in such a case have no being"; and his reply is:—

"Why have we not the courage to say that, *as often as* this happens, the soul *is* not? Doubtless, if the soul were alone in the world it would be impossible to understand an alternation of its existence and non-existence; but why should not its life be a melody with pauses, while the primal eternal source still acts, of which the existence and activity of the soul is a single deed, and from which that existence and activity arose? From it again the soul would once more arise, and its new existence would be the consistent continuation of the old, so soon as those pauses are gone by, during which the conditions of its re-appearance were being reproduced by other deeds of the same primal being" (p. 534).

Probably many of our readers will feel with us that this view which makes the maintenance of the body a necessary condition of the soul's existence is exposed to serious objections, and, in particular, our moral and religious consciousness, to whose deliverance it is the characteristic of Lotze's philosophy to pay reverent heed, does not seem satisfied with the idea that at the dissolution of the physical frame the spirit wholly

ceases to exist and does not come into existence again until, in the natural course of evolution, the Absolute has produced a perfectly adapted physical organism. The notion that the soul passes into and out of existence concomitantly with certain bodily changes seems to us little in keeping with Lotze's own doctrine as to the separate reality of the soul. It is true that he undervalues what we consider to be the strongest evidence of the soul's independent existence, namely, its consciousness of its own moral freedom and responsibility; but he staunchly contends that, leaving Free-will aside, there remains an unassailable basis for the doctrine of the soul's independent metaphysical reality in the fact of the *unity of consciousness*. By reasoning nearly akin to that of Professor Green he shows that

> "A comparison of two ideas, which ends by our finding their contents like or unlike, presupposes the absolute indivisible unity of that which compares them; it must be one and the same thing which first forms the idea of *a*, then that of *b*, and which at the same time is conscious of the nature and extent of the difference between them. Then, again, the various acts of comparing ideas and referring them to one another are themselves in turn reciprocally related; and this relationship brings a new activity of comparison to conscientiousness. And so our whole inner world of thought is built up; not as a mere collection of manifold ideas existing with or after one another, but as a world in which these individual members are held together and arranged by the relating activity of this single pervading principle. This, then, is what we mean by the unity of consciousness; and it is this that we regard as the sufficient ground for assuming an indivisible soul" (p. 423).

The question arises whether this indivisible soul can be correctly said to exist in Space and Time. Professor Green in his great work maintains, with Kant, that the metaphysical Ego cannot be regarded as present in space or as originated in time. Lotze's discussion of the psychological origin and metaphysical validity of the ideas of Space and Time constitutes perhaps the most valuable and original feature of the remarkable book whose contents we are examining. Particularly is this the case with Space. Here, as elsewhere, Lotze mediates between the transcendental and the experiential thinkers. In accordance with the former he contends that the psychological notion of space is a pure intuition underivable from experience, and likewise that this intuition corresponds to no real objective relation. "There is no such thing as Space," he says, "in which things are supposed to take their places. The case rather is that in spiritual beings there is formed the idea of an extension, in which they themselves seem to have their lot, and in which they spatially present to themselves their non-spatial relations to each other." While, however, Lotze holds, with Kant, that the idea of Space is an *à priori* intuition, he still thinks that it is only after a very complex course of experience that the human mind reaches its present idea of an infinite spatial environment, and refers all its optical and tactual impressions to particular points in that spatial sphere. To explain the process of experience by which our present spatial knowledge is gained, Lotze expounds his now famous doctrine of "Local-Signs," which is fully presented in the present work. This doctrine has met with wide acceptance, and many experientialists carry it further

than the author himself carried it, for they regard it as a view which dispenses with the intuitional hypothesis, and by itself adequately explains the empirical origin of the spatial notion. But while Lotze sides in the main with Kant and Green as to the simply subjective character of the idea of Space, he takes a different stand from theirs in regard to Time. After a most thorough examination of Kant's position on this matter, he arrives at the conclusion that with our present mental constitution our idea of successive changes in time must be regarded as objectively valid, that is, as applicable to ultimate realities; and he concludes the profoundly interesting chapter on "Time" with the words:—

> Though we are obliged to give up the hopeless attempt to regard the course of events in Time merely as an appearance, which forms itself within a system of timeless reality, we yet understand the motives of the efforts which are ever being renewed to include the real process of becoming within the compass of an abiding reality. They will not, however, attain their object, unless the reality which is greater than our thought vouchsafes us a Perception, which, by showing us the mode of solution at the same time persuades us of the solubility of this riddle. I abstain at present from saying more on the subject. The ground afforded by the philosophy of religion, on which efforts of this kind have commonly begun, is also that on which alone it is possible for them to be continued (p. 269).

This brief sketch of Lotze's general philosophical position will probably have suggested to some of our readers its close affinity with that of Leibnitz, and indeed Lotze may with some reason be called the Leibnitz of recent thought. Not only is his general theory of the constitution of the kosmos related not very distantly to that of the author of the Monadalogy, but also the constant aspiration to do full justice at once to science and to philosophy forms a common feature of the two systems of thought. In one respect, however, the modern monadologist has no sympathy at all with his predecessor. Leibnitz's monads had no power of interaction, and as a substitute for this we are presented with the suspiciously artificial theory of Pre-established Harmony. As Leibnitz himself says, his monads "are without windows," and he starts from the supposition of a relation of complete mutual exclusion between the simple essences on which he builds his universe. Lotze, on the other hand, while admitting that we shall probably never be able to completely explain how monads act on each other, declares that there is no doubt that they do so act; that the human will, for instance, acts as an efficient cause upon the monads which constitute the nervous system, and that, on the other hand, a physical change in the condition of the nervous monads produces a corresponding psychical change in the spiritual monad or soul. We hope we have said enough about this "System of Philosophy" to give some idea of its great importance; it seems to us that future students of psychology and metaphysics will more and more discover that in Lotze's writings there is a mine of philosophical ideas which will most richly repay diligent working.

C. B. U.

Hartmann's 'Philosophy of the Unconscious.' *

THE rapid sale of ten or eleven German editions of this work is so exceptional a fortune in the case of a philosophical treatise that our English newspaper critics commonly describe the success of the book as quite "phænomenal," by which slang use of this adjective they simply mean to say that it is striking and unprecedented; but the question suggests itself whether the success may not be phænomenal in a more legitimate sense of the word, namely, as being transient and seeming merely, with no abiding ground in the intrinsic and permanent worth of the contents. When we compare the works of Hartmann with those of some of his contemporaries, such as Lotze, we cannot suppose for a moment that the relative immediate demand for the writings of these thinkers bears a direct proportion to their ultimate rank in the history of philosophy. Probably Hartmann's reputation as a thinker has already been greater than it will ever be again. Still, the public mind is not so devoid of judgment in matters philosophical as to persist for more than a decade of years in placing a worthless book on the highest pinnacle of fame; and we may feel sure that Hartmann's treatise is not only very fascinating, but that it contains some important truth which the present age recognises and welcomes. It was very desirable, therefore, that this book, which has enjoyed such popularity in its native land, should be made accessible to English readers also, and fortunately the work of translation has fallen into the hands of a gentleman eminently qualified for the task. The version is at once accurate and graceful, and the translator is evidently as familiar with philosophical thought as he is with the German language.

When we compare the work of Hartmann with that of his great predecessor, Schopenhauer, the chief thing that strikes us is that though Schopenhauer is by far the more earnest writer and the greater literary genius, he is nevertheless devoid of the historical sense, of that perception of the grand solidarity of all present and past events in the evolution of the kosmos, which is evidently the dominating idea in Hartmann's thought. This is one cause of the latter's brilliant success. Schopenhauer hit upon the true idea that the essence of all reality is Will, and Hegel showed that the universe is the manifestation in time and space of an eternal Idea. In Hartmann's book these two characteristics are amalgamated, and hence we get a theory of the whole system of things which, to say the least of it, has one marked superiority over Mr. Herbert Spencer's. In Hartmann's book the ontology and the cosmology stand in constant and living relation to one another; the "Unconscious" is not only declared to be the ultimate reality, but its activity is constantly being exhibited in, and forms the indispensable explanation of, the various

* *Philosophy of the Unconscious.* By Eduard Von Hartmann. Speculative Results according to the Inductive Method of Physical Science. Authorised Translation by William Chatterton Coupland, M.A., B.Sc. In Three Volumes. London: Trübner and Co. 1884.

details which make up the grand process of evolution; whereas, in Mr. Spencer's system, the "Unknowable," when once proved to exist, occupies for all philosophical and scientific purposes as dull and uninteresting a sinecure as do the Gods of Epicurus and Lucretius. But after all that Kant and Darwin and Spencer have said, the old argument from Design, though it was for a season apparently upset by its metaphysical and scientific assailants, is rapidly recovering itself, and finds that it can easily take up a higher position which is quite invulnerable to all such assaults as these. Assuredly Mr. Spencer will find in the long run, even if he has not already found, that his sesquipedalian words do not really succeed in solving the riddle of the universe, and that the Unknowable must be recognised as Eternal Thought and Will ere the procession of cosmical facts can be adequately explained. It is not without good reason that throughout the ages the wonderful adaptations in the world around us have been referred to Divine Wisdom, and Hartmann's theory fully recognises and satisfies this inevitable and instinctive judgment of the human mind.

A very large part, indeed, of this present book may be justly described as only Paley and the Bridgewater Treatises brought up to the most recent date in scientific knowledge. It is true that the all-wise Cause of the order and beauty in the universe is represented by Hartmann as unconscious; but if the Theist is convinced, as Theists naturally are, that where there is Will and an Intelligent Choice of the best means to compass an end, there must be something which, however it may transcend what we call consciousness, is certainly not *less* than conscious, then he may find in Hartmann's book the most conclusive evidence that in nature, in the human mind, and in the course of history, this all-pervading, all-directing, all-inspiring Intelligence and Love is ever manifesting its presence and activity. As this short notice is not intended to supersede the use of Mr. Coupland's admirable translation, but rather to tempt our readers to make acquaintance with it, we will not quote passages in justification of the above statement, but will refer to the very interesting chapters on "The Manifestation of the Unconscious in Bodily Life," on "The Unconscious in the Human Mind," on "The Unconscious in History," which form the first division of the treatise. In these chapters, which abound in original suggestions, Hartmann endeavours to show that the hypothesis of the Unconscious is most fruitful in contributing to the solution of the chief problems which we encounter in the fields of physiology, animal psychology, human psychology, æsthetics, and religious mysticism.

He then proceeds to what he calls "the Metaphysics of the Unconscious," and contends, in the first place, that consciousness makes its first appearance on the scene when the all-wise Unconscious has produced an animal organism; hence he would agree with the late Professor Clifford that if God were conscious we should expect to find His brain. The fundamental idea of Hartmann's metaphysics appears to be that the primal Will, which is in its essential nature non-rational (alogical), experi-

ences a spontaneous impulse to put forth action, and accordingly begins to create, *i.e.*, to express itself in innumerable atomic points of force, and, from a timeless and spaceless condition, time and space and the phænomenal world are now manifested. But latently present with the Will is the Idea *(Vorstellung)*, and when the alogical Will begins to create, the all-wise Idea determines its actions into the best possible direction, and hence is evolved the best of all possible created worlds. The Idea being all-wise, though unconscious, aims at the very best end, and that end is to finally get rid of the creation which the non-rational Will has unwisely started, for in the omniscience of the Idea is involved the truth that this best of worlds is nevertheless a world that had better never have been, seeing that the pains in it preponderate over the pleasures. But there is only one way in which this undesirable creation can be brought to a close, and that is by the Will, which unconsciously and unwisely started it, consciously negating its own action, and so willing not to will. It is necessary, then, for this end, that those phases of the primal Will which through the formation of human organisms become conscious persons, should be developed by culture to such a degree that they obtain a thoroughly clear insight into the wholly unsatisfactory nature of this life, so that the minds of all men may be penetrated by the folly of volition and the misery of all existence, and wish individually and collectively to have done with life. In some way which is not clear to us, Hartmann reaches the conclusion that in process of time the personal or conscious element of volition in the universe will greatly preponderate in power over those unconscious phases of the Will which blindly seek to preserve themselves in existence, and so at length, by a grand collective vote of the enlightened conscious wills who have obtained predominance, the universe will cease to exist, and the primal Will return to its original condition of quiescence.

There are serious difficulties in the way of clearly understanding Hartmann's meaning in regard to some portions of the above philosophical scheme. It seems that the Will, after it has irrationally initiated creation, experiences, notwithstanding its *unconsciousness*, a sort of *discomfort* during the process, for Hartmann says "The all-wise Unconscious, which thinks both end and means as one, has formed consciousness merely in order to release the will from the unblessedness of its willing from which it cannot release itself—the final end of the world-process, for which consciousness serves as the last means, is to realise the greatest possible attainable condition of happiness, namely, that of painlessness." Hartmann, again, can give no security that the Will, after having been at length reduced to quiescence by the above conscious process of negating itself, may not again start this evolutionary cycle of creation. Of course, if it has a memory of the unblessedness of the former experience, this may very well serve to keep it quiet in future; but in this case, what becomes of the fundamental doctrine of its unconsciousness? for of course after having willed all organisms out of existence, the Will must necessarily return to its wholly unconscious condition.

In Hartmann's general metaphysical theory of the Kosmos, it is evident that his account both of the beginning of the process and of its predicted end is purely speculative, if not wholly fanciful. The really substantial parts of his work—those parts, that is, in which the promise on the title-page of "results according to the inductive method of physical science" is partly fulfilled—are to be found *first* in the early part of the book already described, in which he brings forward many facts in favour of the working around us and within us of an intelligent impelling and guiding principle quite distinct from our own intelligence and will, and *secondly* in that attempted demonstration of the predominant painfulness of life, which characterises both Hartmann's philosophy and that of Schopenhauer, and makes them the two prominent examples of modern Pessimism. In Hartmann's system it will be noticed that Pessimism and Optimism go hand in hand, for this world which the Will and the Idea have produced, bad as it is, is yet the very best that even Omniscient Wisdom could create. The main purpose, then, of Hartmann's book is attained or missed according as we see reason to accept or reject his thesis regarding the worthlessness of life. This thesis he endeavours to establish by several ingenious considerations which are urged and illustrated in a most interesting style. He first approaches the subject metaphysically by contending that it is in the very nature of the alogical will to be eternally restless and eternally dissatisfied. He then appeals to psychology, and although he disputes Schopenhauer's position that all pleasure is merely negative, being no more than relief from pain, he practically agrees with this philosopher that we are so constituted physically and mentally that all the satisfactions of will are of necessity transient, while its dissatisfactions are indefinitely prolonged. The proof, however, on which he most relies is the empirical one, namely, that from an actual survey of the real conditions and activities of human life it is seen that even in the most favourably circumstanced existence there is a preponderance of pain over pleasure.

If, however, men in general perceived that life is so unsatisfactory, they would gravitate downwards towards a low animal existence, and in that case the high culture and insight, which is the indispensable condition of the grand act of determining to will no longer, in which the redemption of the world consists, would never be attained. The all-wise Idea by its clairvoyant omniscience unconsciously foresees this, and so by a series of illusions it succeeds in blinding mankind to the real fact of its own essential misery. In the early stage both of the individual life and of the historical life of the race, the vigour of the spontaneous impulses to action and the marvellous fascinations of hope conceal from the unreflecting the disappointing character of life's experiences. In a very attractive chapter Hartmann attempts to show how this holds good in the case of love and other emotions. But as the individual and the race grow older and become reflective, this first stage of illusion passes away, and it is seen that in life as it is there is nothing to render it on the whole desirable. A second stage of illusion accordingly supervenes, and imagination, prompted

by the Unconscious, fondly depicts a transcendent life after death as the sequel and reward of high moral achievements here. By degrees, however, with the progress of science, man becomes disillusionised here also, for the belief in immortality is seen to be an unsubstantial dream. Still, the resources of the all-wise Unconscious are not yet exhausted, and a third web of illusion is woven, that, namely, in which Mr. Spencer and his followers are at present entangled; for the idea takes possession of the cultivated classes that although the world in its present condition is not to be desired, yet for the future of the race on this earth there is a glorious destiny, and the thought that we are contributing to this future Millennium of universal happiness is a powerful stimulus to press on to a higher civilisation in spite of all present discomfort and discouragement. Those, however, who have attained to that height of intelligence which Hartmann and his admirers represent, see through this illusion likewise, for they discern that life becomes more rather than less intolerable as culture advances. One wonders, then, how the clever Unconscious manages in the case of these advanced thinkers to keep them up to the mark in the noble endeavour after a higher and less selfish civilisation. At this point it seems to us that Hartmann's system attains to a certain dignity at the expense of self-consistency. When a man has passed beyond all illusions and clearly sees that no real satisfaction is to be got out of life, why should he not do as the Buddhists and Schopenhauer recommend, viz., seek to destroy in himself all those desires and aspirations which lead us to take an interest in life and prompt the will to live? In order to justify his contention that man ought not so to do, Hartmann appeals to our ethical consciousness. In his view Ethics naturally passes through three stages; the *egoistic* stage, in which people seek only their own pleasure; the *heteronomous* stage, in which conduct is governed by the recognition of an external authority, such as the code of the society in which we live; and finally the *autonomous* stage, in which man becomes a law unto himself, and in this highest ethical condition the sympathetic sense of corporate union with all other wills attains such strength that man feels himself morally bound to work in the interests of that universal Will of which he is only a particular phase. Hence it is seen to be immoral to seek only the extinction of one's own will to live, and to neglect to do our part towards that grand world-redemption which can only be realised when all mankind have by culture fully learned the worthlessness of existence. Accordingly Hartmann lays it down as the fundamental ethical principle, *To make the ends of the Unconscious ends of our own consciousness.* This is no doubt excellent morality; but is it not most probable on Hartmann's own principles that this lofty ethical ideal is itself only the highest stage in that process of illusion by which the ingenious Unconscious manages to throw dust in the eyes of us poor human innocents so as to induce us to sacrifice ourselves for the common good? Schopenhauer's egoistic principle is ethically far lower than Hartmann's lofty altruism, but we are inclined to think that the former philosopher was a more consistent Pessimist when he declared that the

wisest course for each individual is to strive to eradicate in himself all those appetites and desires which impel us to cleave to existence.

It would lead us too far were we to enter upon a criticism of the system of philosophy which we have here sketched. We will only say that if, as Hartmann maintains, each man is merely a transient phase of the Universal Will and therefore intrinsically incapable of moral freedom and true responsibility; if immortality be a dream; if the consciousness of sympathy and spiritual communion with the Eternal be an illusion; then we are inclined to think that Schopenhauer and Hartmann are not wrong in declaring that the necessary goal of all this faithless culture is pessimism and despair. In that case, however, we feel sure that Hartmann's notion of humanity's progressive advance in all the higher elements of civilisation is a Utopian fiction, for did this pessimistic mode of thought become universally prevalent, no moral or spiritual power would remain adequate to urge mankind forward to that conquest of unselfishness over selfishness which is Hartmann's ethical ideal and the prior condition of the world's release from its misery. To those who hold the Theistic position and find in the felt approval and sympathy of the Father within them a sufficient stimulus to noble endeavour as well as a constant source of strength and a well-grounded foundation for eternal hope, we feel assured that the perusal of this excellent translation of a very interesting book will lead to no conviction of the truth of Pessimism, but rather to an increased faith in that all-wise Reason whose eternal consciousness transcends all the limitations of time and space, and therefore is but imperfectly symbolised by such consciousness as ours.

C. B. U.

New and Old Metaphysics.*

THIS is the work of a powerful and original thinker. It differs mainly from the earlier Scotch Metaphysics in that it embraces the psychology of animals as well as of man, and, therefore, supplies some answer to the questions which Evolutionists are now asking as to the true relation of the human to the lower animal consciousness. Our author's answer, however, draws far too sharp a distinction between the animal and the man to satisfy the school of thinkers to which Dr. Romanes belongs. We are inclined, however, to think that "Scotus Novanticus" is in the main correct. He finds some psychical states in the very lowest animals, and traces these states upward through the stages of Reflex Action, Feeling, Sensibility, Sensation, Consciousness. Very low down in the animal scale he discovers some vague feeling of *extension*, and as soon as the stage called "Sensation" is reached there is a feeling of the *outness* of confused and as yet undistinguished forms. That kind of

* *Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta.* A return to Dualism. By Scotus Novanticus. London: Williams and Norgate. 1881.

quasi-knowledge which the higher animals possess and which is generally ascribed to instinct and association this writer terms "Attuition."

In this stage "not only has Consciousness of the objective as a whole emerged from the condition of confusion in which mere sensation leaves it, so that total objects, *e.g.*, tree, stone, &c., are received as separate from one another; but in its most advanced development other characteristics are sufficiently visible."

Judging from this language one would think that the writer means the animals have proper knowledge of these objects, but later on in the book we learn that for real knowledge we must pass from "Attuition" to "Percipience," and percipience is peculiar to man.

When we next (he says) in our survey of animal life encounter Consciousness in its onward and upward progress, we find that a fresh momentum has carried it into the midst of an entirely new and, indeed, startling series of phænomena. The subject-individual has passed out of and beyond itself; it has passed beyond the mere reflex co-ordination of *data*; it has overleapt the stage of passivo-active Receptivity; it has disencumbered itself of the load of that which is not itself; it has become freely active. . . . The phænomena which characterise the outward are not now mere attuitionally received and reflexly co-ordinated, but by a spontaneous inner movement they are arrested in their irregular and devious courses, arranged and *actively* distinguished and co-ordinated. A Force advances out of what has hitherto been mere receptive attuitional individuality, and prehends or seizes the presentation, holding it close to itself and contemplating it. This Force is Will (p. 12).

We are not to suppose, however, that when Will thus shows itself any new being or individuality has been created. The subject-individuality exists in the dog as in the man; but in the latter the attuent subject has become endowed with the spontaneity called Will, and is thereby transformed into an Ego. The writer properly emphasizes the truth, which the followers of Mr. Mill and Dr. Bain are always forgetting, that this Will or Ego, which is active in all knowledge, though immediately known, is not given as a phænomenon of sense, and that therefore a system of pure Sensationalism is impossible. With much force and freshness he describes the process by which the Ego attains a knowledge of Percepts, and then proceeds to the formation of Concepts or general notions. The most able portion of the book seems to us to be the discussion of the question of *à priori* truth, that is whether the Reason (which is defined as the Will and the forms under which the Will works) imports into our knowledge truths which are not derived through the senses. He finds that the ideas of Substance, Cause, the Absoluto-Infinite, Law, and Duty have this noümenal origin, and he establishes conclusively, we think, against Kant, that these pronouncements of the Will or Reason are not merely subjective forms of our thinking, but have objective validity. He argues for Dualism, that is for the real existence of a Force external to our consciousness and which is the Cause of our sentient states. Animals, he appears to think, have an idea of Space, but not of the infinitude of Space; they have an expectation of coming phænomena, but not the proper idea of Cause. Man rises necessarily to the notion of an Absolute-Causal-Being, which, by the insight of the reason, is seen and affirmed in

and through the natural phænomena of which it is the spiritual verity. Our author's view of what can be known by philosophy of the nature of God is thus summed up: "If we endeavour to know more of the spiritual verity than that it is the ground and form of the universe, we shall fail. It is expressed or externalised for us, and it is only as so externalised that we can predicate anything further about it. It is the whole substance of the notion God, in so far as that notion is purely rational. It is illegitimate to say that it *has* Reason, for it *is* Reason; it *has* not Thought it *is* Thought. All that is left to us is to bow before the awe-inspiring mystery. God is in and through His own Creation, and it is only as so manifested that He is an object of further predications to human reason. Of Him as an extra-mundane entity we are not entitled to speak; and, yet, Him as *Ens realissimum* we do, Kant notwithstanding, truly *know*" (p. 129).

C. B. U.

Professor Flint's 'Vico.'*

THE name of Giovanni Battista Vico has not hitherto in this country been much associated with philosophical thought. His reputation with us rests mainly on the fact that in his novel theory respecting the origin of the Homeric poems he anticipated the views which created so much sensation when they were enunciated nearly a century later in Wolf's famous *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, and that his ideas respecting the non-historical character of much of the early Roman history not only heralded many of the conclusions of Niebuhr, but in some important points where they were at variance with Niebuhr's views have since been confirmed by the later researches of Mommsen. Vico has, however, much stronger claims on our attention than these remarkable anticipations afford. As a writer on metaphysics he is the author of original and profound views which have not yet been fully absorbed into the current of general philosophical thought; but not even here lies the chief interest of his writings for modern readers. It is because he was founder of the philosophy of history, and of what Ueberweg calls the psychology of nations, that he deserves to be read in an age when sociological evolution is engaging so much attention. Professor Flint has then, we think, done a useful work in giving to English readers an interesting sketch of the life and doctrines of this remarkable Italian, who, in the opinion of some of the greatest of his countrymen, stands foremost among the philosophers of modern times.

The volume opens with a very vivid sketch of the social and literary condition of Italy, and especially of Naples (Vico's birthplace and usual abode) at the time, the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when Vico began to write. The biography is that of a self-taught and needy literary man, who has often, in order to obtain a living for himself and his

* *Vico.* By Robert Flint, Professor in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1884. Philosophical Classics for English Readers.

family, to turn aside from his favourite studies in law, history, and philosophy, that he may flatter in elegant Latinity his living patrons, or after their death celebrate their virtues in suitable orations, epitaphs and biographies. After a while, however, his worldly circumstances were made easier by an appointment to a professorship of rhetoric in his native city; and then he began to put forth his philosophical views not only in introductory lectures at the commencement of the annual sessions of the University, but also in separate treatises. His two chief works, both of which are ably analysed and commented on by Professor Flint, are, an early treatise in Latin *De antiquissimâ Italorum sapientiâ*, in which "he endeavours to evolve a metaphysical theory from the analysis of the roots of the Latin language and from the general study of philology, which, according to him, embraces all the facts of historical experience"; and a later work in Italian *Principii di Scienza Nuova*, which really gathers up all that he thought most worth preserving of the results of his life's thinking, and is in the main a theory of the history of civilisation.

In the earlier work there is much fanciful etymologising which could well have been omitted, and the metaphysical ideas supposed to be evolved thereby are really the product (often very valuable) of the writer's own genius. In this treatise he attempts, what has often been attempted before and since, to lay down a Criterion of Truth, and his principle is that the mind can only know that which it can create through its own activity. Professor Flint shows that this principle when fully understood is original and important, and he thus applies it to theological science:—

> Verifying spiritual truth is, according to Vico's view, only possible through producing or making it within our own experience. And certainly the importance of such verification can hardly be exaggerated. The chief reason why ethics and theology are in so backward a state is, that spiritual experience and experimental evidence have not been rigidly enough demanded for their doctrines. The measure of their success or failure in the future must mainly depend on the degree in which those who cultivate them feel or forget that no spiritual truth can be certainly known which has not been experimentally realised (p. 111).

The most important speculation in this philosophical treatise is the theory of "Metaphysical Points," which "points," or centres of energy, he conceives to be the first outcome of God's creative energy and to lie midway between the Creator and the visible creation. It is not probable that this theory was suggested by the monadology of his older contemporary Leibnitz, for Vico's points are not psychical principles like the monads of Leibnitz, but are simply forces, such as Boscovich and Faraday imagined. This theory as described by Professor Flint deserves consideration. We should like to give some account of Vico's great work, "The New Science," but Professor Flint's description of its contents is already so compressed that it seems undesirable to abridge it, and we heartily recommend it to our readers, feeling sure they will enjoy it, and will see that Vico is in some important respects a sociologist quite

abreast of present thought, if indeed he is not in advance of it. Nations, in Vico's view, pass through three great stages: (1) The age of the Gods: (2) The age of the Heroes: (3) The age of Men or the historical age; and then by a process of decay recur to a state not far removed from their primitive condition. He takes the history of the Roman people as the type of a process which he regards to be common to all nations. The period of decay, however, is followed by a period of new life, and another cycle of change is entered upon which in its main features resembles the former. It is to be noticed, however, that he exempts Christianity from the law of cyclical change which involves the decay of all other human institutions. It is no detraction, we think, from the merit of Vico's *rationale* of history that he considers the facts inexplicable apart from the assumption of an overruling Providence. Professor Flint's account of Vico's attitude in regard to theology, on the one hand, and social science, on the other, is well worth quoting:—

> As in contemplating history he perceives clear traces of the action both of God and man, his New Science is conceived of as both a theology and a sociology, but he does not confound these two. He recognises that they are distinct, and takes on the whole a correct view of their relationship. He neither makes sociology dependent on theology, nor does he allow it to displace it. He was fully aware that historical events ought not to be explained theologically; that merely to assert that God caused these events for such and such a purpose was futile; that there was no science in that, and if any theology, only theology of a bad kind, always arbitrary and arrogant in relation to God, and generally unjust in relation to men. On the other hand, he was not one of those who suppose that when the world of nations has been shown to be a product of the ideas, feelings, and volitions of men, it has been fully explained; on the contrary, he thought that the explanation itself as much needed explanation as what it had explained. He saw, or thought he saw, that what was realised in the course of the ages by the millions of individuals which compose humanity was a system of order so vast, comprehensive and excellent, as to imply a Supreme Will pervading, controlling, and using human wills,—
>
> 'A divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will' (p. 196).

C. B. U.

Sources of English Unitarian Christianity.*

A WORK which bears on its title-page the name of James Martineau, if only as the author of its preface, stands in little need of any other recommendation; and Professor Bonet-Maury is not likely to meet with any criticism of his "Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity," at once more appreciative and more just, than that which Dr. Martineau supplies in the preface which he has written for the English translation. That preface expresses so exactly, in a small compass, what

* *Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity*, by Gaston Bonet-Maury, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Faculty of Protestant Theology in the University of France. Revised by the Author and translated by Edward Potter Hall. With a Preface by James Martineau, LL.D., D.D. London: British and Foreign Unitarian Association. 1884.

one feels, after reading the book, requires to be said, both in the way of praise and of warning against too ready and complete an acceptance of the author's conclusions, that the temptation is necessarily strong simply to transfer it to our pages. As, however, it cannot be expected to do a double duty, both as introduction where it stands, and as a critical notice here, a few words must be accepted from a much less competent judge. That Unitarian Christianity is a phenomenon of no small importance in the history of religion in England, is not likely to be any longer seriously denied, however strong may have been the disposition in past times to pass it by as a thing of no account; as such, it must, of course, have come to be what it is through a certain process of growth and development; its sources must lie somewhere, and to discover these sources—whether they are to be looked for at home or abroad, in a remote and uncertain past or near at hand—must be a task of very great interest. That such a task has been undertaken by a foreign scholar, who evidently looks at the Unitarian movement with a most friendly eye, is itself a fact of no small significance; and there is no one connected with that movement who will not be grateful to Professor Bonet-Maury for a work in which he has so ably laid bare the first beginnings, and sketched the early pioneers, of a rational Christian faith. The writer begins his work with an attack on the received view that Protestantism is uncongenial to the populations of southern Europe who are supposed to demand a religion that appeals to the eye and the imagination, while they leave reason and conscience to their more serious Teutonic neighbours—a view to which, it may be admitted, he opposes some rather strong facts—and all through he seems to take something of a racial pride in showing that for our English Unitarianism we are indebted to men of Latin origin. Yet if this book proves anything it is that Unitarianism was one of the inevitable results of the Reformation, and of the free use of reason in relation to the dogmas which Protestantism ultimately found itself compelled to accept as an inheritance from the Roman Church. Erasmus, who threw out so many doubts and hesitancies, declaring that in the Bible "the Father is very frequently called God, the Son sometimes, and the Holy Spirit never;" Luther, who objected to the use of the word Trinity on the ground that it does not occur in the Bible, and deliberately omitted the invocation to the Trinity from the Kyrie Eleison; Melanchthon, who evidently had his doubts on the subject, and foresaw what troubles its discussion would some day excite, were all, though not Unitarians, at least causes of Unitarianism. That Unitarianism, in fact, is simply the "natural residue of faith," which is left over after the Trinity has been discarded, is well pointed out by Dr. Martineau, and must be clear to every one; and from this point of view to look for any other source may seem almost a superfluous labour. It is not, however, of course, denied that English thought was, at the time of the Reformation, variously influenced from abroad, and it is therefore with no little interest that we follow our present guide to the Strangers' Church in London, which he desires us to regard as the

seed-bed out of which the Unitarian idea grew. This church—founded by the Polish baron John à Lasco, patronised by Cranmer, in spite of the jealousy of some of the clergy, under Edward VI., broken up in the Catholic reaction under Mary, but restored to all its rights by Queen Elizabeth—was the centre to which there came refugees from all parts of Europe, but especially from Flanders, Spain, and Italy, carrying with them the freer speculations of Continental Protestantism, and something, it may be, of the rationalising spirit of the scholar of Rotterdam, whose countrymen, in fact, formed a considerable proportion of the exiles. Erasmus, it is here shown, exercised, in this way, an important influence in England. It is not, however, on the Dutch Erasmus, it is on the Italian Bernardino Ochino, that Professor Bonet-Maury fixes as, apparently, the true founder of English Unitarianism; as having been, in his own words, "to England, what Servetus, the Spaniard, had been to Italy: the initiator of the Unitarian movement." Of the eloquent Franciscan, our author draws a most graphic picture, which we will give ourselves the pleasure of inserting here, but with this thesis regarding him, it must be said, his dates hardly agree.

"Born at Siena, the home of St. Catherine, in 1487, four years after Luther and twenty-two before Calvin, Bernardino, son of Dominico Tommasini, a resident in the *contrada dell'oca*, received the surname of Ochino (gosling), which in Italian has the same meaning as Hus (goose), in Czech. . . . The general tendency of the Franciscans, whether Cordeliers or Capuchins, was in Ochino's time singularly evangelical. . . . This tendency was unquestionably due to the blessed task, imposed on them by their founder, of preaching repentance and the gospel of forgiveness to the people. Our author by no means escaped this influence; in his mission preachings he speedily developed a talent for oratory, all the more efficacious with his teachers, as his life accorded with his word, and his outward man was but the genuine expression of the attitude of his soul. He was never seen to go otherwise than on foot, staff in hand, clothed in a woollen frock; he slept on a plank bed, and eat only bread and vegetables. His visage pale and wasted, his whitening hair, his snowy beard, which descended to his breast, all proclaimed him an ascetic, a worthy emulator of St. Benedict; while his gleaming eyes, upturned to heaven, revealed the sacred fire which burned in his heart. He was at that time the most docile, the most humble servant of the Roman Church, which he believed infallible, nay, historians have made him, in error, the confessor of Pope Paolo III." (pp. 138—141).

It was in December, 1547, that Ochino arrived in London, and there he remained till August, 1553. This long residence, we are told, "does not seem to have produced any appreciable development of his thought." The question then arises, what exactly was his position with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity previous to his visit to England? It is thus summed up by our author:—

"The fruitful idea which dominates his whole theology is, that God is Love; it is through love that He created us in His own image, and it is also through love that He resolved to save us, at the price of His unique and well-beloved Son. This God is unique, eternal, necessary, infinite and immutable. As Father He is uncreate, but He has procreated the Son, and has endowed him with all perfections. The Father and the Son, by the exertion of their wills, have in their turn produced the Holy Spirit,

and have endowed him also with every perfection. Thus the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, are one in substance, in person several" (p. 144).

This statement, if it may be verbally pressed, might be described as Arian, so far as it affirms, as it seems to do, the priority in time of the Father to the Son; but, as affirming a Trinity of persons in unity of substance, it is Athanasian. It is true it was before his English residence, and after he had received from Calvin a certificate of orthodoxy, that Ochino became acquainted at Basel with the free-thinking Castellio. There is also the statement of Père Guichard that Ochino "began in England to 'preach a refined Arianism, which awakened the curiosity of lovers of novelty,' and that several of his followers were prosecuted"; but it is freely admitted that the ultimate developments of Ochino's thought did not take place till a subsequent period, his *De Purgatorio Dialogus* not having been published till 1556, and his Dialogi XXX. on the Messiah and the Trinity, not till 1563. While, therefore, it cannot be doubted that Ochino gave an impulse to English thought in the direction of Antitrinitarianism, even after we have taken into account his indirect influence through his disciples Acontius and Corranus, his claim to be regarded as the *fons et origo* of English Unitarianism seems a little precarious.

Professor Bonet-Maury does not, of course, overlook the somewhat later influence of the Sozzini, and of the Socinian literature, with which, he says, perhaps with some exaggeration, Great Britain was inundated, in the earlier half of the seventeenth century; but we cannot follow him farther in his historical survey. We shall only quote his own testimony that John Bidle, sometimes regarded as the father of English Unitarianism, "experienced his first doubts concerning the Trinity, while reading the Bible, without having, as yet, opened any Socinian book."

It is, if we mistake not, the decided impression of the Unitarians of England that the faith they hold to-day is the natural fruit of the emancipation from dogmatic bondage which was accomplished at the ejection of the two thousand in 1662, and of the free use of the Bible which was then secured, with only a slight influence from any foreign source. The English Unitarians have always been peculiarly jealous of the name Socinian, which they have been careful to repudiate on the two-fold ground that there is no clear historical tie connecting them with the Socinian school, and that they were never pledged in any way to the theology of Cracow. From this position they are not likely to be dislodged, nor is it probable that the name Ochinian will be looked on with more favour than that of Socinian. The sources, then, of English Unitarianism—are they not simply the Bible and Reason? Such seems to be the view of Dr. Martineau, and it is one in which we think most thoughtful people will agree with him. At the same time, we heartily join with him in recognising the conspicuous merits and great interest of this little volume which we trust will obtain the large circulation it so eminently deserves. The work is issued by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and has had the advantage of being annotated by the Rev. Alexander

Gordon, whose minute knowledge of the history of Unitarianism in all its phases has enabled him occasionally to supplement or correct the statements of the author. Mr. Gordon has also contributed a remarkably full and accurate index. Indeed, the whole work is such a model of typographical accuracy—no small praise where there is such a profusion of names staggering to orthography—that it seems almost worth while to point out, as perhaps the only speck that can be detected by the most microscopic eye, that the Agathias Guidaccerio of the text (p. 80), appears in the index as Guidaccerio, Agattia. The index, of course, gives the most correct (Italian) form.

R. B. D.

Dr. Weiss's Life of Christ.*

In the second part of his Life of Christ, which extends from about the middle of the first volume to the end of the third volume, which completes the work, Prof. Weiss treats of the actual history of Jesus. Those of our readers who remember the account we have already given of our author's view of the origin of the gospel narratives, his willingness to acknowledge that the first and third are compilations, that the writer of the fourth does not claim literal accuracy for his reports of the speeches of Christ, and that the memories of the eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus were not free from the conditions of forgetfulness and exaggeration common to men, will be surprised to find that the "history" begins with the narrative of the annunciation; and that it embraces the miraculous conception, the genealogies of Matthew and Luke, the birth at Bethlehem, the Magi, the flight into Egypt, &c.

It is, indeed, difficult to find any event of importance in the gospels, or even any saying attributed to Jesus, which Professor Weiss does not regard as historical, and we are somewhat puzzled to understand how it is that this being the case he declares so emphatically that the days of "Gospel Harmonies" are past. Certainly, the refusal to attempt to "harmonise" the gospels, facilitates the retention of the individual acts and sayings recorded, especially in the narratives of the infancy of Jesus. No doubt the temptation to accept some statements and reject others on arbitrary grounds, to draw from the gospels, by a process of alternate acceptance and exclusion, an ideal Jesus, is one that critics do well to be on their guard against. Yet it is impossible to avoid the feeling that our author is unconsciously dealing with primitive Christianity, and not with Jesus alone, when he retains essentially the whole of the four gospels. Notwithstanding this, however, the value of this portion of the work exceeds that of the purely literary introduction which deals with the sources. After all, even the things that Jesus did not say and do are all the better for a loving and appreciative interpretation. They will yield most when dealt with by a writer who takes the best side of them, and with

* *The Life of Christ.* By Dr. Bernhard Weiss. Vols. II., III. Translated by M. G. Hope. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1883-4.

Keim or Volkmar as a safeguard against too ready an acceptance of myth, or legend, or later modification, as history, Dr. Weiss will undoubtedly prove of great value to the student of the Life of Christ and the spirit of early Christianity. Of the calm and reverent tone of the whole of the three volumes it is impossible to speak too highly. "Orthodox" critics may be shocked at the absence of many conventional theological phrases, and may fear the results of the admissions that are made regarding the imperfections of the gospel narratives, and the limitations of the power and knowledge of Jesus himself; but the unofficial reader, if we may use the phrase, however sensitive, and whether he agree with all he may find in the book or not, can find nothing that will shock his sense of true reverence and the decorous treatment of the most sacred of all biographies.

Dr. Weiss's view of the nature of Christ is pretty much the same as that which was taken by many of the earlier Unitarians in England, and which, while they have passed beyond it, now seems to be making way in other sections of the Church. He does not regard Jesus as God, nor is he satisfied with the opinion that he was a mere man, not even though his be regarded as the highest and most unattainable human nature, and though he should be admitted to have had the purest ideas of God and divine things, and to have set forth a living example of a new religious life. Jesus is to him "the Christ, whom the Christian Church has worshipped from the beginning as her divine mediator and saviour," vol. i. p. xi. He does not regard him, however, as omniscient. His knowledge of men and his foresight are natural, and they are limited. But, on the other hand, they are such as arise from deep spiritual insight into human nature and the order of providence, not such as are acquired by varied experience and keen observation of the characters and actions of men and the course of events. The miracles narrated of Christ, again, are not properly speaking performed *by* him, but are performed by God for his sake or in answer to his prayers. In regard to the healing of the centurion's son at Capernaum, for example, "the current idea that Jesus healed the sick boy by an omnipotent action proceeding from himself or from his word is contradicted both by the narrative itself and by the express declaration of Jesus as to the means whereby his miracles were produced (John i. 52). For the words of Jesus, whether in Matthew (viii. 13) or in John (iv. 50), are not a command, but a promise; and this promise is fulfilled by God who alone worketh miracles. But that Jesus is able to utter this promise in unconditional confidence in its fulfilment is the clearest sign of his unbroken communion with the Father. In this communion he can do all that he will, because he only wills that which is in harmony with that will of God which is always immediately and with certainty known to him" (vol. ii. p. 50). Hence, in the case of the Canaanitish woman. "We must not suppose, as is now generally done, that Jesus was overcome at last by the woman's persistent entreaty. . . . He was obliged to wait until God made it clear to him that His

grace would make an exception to the rule. . . . Not he, but God, was overcome by the woman's prayer of faith" (vol. iii. p. 40).

Notwithstanding his acceptance of the evangelical narratives of the birth and infancy, Professor Weiss does not regard Jesus as having from the first a direct knowledge of his own Messiahship. This he must have reached gradually. The full possession of this Messianic consciousness must, however, have been attained before Jesus began his public ministry, otherwise some indication, at least, of the time and circumstances of its attainment would appear in the records of his life. The scene at Cæsarea Philippi, which is commonly regarded by the more recent critics of the gospels as giving us this very thing, requires accordingly a different interpretation. Jesus has already been acknowledged by a considerable popular party as the Messiah. It is in consequence of the rupture with the Pharisees, and with the Hierarchy, and the falling away of the multitude who are disappointed in their expectations, that Jesus has retired to Gentile territory with his disciples. Here he asks them, what is *now* the opinion of the people about him? and then, again, what do *they* say? Are they still faithful, and is their belief in him, as the Messiah, still unshaken? In order to support his view, Professor Weiss is compelled to suppose that Mark misunderstands the true state of things, and that John has wrongly introduced in a different context, and with some inaccuracy, what really belongs to this scene, viz.: "Upon this many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. Jesus said therefore unto the twelve, Would ye also go away? Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we have believed and know that thou art the Holy One of God" (John vi. 66 sqq). All this we are very far from endorsing, but it is ably argued (vol. iii. pp. 48 sqq.).

What was really, in Professor Weiss's estimation, a new point now reached by Jesus, was his conviction of the "historical necessity" of his death. This death upon the cross is not part of a "scheme of salvation" to be played out, but in the course of events gradually became an impending certainty. It was not Herod, filled at the very time with remorse for the murder of John the Baptist, that Jesus feared; but after the rupture with the Pharisees and the Hierarchy, and his desertion by the disappointed multitude, Jesus plainly saw that the course of events was tending inevitably to a violent death. This had now become an absolute certainty to him, and it was at Cæsarea Philippi that he made it known to his disciples (iii. p. 72).

On reaching the question of the date of the last supper and the crucifixion, Professor Weiss accepts the account given in the Fourth Gospel. Indeed, his view of the origin of the gospels compels him in all cases in which there is an historical difference to accept the account given in the Fourth Gospel rather than that of the synoptics. At the same time he regards the supper itself as being the Paschal supper, and supposes that it was eaten on Thursday, the 13th of Nisan, "the day before it was due;" a somewhat violent assumption to be made for the sake of a partial recon-

ciliation of Mark and John by one who has declared that the days of the "harmonists" are over. That the evangelists are inconsistent with one another as to the dates of the events they record, or the context in which given words were uttered, or the occasion of given acts or sayings, Professor Weiss is always willing, if necessary, to admit; but any given act or saying of Jesus recorded in them he appears to feel himself bound to retain and explain somehow. Thus, for example, he accepts Matt. xvi. 17, 18; xviii. 15—17 as historical, finds no difficulty in the mention of "the church," and simply takes it as showing that Jesus had relinquished, for the present (though not permanently) the hope of gaining the whole community of Jehovah, and resolved to content himself with a community of his own followers. Luke's statement that the commission in x. 1—16 was given to the seventy, instead of to the twelve, as in Matthew, is passed over with the explanation that, having already found this in Mark as addressed to the twelve, when he comes to it later in "the older source" he represents it as addressed to a "larger circle of seventy disciples;" but however much Luke may have been mistaken as to the *number*, the words attributed to Jesus must it seems have been uttered, and even so evident an interpolation as Luke x. 6 receives an explanation, and a somewhat curious one. The disciples are to remain in whatsoever house they enter, whether they find themselves welcome or not, and quietly to claim the hospitality of the house, not to offend the family by seeking a better lodging, and so win them over at last (ii. p. 315).

We cannot help hoping that, while those who are already acquainted with Keim's *Jesus of Nazara* may learn much from Dr. Weiss, the work of the latter may, on the other hand, be to many a stepping-stone to a more fearless, though, we trust, not less reverent criticism. Professor Weiss indeed seems to regard "the critics" as the born enemies of historical Christianity. But, surely, he is himself a New Testament critic so soon as he admits the question of the comparative value of the Gospels, or investigates the nature of the sources from which the writers drew; and the duty of criticism is to reveal to us so far as is possible what is history, and what is legend, or the accretion of tradition, or the interpolation of a scribe; not to show us by what arguments we may retain the maximum amount of the Gospel narratives as they have come down to us.

The various publishers in England and Scotland, who have during recent years brought so much German and Dutch scholarship within reach of English readers by means of translations, have deserved well of their country. The work of the translator himself is for the most part painful and unsatisfactory. It is seldom that any one who can read a work in the original is satisfied even with his own translation, to say nothing of any other translator's. It is consequently always a matter for genuine regret to be obliged to condemn a translation, and we expressed a hope, in our first notice, that the latter volumes of Professor Weiss's work might be better than the first, which was most unsatis-

factory. Unfortunately this is not the case, and we must in justice both to Professor Weiss and our readers warn the latter that it is not safe to trust the translation in any point. It may be read with profit and its statements may be taken for what they are worth, but they can never be relied upon as being Professor Weiss's. Even in the passage quoted in our former notice (MODERN REVIEW for July, 1884, p. 595) there are so many blunders that we wished, too late, after seeing the original to strike it out altogether. A translator who can render *Herrlichkeit*, "Lordship" (i. 181); *es handelt sich um*, "it deals with" (ib.); *gleichgültig*, "relevant" (i. 189n.); *die beiden einzigen Stellen*, "the two individual passages" (i. 152n.); and who goes out of his way to translate *freundlich* "irenically" in order that he may reserve "friendly" for the *feindlich* which follows (i. 186),—is certainly capable of being improved upon. But the translator of the second and third volumes, who as a rule renders the auxiliary *dürfen* by "dare" (making occasional exceptions in favour of "ought" or "could"), who apparently does not care to translate such insignificant words and phrases as *solcher*, *mittlebar* (ii. 207), *ihm stets unmittelbar gewiss* (ii. 51, line 6, of the will of God); and who renders *werde*, "must be"; *wieder in erzhälender Form gegeben*, "not given in narrative form" (ii. 208); *ohne Alles bereitwillig zu opfern*, "without being prepared to sacrifice everything;" *dem johanneischen Bericht entgegen*, "where he [Keim] attempts to extract from John's account" (iii. 320), must surely be in the same form as his predecessor. And when we find him rendering *offenbar aber würde eine tendenziöse Aenderung der älteren Ueberlieferung sich viel directer zur Geltung gebracht haben*, "a harmonistic alteration of the older tradition would evidently have been of far more direct value" (iii. 278), and *Die Kritik hat in ihrem extremesten Junger* noch gemeint*, simply "Critics thought" (iii. 289n), we can only suppose that he was in the position of many an unhappy young translator, wishing that he knew "what on earth it was all about." But enough of this; it soon ceases to be amusing, and we have said sufficient to show that we are justified in warning our readers that the translation is utterly untrustworthy. Such errors as these abound from beginning to end of the three volumes. The translators may have done their best, though it is difficult to avoid suspicions of carelessness in addition to ignorance. They, however, are responsible to the publishers. It is the publishers who are responsible to the public. In the case, indeed, of a book published and sold in the ordinary way, the publisher may plead *caveat emptor;* but we must ask, Is it quite fair, is it quite honest, to invite subscriptions promised before publication and then to supply this sort of work? Would not subscribers be justified in returning the volumes and demanding their money, on the ground that this is not Professor Weiss's Life of Christ?

F. H. J.

* Viz. Prof. Volkmar, the passage referred to being in his *Evangelien*, p. 555.

Dr. Réville's Hibbert Lectures.*

In these lectures the accomplished Professor of the Science of Religions at the Collége de France, sketches with charm and vivacity the outlines of the religious beliefs and usages of Mexico and Peru. The results of a large array of reading are condensed into a small space with admirable skill, and account is rendered with a firm hand of the chief phases of faith and ritual. The conditions of the work hardly admit of novelty. The evidence has been sifted by a succession of historians and anthropologists; what is demanded now is a presentment of the chief facts in the light of some philosophical conceptions of the general course of religious development. This demand Dr. Réville proceeds to satisfy as far as the limits of his too brief course permit. His book is a most felicitous series of illustrations of a principle which we find thus stated—viz., that "the same fundamental logic asserts itself across a thousand diversities, and reappears under every conceivable form in every climate and every race. Only let us look close enough and with the requisite information, and we shall find in every case that all is explained, that all holds together, that all is justified by some underlying principle, and that 'that idiot of a word,' *chance*, is never anything but a veil for our ignorance" (p. 208).

There are many reasons which render the religions of Mexico and Peru peculiarly suggestive when viewed under this light. Each country had attained independently a high material civilisation, and had developed a complicated social system. In each country the primitive animistic beliefs had been carried forward towards an organised polytheism, in which the results of the fusion of different peoples had modified the notions of the earlier animism, while this, in its turn, was occasionally exposed to higher philosophical criticism. Each country had a priesthood taking a leading part in its affairs; temples on the vastest scale; an elaborate ritual of public worship, and private offices bearing singular resemblance to baptism, communion, and confession; convents and religious orders; and even regular provision for the poor and the sick. And all this was beyond doubt indigenous. Every attempt to find points of historical contact with other lines of religious development—through the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, through Buddhist missionaries, or shipwrecked Englishmen, or what not—has broken down. Dr. Réville is perfectly justified in the happy comparison with which he sets out. The religious evolution of Mexico and Peru was as remote from the influences of the Eastern hemisphere as if it had taken place upon another planet.

The study of such a development cannot fail, then, to be in the highest degree interesting and instructive. Dr. Réville clearly recognises its roots in that view of the world known as Animism, which interprets the

* *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1884. *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Native Religions of Mexico and Peru.* By Albert Réville, D.D. Translated by Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1884.

phenomena of nature like those of human agency, and, regarding every event as a manifestation of power, identifies that power with that which is first and best known, viz., the self. Accordingly, each object—the tree, the stream, the mountain, the wind, the sun—exists, grows, moves, animated and conscious like man. When the nature of man is at last analysed into two parts, capable of separation, body and spirit, a like analysis is accomplished for external things, and each visible form is credited with a spirit, which acts through it. A whole system of beliefs and usages has grown up on this foundation, and while some religions have advanced considerably beyond it, all still retain many traces of the modes of thought from which they sprang, and show survivals of practices true to the conceptions of an earlier stage. Many of these are pointed out from time to time by Dr. Réville in his survey of the institutions of Mexico and Peru. It would perhaps have helped still more clearly to fix the place of these religious phenomena if they had been somewhere grouped together as the real basis on which the rest of the edifice was reared. He seems to us, however, curiously to misrepresent the proper relation when he speaks of nature-worship "*engendering* animism" (p. 39). Animism cannot be said to have sprung out of nature-worship. It is an attempt at primitive philosophy, a search into the causes of things and an explanation of them. It does not appear either to produce or to be produced by worship. That arises, we believe, from another impulse, but at once fits itself to the prevailing view of the universe, because there is no other on which it can rest. The interpretation of nature as animated and conscious would precede rather than follow the worship of nature, at least in order of thought. But in these remote processes we can hardly talk of chronological priority: all that can be said is that animism is, properly speaking, only an interpretation of the phenomena of the world, beginning with those nearest home; viz., the consciousness and activities of man. It is not a religion at all, and does not rise out of it: rather, as a mode of thought, does it shape and control the beliefs and practices of religion.

How far the philosophy of nature may ascend on an animistic basis is seen in the tendency of so many religions—*e.g.*, in Africa, Northern Asia, India, China—to find a unifying principle in the sky conceived as living and personal. Dr. Réville observes that in this respect religion in Mexico and Peru presents no parallel to its counterparts in the Eastern hemisphere. There are, however, some signs of search for an ultimate goal of thought and faith. Over the whole Mexican pantheon, as some dreamed, reigned one who was, par excellence, *Teotl*, God, supreme and invisible. He was *Ipalnemoan*, 'he through whom we live'; he was *Tloquenahuaque*, 'he who is all things through himself.' Dr. Réville alludes very briefly to the attempted reform of Netzalhuatcoyotl, the royal poet and philosopher, who built a huge terraced temple in the usual Mexican form, to the unknown God, the Cause of Causes. He died in 1472, and 'as far as we can see,' says our author, 'his reformation

made no progress.' Alas, the secret of its failure is not far to seek: it was marred by one fatal insincerity. He taught his children in secret not to worship idols, but he bade them conform to their adoration in public *por complimiento!* Of the remarkable collection of Mexican devotions reported by Father Sahagun, Dr. Réville says little. He plainly thinks them untrustworthy, for the kindly father, anxious to make out as good a case as possible, put the best form on what he imperfectly understood. Still we meet here and there with phrases that seem so far removed from medieval Catholic conceptions, that some credit may be allowed to them. When Tezcatlipoca, for example, is addressed as 'able to penetrate stones and trees,' and therefore to 'see and know what is within our hearts and read our thoughts,' do we not approach a doctrine of the divine immanence in nature very unlike the Christian mythology of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?

It is impossible to discuss the numerous topics at which Dr. Réville glances in the course of his comprehensive survey. His remarks on the significance of different rites, especially on the underlying meanings of sacrifice, are often full of illumination, though occasionally his inferences seem to us rather strained. Thus he lays it down that sacrifices were originally intended to provide the gods with food. The viands chosen were those supposed to be most acceptable, and as the worshipper had no clue to the taste of his deity except his own, he offered the kind of meat he himself liked best. From this position Dr. Réville argues back that the wide prevalence of human sacrifices in antiquity implies an equal prevalence of cannibalism (p. 87). We cannot say that this appears to us at all necessary. Other gifts besides food were made to the deity. He might require retainers for his court, or slaves, or, as Dr. Réville's own pages show us, a bride (p. 87).—Our author's judgments on Buddhism appear to us also widely at fault. He speaks of its 'gentle insipidity' (p. 110), and elsewhere describes it as 'the last word of the religions of nature' (p. 168). We should have thought that Buddhism, which at all events preached the love of man with a moral power and a missionary zeal unknown before Christianity, ought to be exempt from the reproach of 'insipidity'; and it is a singular inversion of the facts of the case to present it as 'still a religion of Nature.' For the organisation of society on such a basis the student must go to China. There, in the worship of Tien (heaven) as Shang-Ti ('supreme ruler'), with whom the Emperor, 'the eldest son of heaven,' may be identified, is one of the most remarkable specimens of an animistic religion in its combination with government and popular order. Or, for the last word of philosophical animism, the student must go to India, indeed, but to India before Buddhism. Brahmanism, with its doctrine of the self in the heart identical with the Self in the universe, with its dreary speculations of the Higher Brahman from which all predicates must be thought away, till the mind is lost in blank abysses of being destitute of any attributes—this is the end of Animism as an interpretation of the world. Buddhism, however, was from first to last, in its founder's teachings, a protest against this doctrine.

It swept away the whole conception of the self as the foundation of the consciousness, and denied the presence of any abiding Self giving unity to the universe. It did not deny, it is true, the existence of many of the popular objects of worship; but in embracing them all within one conception of impermanence, in affirming that even the great Brahmā himself must one day die, and that the way of salvation could never lie in sacrifice and ceremony, it did essentially reject the animistic conceptions, and thrust them all away from its view of the moral order of life. But this is a large subject; and in taking leave of Dr. Réville we would only direct our reader's attention to his admirable remarks on the ethical value of the religions which he describes, the significance of their doctrine of a future life, and the thoughts suggested by such a parallel as that supplied between the fate of a Virgin of the Sun and a Roman Vestal unfaithful to their vows.

Of Mr. Wicksteed's translation it need only be said that in spite of an occasional inversion it is marked by his usual idiomatic ease. Great pains have evidently been taken with the references, a number of old English translations being carefully cited beside Dr. Réville's French titles. Here and there a word or a phrase—'disembarkment' and 'effects the orientation'—appears a trifle awkward; the 'plesiosauri and the megatheri*ons*' have not quite decided to what language they belong; and spellings such as *vermine*, *malise*, and *beshreibungen*, whether due to translator or printer, need some revision. J. E. C.

Mr. Geldart's 'Gospel according to Paul.'*

MR. GELDART describes his essay as an attempt to supply a deficiency in Baur's investigation of the development of the doctrine of the Atonement, by tracing to its source the idea that the death of Christ was in some sense an expiatory offering. Beginning with the statement that "the earliest patristic theology, however it varied in detail, concurred in representing the death of the Redeemer as in some sort a price paid to the Devil, the effect of which was that the latter lost a right, which he had previously possessed, of disposing of the souls of men," our author proposes to connect this theory with the theology of Paul, and finds the connecting link in Marcion, who held that the God of the Old Testament was neither more nor less than the author of evil. Marcion claimed Paul as his teacher; where did he find in Paul a ground for his theory? To answer this question is the aim of Mr. Geldart's first chapter, 'Paul's view of the Law.'

In the Epistle to the Galatians we find the contrast between the faith of Christ and the works of the law most strongly emphasized. So sharp, indeed, is the contrast, that Christ himself incurred the curse of the Law —not, however, the curse of God. What, then, was the authority of the

* *The Gospel according to Paul.* An Essay on the Germs of the Doctrine of Atonement. By Rev. E. M. Geldart, M.A. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1884. Pp. 85.

Law which condemned him? It was not divine, either in purpose or in origin. It was superadded to the Promise, with no other motive than "to cause transgressions" (Gal. iii. 18, 19). And immediately in this connection follows the passage upon which the weight of Mr. Geldart's argument mainly rests: *διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων, ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. Ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν.* This much-debated verse is interpreted by our author as follows: 'Ordained by angels in the hand of a Mediator, *i.e.*, a *medium*, a communicator, as Jesus is called in Hebrews the Mediator, or Representative, of a better covenant; *now he* (*ὁ δέ*) is the representative not of one like God [but (understood) of many, *i.e.*, the angels]; the obvious conclusion being that Moses being a representative of a plurality of inferior beings, or "angels," not necessarily even good angels, by whom the law was ordained, could not claim to be the representative of the one and only God.'

These angels, far from being good angels, were malignant powers, being none other than the *στοιχεῖα* of Gal. iv. 3 and Col. ii. 8. "That *στοιχεῖον* means genii, and not elements, is sufficiently established by its patristic use, as Baur and Hilgenfeld think. But the fact that in Modern Greek *στοιχεῖον* means a 'genie,' or a ghost, is a striking confirmation of this view." This point Mr. Geldart has discussed at length in an appendix to his work on the *Modern Greek Language*. He concludes then that the angels of the law in Galatians are nothing more than the 'principalities and powers,' 'the spirits of wickedness in heavenly places,' 'the world-rulers of the darkness,' of the later Pauline epistles.

The Second Chapter deals with Paul's notion of Redemption. How did Jesus redeem us by becoming a curse, under the law, for us? Our author replies, By putting the law to shame; by dying, with such a sense of immortality and peace with God that we need no longer fear the curse of the law. "He died, not to save us from dying, but that we might be content to die with Him, that we might rise with Him again. . . . Self-identification with Christ, fellowship with His sufferings, not belief in Him as an expiatory sacrifice, is everywhere with Paul the faith that justifies." The Law, whose realm is the flesh, had a kind of claim upon the body of Jesus, as 'born of a woman' and 'born under the law.' He died, therefore, 'unto sin once.' Now we know him only as a living spirit, and after the flesh we know him no more. The disciple, as his Lord, dies to the law and the flesh, and is made alive with him in the spirit. (Cf. Romans vi. 9—11.) The death of Christ is therefore not vicarious, but representative, and it effects a salvation, "not from the wrath of God, for God has not appointed us to wrath, but rather from the wrath of the law, the condemnation of a conscience in bondage to a hard, unkindly code, which can neither command the allegiance of the heart nor secure the obedience of the will."

The Third Chapter treats of 'Anti-Pauline and Semi-Pauline views,' and is practically an attempt to account for the fact that the theory which our author has attributed to Paul has not left more traces of its prevalence in some quarters, or of its rejection in others, in the New Testament

literature. Among 'Anti-Pauline' works, James furnishes no trace of it; the Apocalypse of John contributes only the unexplained phrase 'he has purchased us with his blood' to any theory of redemption; while in 'Semi-Pauline' books a Catholicising tendency shows itself either in treating the law no longer as opposed to the gospel, but as a symbolical anticipation of it (as in Hebrews), or in smoothing away the peculiarities of Paulinism (1 and 2 Timothy), until at last it could be represented that Peter and Paul were in substantial agreement, and used the same language, on doctrinal matters (1 Peter). The fourth gospel, standing apart, and characteristically making the aim of Christ's mission to be 'to bear witness to the truth,' represents him as opposed and condemned b the law (xix. 7), but this is only a detail in the general enmity of 'the Jews.'

The Fourth Chapter insists on the wilful obscuration of Pauline doctrine in the Acts of the Apostles, which goes, in Mr. Geldart's judgment, to the length of adopting the very phrase which Paul had used for the special purpose of discrediting the authority of the law, for the purpose of exalting it (Gal. iii. 19; Acts vii. 53). But in this very book our author finds a clue to that 'historical basis' for Paul's theory of which he is in search, viz., sufficient evidence that Remission of Sins (ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν) was the typical motto of the earliest Christian preaching as it was of the ministry of Jesus himself; this was his first word, when he took up the Baptist's call to repentance; it was his last word at the farewell supper (Matt. xxvi. 28). We gather (and we wish Mr. Geldart had been a little more explicit just here) that the ἁμαρτίαι are in his view essentially the technical transgressions of the law. Jesus opposes and abrogates the law, reverses its dicta, minimises the importance of its details, restores and uplifts those who were under its ban; while the demands of the kingdom which he preached were not satisfied by all the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees.

> As the friend of publicans and sinners he incurred the curse of the Law. Separation from sinners was the essence of Pharisaism and the logical issue of Mosaism, which lacked the kindly element of that redeeming love which went to seek and save the lost; as the Sabbath breaker, for the sake of humanity He incurred the curse of the Law; as the acquitter of the penitent adulteress, whom Moses had commanded to be stoned, He incurred the curse of the Law; above all, when He taught how the Son of Man, the poor and lowly, friendless, homeless One, who had not where to lay His head, was even in virtue of that sonship, without priestly title or professional standing, empowered to pronounce the penitent forgiven, He incurred the direst censure, the extremest penalty of the Law (pp. 81, 82).

We gratefully acknowledge the keen interest with which Mr. Geldart has invested the research of which we have briefly summarised the results, and the ability and independence of thought which his essay displays. It is, moreover, rich, especially in the second chapter, in suggestive exegetical points. But as an argument, the chain is no stronger than its weakest links. And—to begin at the end—one of these is that which is to connect all the rest with the word and work of Jesus. Admitting that there is much that is profoundly true in our author's

delineation of the attitude of Jesus towards the law and its representatives, we cannot persuade ourselves that in his own speech, or in that of his personal followers, Remission of Sins means the abolition of vexatious legal condemnations and disqualifications; that Sin here is matter of law, and not of conscience,—in other words, that ἁμαρτία on the lips of Jesus is exactly equivalent to παράβασις in the language of Paul. Next —to return to the starting-point—even if we admit that στοιχεῖα are genii, and that these genii are the 'angels' of Gal. iii. 19, and that Mr. Geldart's rendering of the passage is satisfactory, we cannot even then admit that in Paul's view the authors of the law are demonic and malignant. Paul, engaged in close conflict with Jewish literalists, enforcing his views by strange and unexpected applications of the very letter of Scripture, could not, surely, depart so far from the written word as to convert the 'myriads of holiness' of Deut. xxxii. 2 (upon which both the Targums and Rabbinical tradition greatly enlarged) into evil spirits. We cannot go further in this direction than Holsten and Sabatier, who see in the passage no intention either to glorify or to degrade the law, but a simple statement of the subordinate and intermediary part it plays in the divine plan. It is only a means, and is only valid for a time. It can add no condition to the Promise, and can offer no obstruction to the heir when, in the fulness of time, he assumes his rights. It has only the temporary authority of the guardian or trustee of his minority. We cannot believe, moreover, that if the conception of the demonic origin of the law had been so essential to Paul's theory of redemption as Mr. Geldart believes, he would have been content to leave it out, or would have resorted to artifice to gloze it over, when he came to write out for the Romans the doctrinal scheme he had drafted for the Galatians. If Mr. Geldart is right in his interpretation of Gal. iii. 19, still we can only say, the point is one once made, and afterwards consciously discarded; and therefore not, in Paul's mature opinion, an integral part of his system. Lastly, there are certainly some links missing between the patristic doctrine of the effect of Christ's death as voiding a certain right possessed by the devil—surely not a doctrine characteristic of 'the *earliest* patristic theology,' but one which is scarcely full-blown before Origen—and the teaching of Paul, which can only be supplied by reference to the growth of Christian demonology, and the fantastic play of imagination around the subject of Christ's descent into hell. J. E. O.

Abailard as a Theologian.*

IT is now nearly forty years since Charles de Rémusat published his masterly life of Abailard. Since that time there has been a great deal of talk about the man who is beyond question the most remarkable teacher in the twelfth century; but hardly any one has set himself to treat his work as a whole. His dialectical performances indeed have

* *Peter Abälard ein kritischer Theologe des zwölften Jahrhunderts*: von S. M. Deutsch. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1883.

perhaps received sufficient elucidation and criticism, but little or nothing has been done to expound his theological position; unless we include the elaborate, if somewhat perverse, attempt of Professor Reuter, of Göttingen, in his *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter*, to prove that the Christian elements in Abailard's theology are practically what the scientific call 'survivals,' and that he was, when all is said and done, little more than a pure theist. Professor Deutsch, in the careful and judicious treatise before us, limits himself to the consideration of Abailard's theology. He prefixes, it is true, a brief narrative of the events of the philosopher's life and a very intelligent summary of his dialectical views; but the subject of his book is theological, and if its interest is lessened by an over-anxiety to produce a complete systematic delineation of what we really know piecemeal, and through a variety of imperfect treatises, his book is undoubtedly the clearest and most conscientious piece of work that has yet been devoted to the subject.

Dr. Deutsch does rightly, we think, in considering Abailard's speculations on the doctrine of the Trinity to be in truth of a minor intrinsic importance when we view his theological conceptions as a whole. No doubt they were the first to arrest public attention; and, however innocent they might be in themselves, Abailard was made painfully aware of his indiscreetness in giving utterance to them, by the repeated prosecutions to which he was subjected by the more correct, or the less venturesome, theologians of the day. At the same time, the prominent place they evidently occupied in his thoughts is a fair measure of their historical value; and after all we can hardly claim much more than an historical (we do not say, an antiquarian) value for any of the productions of theological thought in the middle ages. Dr. Deutsch is so far in agreement with us that he confesses that he fails to find a genuine unity of system in Abailard's views; that they are in fact too much dependent on heterogeneous suggestions and mixed courses of thought, for one to expect conclusions at all approaching symmetry or completeness. The infirmity of resolution and the personal vanity which influenced in so striking a way the fortunes of his private life, extended, so Dr. Deutsch maintains, as deeply into his philosophical and theological writings. In this there is doubtless much truth; but when the critic proceeds to say that he can hardly believe that Abailard was quite in earnest in his labours for the promotion of the Christian faith, we are bound to protest. For it seems to us that though there was a good deal of self-conceit in Abailard's early work, especially as a public teacher, these faults cannot be justly charged to his studies in theology. If anything in his career was inspired by a high religious purpose, it was his devotion to that study, and his relinquishment of the field of scholastic success at Paris, just at the moment when opposition was removed and the way was clear before him to revive his fame as the most popular master of his time. In his treatment of theological problems, no point in which he showed himself animated by a nobler ambition than that of mere ephemeral notoriety, is more remarkable than the manner in which he addressed himself to the doctrine of the Atonement.

It is well known that Saint Anselm in the eleventh century had shaped this doctrine very nearly in the form in which it is now held by the evangelical churches. Abailard set himself to resist it. His efforts were so far rewarded that at least one part of the doctrine, the notion that the devil had previously to Christ's work possessed a strict right to the souls of men, was, thanks to his criticism, soon excluded from orthodox text-books.* But Abailard went far beyond criticism. Denying that the death of Jesus could have been accepted as a representative sacrifice or "satisfaction" for the sins of mankind, he substituted another view of the whole question, one in which more than anywhere else he shows his affinity to the modern spirit of conceiving theological relations. The incarnation of Christ, his life on earth, and his death, were all, and all alike, one great revelation of God's love, ordered with the single purpose of awakening love on man's side; so that thus he may shake off the bondage of sin and rise to the perfect liberty which is founded not on fear but on love. It may be said indeed generally that Abailard's contention was that the truth did not lie exclusively in the concrete doctrines of the church, perhaps, indeed, not so much in these as in the universal truths which they substantiate and define. He delighted in dissecting the church tradition and showing that it could not claim that uniformity and unanimity commonly asserted for it: the elements were diverse; only the controlling spirit was one. But that controlling Spirit was not peculiar to the Christian authorities; it pervaded also the philosophy of the ancients, so that by one or another channel all men might be guided to the knowledge of God. The difference between Plato and the Bible, it should almost seem, was one not of kind, but of degree. Such thoughts as these give Abailard an almost unique place in the history of mediæval Christendom. Their independence of the accredited theology makes it all the more difficult to estimate them justly in relation to their author's time and circumstances; and it is all the greater honour to Dr. Deutsch that he has succeeded to so considerable an extent as he has, in arranging and analysing the complicated elements of his subject. He has collected the available materials with industry and used them with judgment. His style and method are both commendably plain and logical. We only wish that the modern system of German punctuation did not insist on the use of commas as a rule instead of semicolons, and on the practical abolition of colons except to introduce quotations.

* * *

A New Synopsis.

OF all the aids to what may be called the personal study of the New Testament, as distinguished on the one hand from original research, involving a wider field of labour than is afforded by its own books, and on the other hand from the mere unthinking acceptance of some commentary, nothing that we have seen surpasses in convenience and

* See Deutsch. P. 369, note.

compressed value the little volume which is the first instalment of the English version of Mr. Rushbrooke's Synopticon.* A single and complete Synopsis of the Gospels it is not possible to produce. The diversities of matter and arrangement are so great that without considerable transposition and repetition it is not possible to bring all the parallel passages together, and the attempts that have been made have resulted in a more or less confused view of all the gospels. It is evident that what is required of a synopsis is to enable the reader to see at a glance what is common to the three gospels, and then to detect also what is common to any two of them, and what is peculiar to each. The first is what the present volume presents. It is printed in four parallel columns. The second column gives Mark in full; the third, Matthew; the fourth, Luke. In each of these columns the words which are common to all three are printed in "black type," so that the reader can see at a glance, and without turning his eye from column to column, what is the "common, or triple, tradition" of the evangelists. Then in the first column are given all the passages (or rather successive words) which are peculiar to Mark. "It is intended in due course to publish a separate volume containing the 'Double Tradition,' that is to say, the portions of the Synoptic Narrative common to Mark and Matthew, Mark and Luke, Matthew and Luke; and also the passages peculiar to each of the three Synoptists." With these two volumes before him the student of the English New Testament will be well off, indeed. Hitherto those who were unable to read Greek have had no proper means of comparing the gospel narratives with one another. The total unfitness of the Authorised Version for any such purpose (the same Greek word being rendered by different English words, and *vice-versâ*), and the wrong methods pursued by the harmonists, left them perfectly helpless. They found themselves in a maze to which they had no clue. Dr. Abbott and Mr. Rushbrooke have been able to make use of the Revised Version, and it is evident that the care of the Revisers, so far as possible always to translate the same Greek into the same English, makes this version peculiarly apt for their purpose, and they themselves have pursued the only rational and profitable method. This unassuming little volume, of very moderate price, with its successor, will, in fact, supply English readers with the nearest possible equivalent to the most valuable of all Greek Synopses. Dr. Abbott has prefixed an interesting introduction pointing out how much may be expected to result from new methods of Gospel criticism and comparison. It is to be hoped that he will not tempt too many young students to embark upon the stormy sea of conjectural emendation; but we must accept even such a result if it should prove inseparable from the attempt to enable them at least to understand its navigation.

F. H. J.

* *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, in the text of the Revised Version. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT, D.D., and W. G. RUSHBROOKE, M.L. London: Macmillan and Co. 1884.

Dr. Cox on Miracles.

DR. COX has republished three articles on the Miracles*, which lately appeared in the *Expositor*, but we cannot honestly place a very high value on his contribution to the subject. Readers of his former works will be prepared to find here much sound learning and an open candid manner, but also to find a want of thoroughness which deprives his labours of much present or any permanent value. He says much that is very good and true about the relation between science and religion, but stops far short of the point at which he will convince a real student of science that it is possible to reconcile truth and orthodoxy. He gives a good general sketch of the development of theology which may be traced in the Old Testament, but it is worthless in regard to specific details, because the essential facts on which such a history of development must be based, viz., the dates of the composition of the various books, are wholly misapprehended, and the arguments of modern scholarship simply dismissed with contempt. The fundamental question with regard to miracles is "What evidence is there for them?" It is asserted by good Biblical authorities that throughout the Bible, narratives recorded by contemporaneous writers are free, with very few exceptions, from miracles, and that miracles grow and multiply in proportion to the distance of time between the event recorded and the writing down of the record. If this assertion can be made good, even to any considerable extent, it settles for logical thinkers this fundamental question of the evidence, and if Dr. Cox wishes to enter into this critical warfare he had better not do it with quite such "a light heart" as he here displays. We must enter an emphatic protest against Dr. Cox's contention that it is impossible to detach the question of miracles from the Sermon on the Mount, because "our Lord represents some of his followers as claiming to have wrought miracles, nay as having really cast out devils in his name, and in his name done many wonderful works. . . . And yet how should he have spoken of them as working miracles and working them in his name, if He himself did no miracle?" We answer that exorcism, or the casting out of demons, was a regular profession among the Jews of that period, that wonderful cures are frequently effected by natural means in times of religious excitement, and that any difficulty in believing that demons were supposed to go out at the name of Jesus Christ attaches solely to the representation that this name was successfully invoked by "workers of iniquity." Dr. Cox appears to think that bad men could work miracles simply by using a certain Name. What is this but to degrade religion to mere magic and superstition? After this we are not surprised to find Dr. Cox citing Paul as a witness for miracles and representing him as saying "in these epistles," *i.e.* Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, "that his own conversion was due to a miracle." Where, in these four greater Epistles, does Paul say this? The

* *Miracles: an Argument and a Challenge.* By Samuel Cox, D.D. London: Kegan Paul. 1884.

only account he gives of his conversion is Galatians i. 15, 16, "But when it was the good pleasure of God, who separated me, even from my mother's womb, and called me through his grace, to reveal his Son in me that I might preach him among the Gentiles," and, perhaps, 1 Cor. xv. 8, "And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." It is of course natural to any one who has already accepted, as historical, the tradition of Paul's conversion by external miraculous means, to call the tradition to mind when he reads these passages; but can any one say that a miraculous and not a purely spiritual process is described in the words of Paul himself? Could any words, indeed, more clearly than the first of these passages, indicate to us a conversion effected not by miraculous, but by spiritual means? It was an internal revelation, appealing to his soul, not an external demonstration appealing to his senses, which convinced Paul that Jesus of Nazareth was Jesus the Christ, the Son of God.

Dr. Cox thinks he escapes all the principal difficulties of a belief in miracles by affirming that these are not violations of Nature's laws, but simply the manifestation of a higher but equally natural law. He says truly that this theory has been before the world for 50 years, and he complains that no one has taken the trouble to refute it. Surely the reason is that it has not been deemed worth refutation. Dr. Cox clearly does not realise the effect of accepting such a theory with full logical consistency. It would simply place Jesus among the inventors and discoverers; he would be the Edison or the Jenner of the first century; and science would owe him a great grudge for not having recorded his discoveries in such a way as to be available for the subsequent use of mankind; when higher laws of nature are once found out, very inferior men can repeat the experiment and apply the law. The one thing such a theory could never contribute a particle of evidence to prove is, that Jesus was one of God's true prophets. Of course Dr. Cox does not follow out his argument along this line. What he does show is that if Trinitarianism be true, and Jesus Christ was and is God the Son, then we have no reason to be surprised at any unique displays of power which may have attended his Incarnation. He shows that the believers in the Trinity can without much more difficulty believe also in the miracles. But was it worth republishing three articles from the *Expositor* to prove this?

H. S. S.

Bible Folk-Lore.*

THIS is one of those books which are the despair of a reviewer, it is so well-meaning, but so hopelessly ill-executed. The writer's aim is to apply to the Biblical records the principles, methods, and results, of the comparative mythology of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India. He desires in this way to set it free from the orthodox divinity which has hedged it in as a "unique production of genius or inspiration," and enable it to take its place among the world's Scriptures, the greater Bible of the

* *Bible Folk-Lore*, a Study in Comparative Mythology. By the Author of "Rabbi Jeshua." London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co. 1884.

human race. This is an excellent and commendable object. No one can question the author's sincerity; he has devoted, he tells us, twelve years of serious and special study to his task; and from a wide range of reading he gathers up his conclusions in an easy and readable form.

But before the student of comparative mythology can safely bring the literature of the Bible into the circle of his operations, he must take a few simple precautions. The interpretations of mythology are largely concerned with the meaning of words, and the inquirer into the mythology of the Old Testament ought therefore, in the first place, to know a little Hebrew. Our author has hardly fulfilled this elementary demand, or he would not suppose Elohim to be the plural of El (p. 102), or render Phicol by 'all-mouth' (p. 87), or identify Joseph with the winter sun because his 'coat of many colours' signifies the bright tints of the aurora (p. 58). The investigator must likewise have some idea of the affinities of Hebrew with other languages, so as not to be carried away by casual similarities of sound; whereas our author, ingenuously observing that the word Nephilim, Gen. vi. 4, giants, 'bears a curious resemblance to the Greek Nephelê, or cloud,' proceeds boldly to talk of 'the cloud giants,' offspring of the winds (the sons of heaven) and the waters (the daughters of earth). Egyptologists and Sanskrit scholars may deal with the confident assertion that Osiris is the Aryan Asuras, and Isis the Ushas of the Vedas; but we must protest against the identification of Caleb (the dog) with the Indian Sarama, the equivalent of Hermes and the moon (p. 71.), Before the author deals in this style with animal names in Hebrew tradition, he should consult Prof. Robertson Smith's well-known essay on this subject. The arbitrariness of his mythological interpretations leaves the critic bewildered and helpless; no reasoning can touch them. Joshua, we are informed, means the 'Saviour, or Salvator Mundi.' Now, elsewhere it is casually remarked that 'Salvator Mundi' was a title of the sun-god Mithra in Rome. Joshua, therefore, is roundly identified with the 'rising sun.' Rahab's red thread proves her of course to be the dawn! The episodes of Achan and the siege of Ai cannot be made by any ingenuity to fit themselves to this style of treatment; they are, therefore, at once set aside as later insertions.

This leads us to our second count. The student of Old Testament mythology must have some notions of the structure and composition of his texts. The writer of 'Bible Folk-Lore' has some idea that the Pentateuch is not of uniform authorship, and in his opening chapters we hear him talking of the Elohist and the Jehovistic Commentator. We do not quarrel with him for his view of the relative ages of Gen. iv. and v., for example; nor even for the assumption implied in the description of the Jehovist as a Commentator; but it is quite intolerable that in defiance of all literary analysis the narrative of the Exodus and the Wanderings should be treated as a whole, with all its incidents drawn from all sources lumped together, and then interpreted as a solar story. 'The epic is too complete and homogeneous not to be accepted as a conscious myth,' says the author. But as soon as a myth becomes *conscious* it ceases to be a

myth, viz., the spontaneous description of natural phenomena in terms of human action, and turns into deliberate invention. We have already referred to the cool way in which inconvenient narratives in Joshua are dismissed, because they cannot be properly 'solarised.' A little study of the composite character of the Book of Joshua would have cleared up the difficulty. The traditions of Judges undergo like handling. As the author advances towards more historical ground he abates none of his boldness, but courageously attacks each fresh group of narratives. Deborah is 'perhaps the dewy and flaming dawn, or perhaps the moon who aids the sun.' This caution is praiseworthy; but the writer does not apparently mind bringing out incongruous results. Witness his interpretation of the series of antediluvian patriarchs in Gen. iv. and v. His object is to arrange them in two orders of twelve, but these are only obtained by a little manipulation. Gen. iv. yields the requisite number by beginning with Adam, inserting Seth after Cain, and concluding with the four children of Lamech. The list founded on Gen. v. ought to begin with Adam also, but, as it is to wind up with Shem, Ham, and Japhet, this would make thirteen, so Seth here stands first. These two series of twelve names are then identified with the twelve months of the year. Unfortunately, the lists contain some duplicate names, which do not occur in the same places. The author, however, suspects nothing wrong, but contentedly remarks at the close of his exposition, 'We have thus traced the two lists of patriarchs throughout the year, and find their attributes to agree with the seasons which they are supposed to represent.'

It would be easy to give more instances of the false etymologies, the rash and arbitrary interpretations, the ill-considered combinations, with which this book abounds. The writer has fallen an easy prey to the comparative mythologists, beginning with the Rabbis, to whose fancies he so constantly appeals. He does not appear to have studied the history of Israel at all. Of the method of interpretation founded by Ewald and carried on by Kuenen and Wellhausen he is wholly ignorant. Not a single reference to these writers occurs in his pages. He claims the credit of being the first to point out twelve episodes in the Samson legends, wholly unaware that Ewald had long ago described his 'twelve giant deeds from first to last against the Philistines.' In the same way he proceeds to deal with the higher conceptions of Israel's religion, identifying the Servant of Yahveh, for example, in the Babylonian prophecies, with the Persian Mithra. Into the discussions of Christian legend and Pauline doctrine we cannot follow him now; but readers must be warned against his reckless treatment of the texts, which may momentarily mislead the unwary, as in the audacious identification of Jesus and Zarathustra in the temptation story of Matthew (p. 236), or in the substitution of other words in a Buddhist verse so as to bring out a close parallel with a saying attributed to Jesus (p. 215). Of course the resemblances of some of the Gospel narratives to elements in the legend of Gotama Buddha lead to easy assertions

of the derivation of Christianity from Buddhism. These are supported by such instances as the following: 'The agony in Gethsemane is but another instance of connection with Buddhist tradition, for we learn from the Nirvana Sutra that so deep was the grief of those who saw Buddha die that "all the minute pores of their bodies gave forth blood, which was sprinkled on the ground."' No reference is given for this quotation, which does not occur in the oldest narrative of the Buddha's death, the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, and must belong therefore to a later stratum. And how the incident was transferred from the disciples to the Master in the course of its passage westward into the third Gospel, we are not told. It must have been one of those blunders which our author so severely condemns. 'The Gospel of Luke,' he says, 'like the traditionary history of the Apostles, is remarkable for the inaccuracies of its historical statements, no less than for the confident tone of its narrative. This inaccuracy is peculiarly Oriental, and arises from that superficial self-sufficiency which is so remarkable in the writings of Josephus, and in the Talmudic literature.' Alas, inaccuracy, confidence, and self-sufficiency are not the monopoly of the East alone; not even the discipline of 'twelve years of serious and special study' suffices always to eradicate them from the Western mind.

J. E. C.

Genesis, Spiritualism, and Theosophy.*

"IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth became desolate and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep." So Mr. Pember translates Gen. i. 1, 2, and afterwards proceeds:—

> It is thus clear that the second verse of Genesis describes the earth as a ruin; but there is no hint of the time which elapsed between creation and this ruin. Age after age may have rolled away, and it was probably during their course that the strata of the earth's crust were gradually developed. Hence we see that geological attacks upon the scriptures are altogether wide of the mark, are a mere beating of the air. There is room for any length of time between the first and second verses of the Bible. And, again, since we have no inspired account of the geological formations, we are at liberty to believe that they were developed just in the order in which we find them. The whole process took place in preadamite times, in connection, perhaps, with another race of beings, and consequently does not at present concern us (p. 28).
>
> Knowledge in this life is a gift fraught with peril . . . And it is an ominous fact that, after the fall, the first inventors of the arts and sciences were the descendants, not of the believing Seth, but of the deist and murderer Cain (p. 28 sq.).

Notwithstanding this danger, Mr. Pember inquires into the interval between the first and second verses of Genesis, and it appears that Satan 'was appointed prophet, priest and king, of the world,' that he was placed in 'an Eden, or region of delight,' of a 'more substantial character' than the Eden of Genesis, 'resembling the New Jerusalem,' that he dwelt 'in a

* *Earth's Earliest Ages*, and their connection with Modern Spiritualism and Theosophy. By G. H. Pember, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

splendid palace of gold and precious stones [alas, that a palace of gold should be esteemed above the sweet natural delights of the Eden of Genesis] near to the place of God's presence,' that he 'proved himself a rebel,' and that 'therefore the Lord Jesus came forth from the Godhead, to assume the abused dignities and restore the confusion' (pp. 64, 65). 'The golden age of which ancient bards so rapturously sang was no reminiscence of Paradise, but of the times of that former world when Satan's power was still intact. A change in the heavenly dynasty, the expulsion of Cronos or Saturn, is always mentioned as having brought to a close this age of unmingled joy' (p. 71).

But this interval came to a terrible termination :—

> The vast deep, to which God has set bounds that are never transgressed save when wrath has gone forth from Him, had burst those limits; so that the ruined planet, covered above its very mountain-tops with the black floods of destruction, was rolling through space in a horror of great darkness (p. 33)

After this less pleasant portion of the indefinite 'interval,' the earth is restored to a state apparently between that of the 'more substantial' Eden, and the faulty state in which it is now.

> On the sixth day God pronounced everything which he had made to be very good, a declaration which would seem altogether inconsistent with the present condition of the animal as well as the vegetable kingdom (p. 34).

Those who wish to know what Adam and Eve and the serpent were like before the fall will find the desired information in the following passages :—

> While they remained in obedience, the spirit which God had breathed into them retained its full power and vigour. Its pervading influence defended their whole being from the inroads of corruption and death, while at the same time its brightness shining through the covering of flesh shed a lustrous halo around them; so that the grosser element of their bodies was concealed within a veil of radiant glory. And thus, as the rulers of creation, they were strikingly distinguished from all the creatures which were placed under them (p. 139).
>
> While Eve was standing near the tree a serpent approached and addressed her. The fact that she was not startled at such an occurrence seems to point to the existence of an intelligent communication between man and the inferior creatures before the fall. But we must not of course think of the serpent as the repulsive and venomous reptile to which we now feel an instinctive antipathy. For it had not then been cursed, but held itself upright, the most intelligent and, probably, the most beautiful of all the beasts of the field. . . . The creature was, then, free from venom and not improbably winged, while its scales glittered in the sun like burnished gold. Perhaps too it was recognised by Eve as the most intelligent and most companionable of all animals (p. 127).

Having pursued his investigations, or rather let fancy carry him as far as the deluge, Mr. Pember proceeds to "an exposition of the nature and history of Spiritualism of sufficient length to exhibit its apparent identity with the antediluvian sin" (p. 239). Those who are impelled by admiration of his exposition of Genesis to follow him in his exposition of Spiritualism, Theosophy and Buddhism may do so; they will find, from first to last, four hundred and eighty-one pages, the result no

doubt of conscientious industry, well written and well printed. But we can only lay the book down with a feeling of sincere regret echoing the writer's own words, "In carrying on the dispute, how much time has been wasted by able servants of God who would otherwise have been more profitably employed."

F. H. J.

Christian Opinion on Usury.*

THE purpose of this interesting little volume of 84 pages is to examine the effect upon trade, and especially upon the trade of England, of the Canon Law restrictions upon usury; and the conclusions reached are very remarkable and unexpected. Mr. Cunningham believes that the views of the Schoolmen were admirably suited to the guidance of honest and Christian men under the industrial conditions which obtained before the Reformation, that they studiously and successfully provided for the development of all legitimate industries and only checked oppression. In these respects they were distinctly in advance both of civil law and of public opinion, both of which were far more indiscriminating in their condemnation of usury. The fundamental principle of the Schoolmen was to distinguish between "damnum emergens" (risk) and "lucrum cessans" (privation of gain that would otherwise have accrued) on the one hand, and a charge for the use of money pure and simple on the other hand. If it could be shown that the lender would be the worse for having lent unless he received some extra payment, it was legitimate to require indemnification. If on the other hand a convenience had resulted to the borrower without any real loss or inconvenience to the lender, then the exaction of a payment was often oppressive and always covetous, and therefore to be condemned. With the changed conditions of industry which have made it possible always to invest capital lucratively this distinction has fallen to the ground; for there must always be a "lucrum cessans"—the cessation of a gain that would otherwise have accrued—in a gratuitous loan. Since this great change which has enabled the industrial power of the country "to use money as a servant to do its bidding" instead of having "to bow to it as a master" the clear and strong testimony of the Christian consciousness has been dissipated into a Babel of confused and contradictory opinions, and indeed Christian teaching, failing to get any grasp of the new conditions, has practically abdicated as far as this branch of ethics is concerned. But we need guidance more than ever. There is, rightly or wrongly, a growing feeling that in the aggregate capital is now making oppressive terms with labour. "We cannot be sure," says Mr. Cunningham, "of the wisdom of impulse alone: though the boldness and sincerity of many socialists and enthusiasts may rouse our sympathy. Nor, however dogmatic their assertions may be, can we rely on the completeness and width of the views of

* *Christian Opinion on Usury, with special reference to England.* By W. Cunningham, B.D. Printed for Macmillan and Co., at the Edinburgh University Press. 1884.

economists who descant on the ignorant prejudices of the Fathers and Schoolmen in their code of commercial morality." What can the church still do to help us? May it not at least teach us that the question is at bottom an ethical one, and as such within the competence of "public opinion" rather than scientific specialism to resolve? "Public opinion," to quote once more from our author, "may be difficult to rouse, but when it pronounces unmistakeably that oppression exists for which a cure must be devised we may rely on the truth of the indictment, though we may always prefer the opinion of specialists in regard to the manner of remedy." P. H. W.

Village Communities *versus* Town Rookeries.

SOCIETY has long been aware of the existence of the "dangerous classes," and has been threatened with terrible disasters at their hands, but it has paid its police to do their duty, locked its doors, and slept peacefully. It has recently been roused by a more serious cry than "danger," viz., "dishonour." The respectable and wealthy citizen may laugh at the danger, but he cannot laugh at the misery and degradation, or at the deep disgrace to himself that he should stand by and not stir a finger to cure the evil. Innumerable suggestions are made, and we welcome none more heartily than the one very ably supported by the Rev. Henry Solly* of encouraging and promoting village life in the place of town life. Objection will no doubt be raised to this as to every other scheme that it is impracticable. Certainly, it would be difficult at once to accomplish all that Mr. Solly sets forth in his concise and yet very interesting little volume of forty-eight small pages. But, that village life is sweeter and purer and healthier and more manly than life in the crowded parts of our great towns cannot be denied. Nor can it be denied that in many instances the attempt to encourage and develop this village life of combined industrial and agricultural, or horticultural, occupations has been eminently successful. In the name of common-sense and all that is most truly practical let it go on; and let doubters read Mr. Solly's little book, and, after it, the other and larger works to which he refers. And if convinced, let them not sit down and hope for "organisation" to appear upon the scene and do the work, but let them seize every opportunity of encouraging, supporting, and promoting it. F. H. J.

Sermons.†

THOSE who enjoy the reading of sermons will do well if, instead of confining themselves to the pulpit literature of their own sect, whatever it be, they will obtain this volume, which contains sermons

* *Re-housing of the Industrial Classes*, or Village Communities *v.* Town Rookeries. By the Rev. Henry Solly. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1884.

† *The Contemporary Pulpit*. Vol. I. London: Office of *The Contemporary Pulpit*. 1884.

by Canon Knox-Little, Dr. Macgregor, Cardinal Manning; Dr. W. R. Dale, Canon Westcott, Dr. Maclaren, &c. It would be a good thing too if those who are usually hearers of sermons, as well as those who make them, would take some of the "outlines" given in this volume, and exercise their minds in filling up for themselves. We cannot of course accept all we find in those varied sermons, but we welcome the volume nevertheless. Why does it contain nothing from Martineau, Stopford Brooke, Brooke Herford, or Robert Collyer? F. H. J.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts.*

WE were compelled to animadvert rather severely on the want both of knowledge and of common fairness and common-sense, shown in the first volume of this enormous storehouse of quotations, whenever the subject illustrated required especially careful consideration and a competent acquaintance with authoritative sources of information. In the present volume, bringing the reckoning up to Thought No. 6,527, we have not marked any offences of the same kind, no burning questions of religious or social doctrine being included in its contents. We have two hundred and fifty pages of items, often dry and uninstructive enough, on Man's Nature and Constitution, and the Laws by which Man is conditioned. Then the Epistles (in the Apocalypse) to the Seven Churches of Asia are illustrated by a commentary of Mosaic work, taken largely from Plumptre, Trench, and Farrar; and the Seven Sayings on the Cross are overlaid with a mass of words, and turned to uses of edification; more than 600 paragraphs being devoted to them. The present instalment is completed by the first part of Section X, the heading of which is "Virtues including Excellences. The reader who has patience to hunt through a large mass of mere commonplace, will come across a fair number of instructive and suggestive thoughts; but the editor should have carried the process of sifting and selecting a great deal further.

Vosmaer's Amazon.†

THE current classifications of literature are to blame if this work is to be called a novel. The productions of Miss Braddon and Mr. Wilkie Collins are called novels; and for "Romola" and "John Inglesant" we have no other name. "The Amazon" is doubtless a novel also, but it is a noble piece of literature (even in translation), a consummate work of art, an intellectual and spiritual drama, a brilliant contribution to the religious discussions of our day. Vosmaer affords one more argument for the recognition of Dutch letters as an element of modern culture, and one more protest against the exclusion of his countrymen from the communion of European literature.

* *Thirty Thousand Thoughts, &c.* Edited by Rev. Canon Spence, Rev. J. S. Exell, and Rev. C. Neil. Vol. II. London: Kegan Paul. 1884.

† *The Amazon.* By Carl Vosmaer. Frontispiece by L. Alma Tadema, R.A.; Translated by E. J. Irving; Introduction by George Ebers. London T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

Aisma and Marciana, hero and heroine of his story, are both devotees of Art, the one an executant with the brush, the other with the pen. The story introduces both to us nobly endowed, but through disappointment tainted with a vein of pessimism, and with rare skill and delicacy traces the clearing of either nature from this evil trait under the influence of mutual sympathy and enlargement. The gospel of the book is "the simple creed of beauty, which includes, as a matter of course, the true and good—the pure religion of humanity" (p. xvii). It is a religion, as Marciana so passionately declares, "rooted in the sublime earnestness of beauty" (p. 150). In her and in Aisma this religion rises to a height at which it can support and satisfy their own exalted natures, and art is to them a cultus of divine holiness. In "the genial humanist Van Walborch" it takes a lighter form, enriching and elevating the man of culture without overmastering him with enthusiasm. In "the light-hearted cripple," the musician Salviati, it takes a yet more airy shape, keeping sweet and sunny a life which deformity and sickness might well have clouded.

Vosmaer is an art-critic of the highest type. His characters are chiefly Dutch, but the scene of his story lies in golden Italy—Pæstum, Naples, Rome. The masterpieces of the Eternal City and the principles of the Art which produced them are the topics of perennial discussion. For a "novel" this does not sound promising. Yet we can conceive no reader "skipping" these conversations; and every artist will feel with how extraordinary a skill they are not only kept subordinate but made to minister to the dramatic unity and the artistic development of the whole. He will be no less sensible to the exquisite beauty of individual scenes. Only in the crucial scene between Marciana and Askol, the sculptor, is a false note struck, and the harmony of her womanhood violated.

The inspiration of the book, its motive, its purpose, is, as we have indicated, the gospel of Ideal Beauty, whether in the nature which we call inanimate or in the human form. And never has that gospel been offered more earnestly as the answer to the great interrogation, nor ever has it been presented in more perfect alliance with the pure. Against an unreal and sentimental Romanticism and the base French Realism alike, the protest of Vosmaer is profoundly earnest. And yet the great interrogation receives no sufficing answer here. To a Van Walborch, in his lettered ease, Horace may be an all-sufficient Bible; but not to the men and women who have the battle of life to fight. Aestheticism, however pure, can never alone sustain moral strength. Exclusively cultivated, it weans men from the severe strain of duty inseparable from human life; veils from them the awful responsibilities of membership in a complex society; woos their eyes away from the hideous and the horrible among men, and slackens the sense of a warfare to be made by all the good on the positive forces of evil. Calvinism in its narrowest and most egotistic form exhibited as the influence ruining the life of Ada, and Romanism in its most trivial and superstitious guise as the faith of the waiting-maid, Marietta, are skilfully indicated as foils to "the sublime

earnestness of beauty." How would the drama have run, and how would the picture have looked, if there had moved upon the stage one breathing the largest culture of the modern time, yet inspired by the faith in God and the devotion to man taught by the Nazarene of old?

R. A. A.

What is Art?*

MR. LITTLE is unfortunate in a reviewer who reads his book immediately after closing Vosmaer's *Amazon*. Both volumes seek one end. Each is a plea for truth and purity in Art and a vindication of the claims of Art pure and true to take rank as Religion. But while Vosmaer writes with genius, Mr. Little writes only with intelligence and conscientious sincerity, and writes, too, wholly without artistic method or literary discipline. None the less does his plea deserve respect. His "outcry against oppression and prejudice," his "demand for freedom and fair play" are just and urgent. It would be well indeed for the artist to heed his warning against selling his soul for gold or praise; well, too, for the art-critic to listen to his protest against current canons of criticism; best of all for the British public to look, as he exhorts them, for truth in Art, and to realise that imitativeness never can be Art. Mr. Little smites the Royal Academy hip and thigh, mourns over Cecil Lawson as "at once grandly realistic and marvellously idealistic;" and tells how Rossetti, meeting in Cheyne Walk a friend who complained that the Academy persistently refused Cecil's work, exclaimed, "More fool he to send it there!" We wish, indeed, that we could share Mr. Little's hope that his volume may "open the eyes of those who have the power to bring a healthy tone into the whole realm and practice of Art." But where Mr. Ruskin fails, shall Mr. Little avail? R. A. A.

Poems of Modern Thought.

MR. SAVAGE is stronger in prose than in verse. We prefer his powerful reasoning from the pulpit to his somewhat uncertain touch upon the lyre. In the little collection of his Poems lying before us,† we are never quite sure that we shall not find him tripping in his metre or dropping down from the grace and dignity of poetry into some absolutely prosaic phrase. Yet there are many pieces of great sweetness and even of great power in this volume; and there are few poets who more surely touch and round into measured phrase the truest, broadest and most hopeful religious thinking of this modern day. Though we may wish him a fuller training and sterner discipline in the *technique* of the Poet's Art, the Modern Review cannot deny a welcome to the "Poet of Modern Thought." R. A. A.

* *What is Art?* By James Stanley Little. London: Sonnenschein and Co. 1884.

† *Poems of Modern Thought.* By Minor J. Savage. London: Williams and Norgate. 1884.

BIOGRAPHIES, &c.,

FIRST on our list of biographies we must place Mr. Watson's Life of Marcus Aurelius.* English readers have had to wait long for a life of one who was great among Roman Emperors, and the noblest of the Stoic Philosophers. Until very recently they have had nothing, and when at last Canon Farrar gave them his interesting sketch in his volume, *Seekers after God*, it could scarcely be dignified by the name of a biography. Mr. Watson's handsome, well-printed volume is written in exceedingly readable style, and carries us on with unflagging interest from first to last. Occasionally he trusts rather too much to imagination to fill in the lights and shadows of the picture which history gives, but his references are full, even for small details, where available; and he seldom leaves us in doubt whether he has 'authority' for his statements or not. It is scarcely possible that a work which covers so wide a field —the state of the empire, Roman domestic life, the legislation of the Antonines, the wars in the East and in Germany, the philosophy of the Stoic Emperor, the state of Christianity, and its attitude towards the empire and the emperor's attitude towards it—could be free from error at least there are few such works that escape both the Scylla and Charybdis of error and pedantry, and Mr. Watson is certainly no pedant. After reading the following passage:—

> We have a rescript of his to a woman who claimed a certain sum of money from her father for the payment of her daughter's education; Marcus's reply is, "You have no claim upon your father for that which the sentiments of humanity command you to furnish your daughter, even though *his* father did pay the expenses of educating him" (p. 98)—

we were not surprised to be told that 'this rescript exhibits a spirit [in the mother we should think] which was somewhat novel at that time'; but we confess we were surprised to find, on looking at the original rescript in the note, that what Marcus really says is, that the judges will settle how much the *girl's* father ought to afford for necessaries, but that the mother must not expect him to supply all that her *maternal affection* might lead her to ask for the child, even if he did consent to rear her. Even where there is no error of this kind the notes are not always sufficient to substantiate the statements of the text, though it is quite possible that the context might sometimes do so if it were given. It is to be feared that Mr. Watson has allowed his freedom of style to lead him sometimes beyond due bounds. In his attempt to make the letter given on p. 203, for instance, readable, he has transgressed the limits of a translator, and indeed in this also there is one very marked blunder. *In causis majestatis haec natura est ut videantur vim pati etiam quibus probatur* certainly does not mean 'It is the peculiar nature of treason that the evidence of it is itself the thing which constitutes the injury,' even if this English sentence means anything at all, which we are inclined to

* *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.* By PAUL FARRON WATSON. London: Sampson Low. 1884.

doubt. But though these and similar errors will prevent Mr. Watson's work from being an 'authority,' they do not prevent it from being exceedingly interesting and valuable. It is to be hoped he will have many readers. And surely they will rise from the study of so noble a life with anything but the feeling of 'depression' which Mr. Watson so strangely seems to think is the natural effect of the study of the great philosopher's thoughts. If there is a book full of calm dispassionate *strength* it is the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*.

Mrs. Lowe offers to her readers a closely-printed volume of six hundred pages in memory of her husband, an eminent and accomplished Unitarian minister.* There is something touching in her loyal and simple confidence that the reader will be glad to know all that he thought and said and did, and to follow through chapter after chapter the story of his quiet and devoted life. And the reader who finds leisure patiently to trace the career here pourtrayed through childhood and the honourable course at college, through the ministries at New Bedford, at Salem, at Somerville, through the Eastern travel, the war chaplaincy, the secretariate of the Unitarian Association and the editorship of the *Unitarian Review*, to the affecting and beautiful closing scenes, will receive a more vivid impression of the quality of a faithful minister's daily life, than could be conveyed by a briefer summary. The very monotony of each successive week's record of duty discharged, the very quietude of the little successes and disappointments, are not without a charm. And just as some long stretch of unbroken strand softly shimmering in the light of the setting sun has to be patiently painted all along from south to north if the picture is to produce the true effect, so the story of sermon upon sermon and visit after visit week by week through the long years must all be told, if the man is to be set forth as he really lived and served. We trust the book may come into the hands of sympathising readers, who will feel that it is good thus to share the widow's memories, and be invited to participate in her tender love and reverence. And, indeed, to ministers themselves the book, with its long record of little difficulties steadfastly faced, and the inevitable disappointments cheerfully met, by the very likeness of its incident to the familiar circumstances of their own lives will be like comparing experiences with some old friend. Mr. Lowe's life, however, was not wholly without variety. The German experiences and the talks with Tholuck are very interesting. Here is a curious bit of literary history:—

> When Clark, the publisher in Scotland, was to publish his series of German translations, he requested Tholuck to write a preface; and Tholuck consented, but said he must speak unfavourably of the enterprise. He wrote the preface, in which he said that he considered these German works an injurious publication for Scotland, considering the state then of Scottish religious belief. (Clark never put in the preface.) (p. 181.)

The marvellous war, still fresh in our memories, yet reading already—like the whole slavery story—as if it belonged to some former age of the

* *Memoir of Charles Lowe.* By his Wife, MARTHA PERRY LOWE. Boston: Cupples, Upham, and Co. 1884.

world, is always full of interest and romance; and Mr. Lowe played well his part in that. To the wide circle of his own friends, above all to his fond and venerating parishioners, the *Memoir of Charles Lowe* will be a possession which they would not willingly have foregone.

Some of our readers may remember the following passage in Dr. Guthrie's letters: "We went through the *Victory* and saw the cockpit, three stories below the quarter-deck, where Nelson expired. This was interesting, but to me it was more interesting still, when we left the scenes associated with Nelson and his battles, to go away to an old-fashioned humble street, and in a small shop in a two-storied house built of wood, not above seven feet broad and some fifteen long, to stand on the scene of John Pounds' labours." A few years ago one of the multitude of children's illustrated semi-religious papers gave a picture of John Pounds, the shoemaker and schoolmaster, surrounded by his scholars. He was represented as a neat-looking young Sunday-school teacher, in cobbler's apron, of elegant figure and smooth hair well oiled and brushed. Once or twice we have seen, and often we have wished to possess, a poorly-executed but bold and characteristic engraving of the real John Pounds —large featured, ugly, deformed, surrounded by a medley of poorly-dressed scholars. Mr. Hawkes has published a vivid sketch of the life, character, and labours of this very remarkable man.* The son of a ship-carpenter at Portsmouth, and himself destined for the same trade, he was crippled and deformed for life by a fall into a dry dock. In consequence of this misfortune he had to relinquish the occupation of carpenter for that of shoemaker. Maintaining himself by his trade, he gradually gathered in his little workshop a crowd of scholars from among the neglected children of one of the worst parts of Portsmouth. He would accept payment for none, and only very occasionally and as a special favour would he receive scholars whose parents would have been able to pay. Not only did he teach, he also very frequently supplied his scholars with food, and many a time in the summer—without any appeal for subscriptions—led them off for a "day's holiday in the country."

We could wish that Mr. Hawkes had been a little less prolix, and had not thrown so much of his narrative and description into the form of a conversation between himself and a friend; but, after all, when we are reading the lives of the saints we should not quarrel with the peculiarities of their biographers; and we strongly recommend our readers to see for themselves what one man could do, unaided save by natural genius and simple religious earnestness, for neglected and perishing children.

We heartily welcome another of Miss Cooke's fresh and vivid biographies.† Dr. Channing's life presents no startling incident; yet few lads will, we think, prove insensible to the charm which is thrown over his story in this bright little sketch. Miss Cooke, without any moralising,

* *Recollections of John Pounds.* By HENRY HAWKES, B.A., F.L.S. London: Williams and Norgate. 1884.

† *The Story of Dr. Channing,* written for Young People. By FRANCES E. COOKE. Sunday School Association. 1884.

powerfully draws out the lessons of character ; she does so by means of a perfect sympathy and faithful and simple presentation. Such books afford the noblest training for our boys and girls.

It is generally agreed that it was well for the craft of letters when authors ceased to shield their weakness under a patron's ægis. Amid the present intense competition of writers to get their books read, the system of obtaining an Introduction from some well-known man, however tempting, is hardly more defensible than the old practice of going hat in hand, to seek the patronage of some Lord Chesterfield. Dr. Walter Smith's Introduction to Mr. Hillock's *Hard Battles** is less an Introduction than an Apology, not in the classic but in the colloquial sense of the word. And, indeed, it would be hard to give any praise to this book from a literary point of view. Grammar is still a condition of good writing, and it would have been well for Dr. Smith to have saved his friend from printing " this has been done all the readier " (Preface), and from the like slips throughout the book. Setting aside literary defects and a certain self-complacency that obtrudes itself unpleasantly, Mr. Hillocks has an instructive tale to tell of a life made up of " hard battles " and marked by much steadfast and noble service in the dark places of the earth. Nor can any writer be wholly useless or uninteresting, who has such stores of personal experience to draw from, in the discussion of the condition of the most depressed strata of society. We would not speak unkindly of one who has passed his life in struggling to solve problems which most of us are content to discuss from outside and, as we fancy, from above.

With biographies we may associate Mr. Benham's very charming selection from the great store of Cowper's letters.† Lovers of Cowper, of whom there are many, and will be more, are already indebted to Mr. Benham for the excellent editing of the Globe Edition of his poems, and the admirable little biography of the poet prefixed to it. They will find in this selection of letters a valuable supplement. Occasionally, where letters are printed which really require an acquaintance with earlier ones, which do not appear, to make them fully intelligible, it would have been well if some short note had been introduced. Editors, no doubt, are right to keep themselves in the background and withold, as far as possible, remarks that they might be tempted to introduce. Unfortunately, it is just the most competent who are the most modest, and Mr. Benham, who might have felt himself at liberty to accompany the letters with a running explanation without any danger, has excluded himself entirely, and, having simply introduced us to the poet and his friends, retires entirely from the scene. The chronological order is of course followed in Mr. Benham's arrangement of the letters, but, by some

* *Hard Battles for Life and Usefulness:* an Autobiographic Record ; also a Review of the Roots and Remedies of London Misery. By the Rev. J. Inches Hillocks. With an Introduction by the Rev. Walter C. Smith, D.D. London : Sonnens hein and Co. 1884.

† *Letters of William Cowper.* Edited, with introduction, by the Rev. W. Benham, B.D., F.S.A. London: Macmillan. 1884.

mischance, we suppose, some of the earlier letters are disarranged, three to Lady Hesketh being grouped together, and then followed by three to Joseph Hill, which should properly alternate with them. The result being that we find Cowper, upon very good terms with no less than five families, in Huntingdon, and then in the following letter read that he has received 'only one visit' since he came there (pp. 6—14). By some accident, surely, a paragraph appears in the postscript to a letter of Nov. 12th, 1776, belonging to a letter of Aug. 1st., which is not inserted. In July he had written to Hill, saying he wishes for pupils. In August he speaks of the heat, evidently wants rain for his garden, and adds, 'If it were to rain pupils,' &c. Does Cowper write 'to *play* the piper' (p. 250) or is this an old transcriber's error? It can hardly be Mr. Benham's. Those who are already familiar with the prince of letter-writers will miss many favourite letters. Indeed, to have omitted no favourites would have involved the printing of an almost complete collection instead of a selection. We could have spared some, however, even from this volume, if necessary, to make room for the letter of Nov. 30th, 1785, to Lady Hesketh, with its account of Walter Bagot's visit, and his generous, yet delicately-given, subscription to the translation of Homer, the letter to Unwin on 'Pluralities,' with its good common sense (April 6, 1780), and the pathetic description of the lace-makers (July 8th, 1780). But we must confess that if these replaced letters already in the volume other readers might complain that *their* favourites were excluded. To say that this volume is one of the Golden Treasury series is to say that in regard to paper, print, and binding, it is just what such a companion should be.

To our list of biographies we may also add, perhaps, Mr. Maccall's saints.* We wish that some one would give us a small volume of legends of the saints really fit to be put into the hands of young boys and girls. Mr. Maccall's book is well intended, is attractive in form, and is written in a sympathising and truly religious spirit. But the stories as told are not fit reading for young people in a pure household. The story of the faithless nun whose place was kept for her by the Virgin Mary till she returned from her sinful life is beautiful, and has a deep lesson—but is it necessary to set forth so much of the details of her sinful career? The story of "Gregory of the Stone," again, might be a source of strength to a repentant sinner, who feared that he could never atone for his sin or receive pardon; but a story of a man, the offspring of incest, and himself again unawares married to his own mother, is not one to be read with profit in itself, and if it teach anything to the innocent it can only be that they can never commit a sin so great but that it may be forgiven. This may be 'sound doctrine' but it is certainly 'dangerous,' and surely not what Mr. Maccall would wish. What is really required is a little volume in which the Mediæval 'legend' can be given in essence, and with details of all that is best and the shortest possible reference to whatever is not 'golden' in it. R. A. A. AND F. H. J.

* *Christian Legends.* By WILLIAM MACCALL. London: Sonnenschein. No date.

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